

¶ Most fruit full & learned Cõmentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, Professor of Deuinitie, in the Vniuersitye of Tygure; with a very profitable tract of the matter and order.

¶ Herein is also added a contained two most simple Tables, all wel of the matter, as of the wordes: with an Index of the places in the holy scripture.

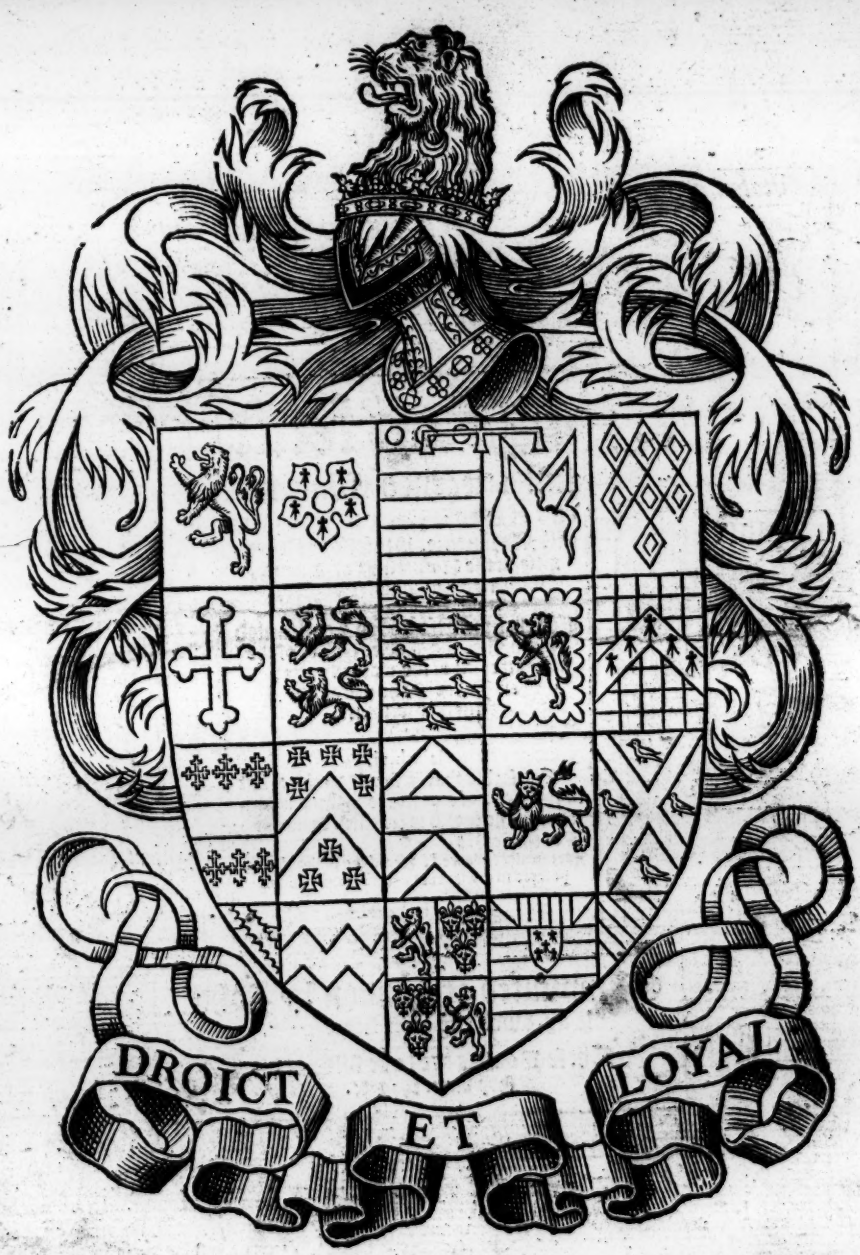
Galath. vi.

God forbid that I shoulde reioyce but in the crosse of our Lorde Iesu Christe, whereby the worlde is crucified to me, and I to the worlde.

¶ Set forth & allowed, accordyng to thorder appointed in the Quenes majesties iniunctions.

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¶ To the ryght honorable, my moſt ſinguler good Lord and Maiſter the Lord Robert Duddely, Earle of Leceſter, Baron of Dynghby, Knight of the honorable order of the Garter, one of the Quenes highnes moſt honorable priuy Counſel, and Maiſter of her Maieſties horſſe.



The old opinion (right honorable and my ſinguler good Lord) being no leſſe auncient then true, whiche accomptes hym an ill man, that is good but for him ſelfe (as who ſaye, from whom no goodnes commeth to the help of others) moſt like a Drone in a Bee hiue, ſhrowded there for his owne ſucke, not for the common wealth of Bees, whom therefore they ſuffer not among them, but kill & caſt out, as an vnkinde member, vnnaturall, and not to be endured in their ſtate: hath bene alwayes the rappyng hammer in my head, and the ſpurre to my ſide, to knocke and pricke me forward (that am of my ſelfe lytle able to do) to procure what I can (to my calling at leaſt) for the profit of my vniuerſal country men, by whom & among whom, as a member I lyue.

In reſpect whereof, among other it hath pleaſed God, to geue me leaue (by your Lordſhips meane, vnder the liſence of my moſt dread ſoueraigne Lady and Prince) to publiſh and ſet out to the glory of Gods Maieſtie chieflie: I haue taken vpon me to plant and put foorth (lyke ſuch a huſbande, as can not endure the plowe of my profeſſion to ſtande vnoccupied) this notable and right excellent woorke of that famous, graue, and great learned Doctor, Maiſter Peter Martir (entiteled His Commentary *vpon the booke of Iudges) being turned, at the requeſt of the learned, out of that tounge, wherein he wrote it, into our Engliſh phraſe, in which it is moſt meete for vs. As who ſhoulde ſaye, what he publiſhed into one toung priuately, he ment (as I take it) ſhoulde be deliuered to all men generally (Chriſtians or other) to whom it maye doo good. VVhoſe labour tending to ſuche effect, cannot, but like a tree that beares many braunches, ſpread it ſelfe abroad, tyll it ſtretche with hys fruit to many countries, nacions, and languages, out of the ſame ſpryng*

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and ſtocke, wherin he firſt planted it to grow, and hath graffed it for vs, And happy that ſpring (yea very happye) that caries ſuch courſe of water, to furniſhe ſo many Conductes, for the neceſſity and helpe of ſo many inhabitors, as it can not but haue concourſe among. And happy that ſeruant that hath ſo beſtowed his maiſters talent, as it cannot but turne agayne with ſo great an intereſt to the owner. And twiſe happy they, that may ſo taſte and drinke of it, as the glory may be Gods, and the comfort theirs, which being the onely but and marke wherat this Markmā ſhot: What deſerueth ſuch an Archer to be accompted of? I that thinke my ſelfe ſcant meete to ſet out his booke, do recken my ſelfe much more vnmeete to expres his prayſe. As if I were either able or meete, what ſhould I labour to ſhewe your honour a whole man by his peece, vnleſſe (as it might be ſaid) I ment to ſhewe your honour the Sunne by a candle. Him ſelfe therfore that hath taken this paine vpon him, and beſt can ſhewe him ſelfe by his owne ſhape: ſhall report him ſelfe in his owne labour to your honour, as he is beſt able. VVho as he thought it moſt meete for his part, to vnfolde the ſecretes of that cōmon wealth in the time of the Iudges, for the plainer vnderſtanding of the ſence therof, to the commoditie of vs, and others after vs and him: So haue I thought it meete for me, and my very duty to your honor, humbly to preſent and offer the ſame (by me now publiſhed) vnto your honorable hands, as from the Iudges of Iſrael and him, to one a Iudge and Ruler of this my natiue countrye and people, vnder our ſupreme Iudge, our moſt dread ſoueraigne Lady the Queenes Maieſtie. Hauing had nothing meeter wherby to expreſſe my faithfull hart, good mynde, and duty, to your honourable Lordſhyp, then thys the ſimple laboure of my plowe: the fruite wherof cannot be but yours, that are owner of me.

Humbly beſeching the ſame to accept it in as good part, as my faithfull ſeruiceable hart towardes your honour, hath and doth meane it. Beſeching God, that ſo graciouſlye hath lyked to beginne wyth your Lordſhip hitherto, mercifullye continue and keepe the ſame, to hys glorye, to the comfort of your ſelfe, and hope that this your Countrye of Iſraell (whereof you are a Iudge) hath conceaued of you.

(∴)

Your Lordſhips humble, faithfull, and ready ſeruaunt Iohn Daye.

To the noble and moſt vvoorthy

men the Lordes, chiefe gouernours of the Schoole of Argentine, my good Lordes, for their godlynes and wiſdome much to be reuerenced, D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, Profeſſor of the holye Scriptures in the Schoole of Tigure, wisheth health and felicitye from God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

(.*.)

WHen it pleaſed God (moſt woorthy and honorable me) of his mere goodnes, and not for any my vertues or merites, to cal me to the obedience of his ſonne our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to exercile my ſelfe in ſetting forth his Goſpel, in ſuch maner as hath pleaſed him, I thought it my duety, as much as lay in me, to execute my vocation and aſſigned burthen, not onely in teaching, but alſo in minde, lyfe, and maners. For thus I reaſoned with my ſelfe: If vnto al men, being inſtified onely by the merey of the true God, through Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour, not vndoubtedlye by woorkes, but freelye receaning forgeuenes of ſynnes, there remaineth no other thyng in the courſe of this ſhort lyfe, then that hauing obtayned the holy Ghoſt, and nature being ſomewhat relieued from his proper corruption, they ſhould by pure lyfe, and holy actions liuely expreſſe God hymſelfe their regenerator, and Chriſt their redeemer the ſame thing without doubte is much more required of men of my profeſſion, whom the eccleſiaſticall ſpirite hath appointed to adminiſter liuely doctrine vnto other men, that whyleſt they teach vprightly, by their euil deedes they deface not the waighte and al the authority of their doctrine, which thing if they do, they lie in the darknes of ſyn, whilſt moſt brightly gene light vnto others, and cauſe them to lift vp the eyes of their mindes vnto God the chiefe fountayne, head, and beginning of al good things, and to honour him with playne and moſt vpright religion. Wherfore I gather, and that truly (as I am moſt fully perſwaded) that I my ſelf, and the reſt of the miniſters of the doctrine of the ſonne of God, ought aboue al other to liue moſt iuſtly. But when I conſidered that the office of this vertue Juſtice (which ſhyneth among mortall men like the bright ſtarre Lucifer) conſiſteth wholy in this, to render to euery man that which is his, I deſired verely to performe the ſame not maymed, nor diminiſhed, nor ſhortened, but conſiſting of all his partes, ſo minded as humane weakenes would ſuffer me. And among other excellent partes of mindes therof, a thankfull minde, and mindfull of a benefite receaued, is not to be numbred among the leaſt, whoſe propertye is not onely to acknowledge benefites receaued, but alſo earneſtlye to bee deſirous to geue thankes for them. This thing when I weigh with my ſelfe (for I thinke on it oftentimes, I wyll ner lay continually) there cometh into my remembrance very many & great benefites, which your publike weith, churche & ſchoole haue here tofore beſtowed vpon me. And aſſuredly, when I reckon them, & more depely weigh them, they appere vnto me ſo many & ſo great, that I am exceedingly afrayd, leaſt I ſhould happen to depart out of this life vngrateful, which thing vndoutedly ſhould be more hitherto vnto me, the death it ſelf. Ye, when I eaſte out of Italy for religios ſake, with moſt incredible humanity receaued me, ye geue me the freedome of your moſt auncient ſchoole, placed me in that Schoole, which ye not long before with great praiſe of wyſe & godly men had erected: ther ye appointed me a Profeſſor of holy ſcriptures, whereas I liued a fellow with moſt learned and excellent men, more then fiue yeares. All which time ye mayntained me with a very liberal ſtipend. Ye, when I was called into England, decreed that I ſhould go thither, where certayne yeares I was teaching the Goſpel in the Vniuerſity of Oxford, namelye vntil ſuch time as Edward the firſt of that name, that moſt woorthye King, and which can neuer be prayſed inough, was taken away by vntimely death, which hronght vnto all the godly, griefe, mourning, and ſundrye and hard veracions. Ye exceding louingly receaued me, when I returned thence to Argentine, & placed me in the ſame roume, wherin I was with you before. Alſo, when the moſt noble Senate of Tigure called me into the place of Pellicanus, which was ther

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a Professor of Diuinity, ye, although both to your great griefe and also to mine, did yet most louingly let me go. The cause of my departure I will not nowe speake of, because it is to all men knowen wel inough. Thus much onely wil I say, that I do both vehemently desyre, and also hope, that this stop or let may be taken away out of the field of the Lord. These your benefits, which are of them selues ample and noble, I do nothing encrease nor amplify: But this one thing I testify, that they neuer slipped out of minde, neither is it possible but that they being layd vp in the bottom of my hart, shal there abide for euer. Howbeit, bicause the remembrance and thinking on the benefites which I haue receaued of you doth not satisfy me, I haue alwayes desired to make open vnto al men my good will and gratefull hart towardes you, which haue bene so wonderfull beneficial towardes me, wherefore I haue very often times determined with my selfe, one tyme at the length to declare by some signification or monument my singular affection, and ardent loue towardes your publike wealth, Church and Schoole. But for as muche as touchyng the chyefe cyrcles of chys worlde, I haue nothing wherwithal to performe the same, least I should dyefrustrate of my so honest and vehement a desire, being about nowe to set forth a Comentary vpon the holy history of the Iudges: As I haue taught it in your Schoole, I haue determined to dedicate it to your name, where as otherwise I would haue offred vnto you thinges much greater and better, if strength & ability had answered vnto my minde. Neither was I hereunto perswaded onely by the reason now alledged, namely by some maner of meanes to shew my good wyl towards you, and not to geue any man occasion of suspicion, that in chaunging my place I should haue shaken of my endeuour and study towardes you: (which thing vndoubtedly is not so: For I haue not laid aside these things, but they most firmly sticke in my mind daily more & more.) But this also did driue me to do this, for that this boke was writte in your city. And therfore I thought it meete, that in the possession therof no man should be preferred before you. Farther, this did not a lytle moue me, for that the argument of this history most apely agreeth with you. For euen as God at sundry times stirred vp Iudges vnto the Hebrewes, to deliuer them when they were oppressed with the tiranny of their enemies: So wer you not amonge the last stirred vp by his goodnes and grace, to bring to lyght the Gospell of the sonne of God, when it was held captiue in darknes by the dominion and violence of hipocrites, and when the mindes of Christias as touchyng godlynes were euery where in a maner baren and vnfruitfull. Here assuredlye I could make mencion of very many your actes both godly and honorable: but I ouerpasse them, for that you haue manye eloquent and notable publishers abroade of your doinges, which most abomdantly and elegantly haue set forth your valiantnes of minde, your constancy in embracing and spreading abroade of the Gospel of Christ, and your liberality in maintaining your notable, moste learned and famous Schoole. Neyther vndoubtedly can the praises which they haue geuen you bee reproued of anye lye, for as muche as you haue with great feruentnes of fayth receaued the doctrine of the sonne of God, and ye are made vnto other a notable example of renning of piety. And afterward when by reason of iniquity of times thinges which wer wel ordered, semed somwhat to slide and fall to decaye, ye hauing firme confidence of the ayde of God, verye godlye and wisely tooke courage vnto you, and euen now in this time ye stoutly and luckely did drive out the remnantes of the Amorrhites and Chananites out of the inheritance of the Lord, which pertayned to your loe, which your act hath wyth al the godly, gotten you great grace, praple, glory, and fauour. wherefore I, as which vehemently desyre honor, fame and dignity vnto the City of Argen tine, do exceedingly reioyce, for your most excellent and holy act. And I do desyre god the father of mercy, that ye being inflamed and kindled with his spirit, may alwaies go forward to better thinges. For so long as we wander here on earth, as straungers from our country which is in heauen, the Church is not fully perfect, neither in al partes absolute: For alwayes somthing is therein wanting, especially seing we are fallen into the yron age of the latter time. For, was there not in the golde worlde of the Church many discords, troubles, and maners not agreable vnto a Christian life? And shal not that part of the world which is christened, be now sycke of the same diseases and vices, when for age it nowe doteth? Let vs looke vpon the Church of the Hebrues, which at that tyme was the peculiar people of God, seperated from al nacions. Vndoubtedlye we shall

there

there finde sundry courses and alteracions of thinges. Some times they slipped out of the rightway. Sometimes they repented and lamented and amended the synnes wherin they had fallen. But whilest they lay in their sinnes and wickednes, they were by God corrected with grenous afflictions, and most sharp punishments. But returning vnto him, they faithfully implored his ayde: which when they had obtayned, they agayne prevailed against their enemies. In them (except we be vtterly blinde) we see the image of the goodnes of God towardes the sayntes, and his severity vpon the wicked painted, and lively expressed as it were in a table that is most rightly polished. Blessed is God, which defendeth his in most great daungers and calamities, and faythfully keepeth his safe and sound: which commeth of his goodnes, neither suffereth he them wholye to fall from piety, or vtterly to be consumed with miseries and aduersities. And we, if we note these thinges in thys holye history, shall not marvayle that the people of God were often times tossed, and euen in maner oppressed with so many and grenous chaunces: for whether we behold the godly, or whether we behold the vngodly, we shall perceaue that al these thinges were done with great fruit, and most wyse consideracion. For vnto those, whom God the heauenlye father hath euen from without beginning chosen vnto him by Jesus Christe, and out of an innumerable number of mortall men adopted to be his children, aduersities did to this end happen, that euen as gold and syluer are by the power of fire purged, so their mindes should prone more pure by aduersities. For by them as by lyuelye flames, the loue of our selfe, and of fraple and translitorye thinges is burnt vp. But the studies of piety and innocency are wonderfully kindled and inflamed. But of the vngodly, whom the diuine providence hath most iustly decreed to punish with eternal death, the consideracion is farre otherwise. For aduersities do not burne away their spots and vices, but rather encrease and augment them, by the augmentacio of which aduersities the impiety of their minds also increaseth, euen as we see that with one and the selfe same fyre claye waxeth hard, and wax melteth away.

Wherefore the reading of the golden history of the Judges is most profitable, so that there want not fayth in reading of them, and prayers be without ceasing added, whereby we may pray vnto God not faynedly, but feruently, to make his woordes of efficacy in vs by the holy Ghost. For those holye narracions are as it were certaine nourishments or stayes, whereby our confidence towardes the promises of God is wonderfully confirmed, and our minde is erected to a most firme hope of obtayning of them. For whylest we diligentlye consider the wonderful notable actes which God did for the health and safety of the nacion of the Hebrues, it is vncredible to be spoken, how our hartes are styred vp to woorship and honour him sincerely and religiously. Farther, in those heroicall actes the incredible power and wysdome of the prouidence of God doth euery where abundantly and brightly shine forth, which receaued with no lesse pleasure the fruite. For by those thinges which are declared (except we wyll wyllyngly be blinde) may easely be vnderstand, that what soeuer was done, or succeded luckely or vnluckely, at home or on warfare, the same is to be attributed either to the iustice, or els to the mercy of the eternal God. We are also most plainlye taught, that God neglecteth not thinges humane. But that he hath a consideracion and regard ouer the godly and the vngodly, and of them to the one he giueth ioy and pleasure, but the other he at the last moste greuouslye punisheth. Farther. thys thing is chiefly to be marked, that Jesus Christ the sonne of God is not secluded from thys holy history. For so as much as he is the end of the law, and sume of the holy scripture, as much as this booke pertaineth vnto the law, and is a part of the holy scripture, so much doth it shew and most euidently preach Christ vnto the Readers. For the actes of noble captaines are here rehearsed, which (as it is written vnto the Hebrues) through fayth wan kingdomes, wrought righteousnes, and obtayned the promise. But that fayth which is natural and sound includeth Christ him selfe, vnto whom singularly and in a maner onely it hath a regard. For by him the promises of God are made of efficacye. Wherfore whilest we behold the wonderful actes of the Judges, we ought to haue before our eyes the excellent fayth which brightly shined in them, & together with it the cõmon deliuerer of humane kinde, namely the sonne of God Christ Jesus, whom they beheld as their Captaine and Emperour. And that not vnwoorthely, for he by them wrought, and by them did set the people at liberty, in admonishing them

by the voyces of Angels, and oracles of Prophetes, in confirming them in daungers, and at the laſt not vnconſtantlye but moſt faythfullye performing thoſe thinges which he had before moſt liberally promiſed. Laſtlye, when we heare that the Hebrues, which were the members of the ſame Chriſt, were ſometime oppreſſed and ſlayne of their enemies. Let vs in them acknowledge the death and tormētes of our head. And in their victories and triumphes. Let vs behold his reſurrection, kingdome and glory. For God hath framed vnto vs winges of his ſpirite and woord: but if through our own default wē become fleſhy and heauy, we ſhal not be caryed vp into heauen, but together with beaſtes ber drawen downewarde.

I haue hetherto ſpoken of the hiſtory, how commodious and profitable it is to all the worſhippers of god, and how aptly it pertayneth vnto you (moſt excellent rulers.) Wherfore it ſhould ſeme that I ſhould now somwhat ſpeake of the interpretacion, which I haue added. But therof I wyll ſpeake nothing: for I feele that thoſe thinges which come out of my ſtudy and labour, are ſo ſclender and ſmall, that I thinke them not worthy of commendacion.

There is one thing onely which I dare boldly affirme, that I by this my doctrine, howſoeuer it be, my wyl was to be a helpe to the faythful of Chriſt. Neyther do I deny, but that there wer other much better learned then I am, which with great prayſe and fruit exerciſed themſelues in this ſelfe ſame courſe of ſtudy: howbeit, bicauſe I excedingly allow the ſentence of Baſilius (who in his. 18. Epiſtle writeth: Euen as welles, the more they are drawen, the better they are, ſo vndoubtedly are the wordes of God: for the more diligently they are handled and vſed, the more plentiful fruit is by them receaued) therfore I tooke in hand to interpretate this hiſtory. And although I am not ignorant, that you do ſo abound with the moſt learned woorkes of other men, that ye neede not thys my commentary: yet to that I anſwer, that to riche men alſo are debtes payde, and giftes are geuen vnto kinges, who otherwiſe are more riche. who is more riche then God himſelfe? Vnto whō neuertheles al the godly do both geue thankes, & alſo to their power referre thankes. wherefore I doo not offer vnto you thys ſlight gift, bicauſe I thinke that ye haue neede thereof, but that your benefites ſhould not remayne with me longer then is meete, as though they wer neglected. Farther, that we might be tyd more and more bound together in amity. For theſe duties are certayn common bondes, wherwith men are pleaſauntlye and profitably bound together betwene themſelues. I haue in deede bene long in your debt, yea rather I ſhal alwayes be in your debt (for I ſhal neuer be able to pay al that I owe vnto you) wherfore I wil gladly be perpetually in your debt. And wil with great pleaſure alwayes behold, keepe and preſerue your benefits layd vp with me, ſo that they ſhal neuer dye, nor neuer at anye time ſlyp out of my mynde. So fare you wel (moſt worthy and noble men.) God the father of mercy encreaſe, proſper, and for euer bleſſe you together with your publike wealth, Church and Schoole, in al good thinges, through Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Amen.

At Tigure the. 21. of December. 1560.



¶Places of the ſcripture, which here and there a man ſhall finde in theſe Commentaries expounded, or learnedly and wittely alledged: wheras the firſt number ſignifieth the chapter, the other the verſe or verſes of the ſame chapter, as they be diſtinguiſhed and ſet foorth in the Byble printed at Geneua, the moſt expedite and ready way for ſpeedy finding of the ſame.

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FINIS.

¶ The commentarie of Master Peter Martyr vpon the Booke of Iudges.

THere be some whiche deuide the holy scriptures into foure parts, and ascribe some bokes as wel of the old testament as of the new, to lawes, some to hystories, some to prophecies, and other some agayne to wisdome. But it is not meete so to deuyde the bookes of the holye scripture one from an other, bicause that in the bokes of Exodus, Leuiticus, Numeri, and Deuteronomie, in which they appoint lawes to be conteined, are founde almoste as many hystories as lawes. Besides that in the bokes which they assigne to prophetes, lawes of liuing vprightlye are oftentimes written and clearely expounded. Neither can we properly separate the bokes of Salomons other of ỹ kynd (which they will haue proper to wisdome) from lawes and prophecies. For there are in them sentences here and there written, which seruing for the instruction of life, haue also wont controuersy the nature of lawes. Furthermore for ỹ that in the are very many secretes opened vnto the church by the inspiration of the spirite of god, they poure vndoubtedly into the attentife hearers, oracles of thinges to come. It may easily be graunted, that all these things which they make mentiō of, are founde in the holy bookes: I meane the precepts of liuing, notable hystories, prophecies of thinges to come, and also moste wise sentences and sayinges: but in such sort, that in maner in euery booke they are set forth vnto vs dispersedly, neither yet would I that these holy bookes should be deuided one from an other by these endes and limittes.

Of the diuision of the holy Scriptures.

I would rather thinke as the learned sorte doe also iudge, that whatsoeuer thinges are conteyned in the holy Scriptures should be referred vnto two principall heades, the lawe I meane and the gospell. For euery where are declared vnto vs either the precepts of god of vpright liuing, or whē we are reproued to haue strayed frō thē by reasō of weakenes or els of malice, ỹ gospel is layd forth before vs, wherin by Christ that thing wherein we haue offended is pardoned, and the strength and power of the holy ghost promised vs, to reforme vs againe to the image of god, whiche we had loste. These two thinges maye we beholde in all the bookes of Moyses, in the hystories, Prophetes, and bookes appointed to wisdome, and that not onely in the olde Testamente, but also in the newe, and they are not separated one from an other by bookes and leaues, but by that maner which is now declared. And this is sufficient as touching the generall matter of the holy scriptures. But nowe we must peculiarly speake of this booke, that we may vnderstand what things they be which are entreated of in the same. And to the ende we may the more plainly vnderstande this, it is nedefull to call to memory those thinges which were spoken of in the former bookes.

There be two principal pointes whereunto al the whole scriptures are referred.

What thinges are entreated of in this boke of Iudges.

In Genesis is set forth the creation of the worlde, then howe of Abraham, Isaac, Iacob and his twelue childrē was engendred the people of god and how they

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they wer brought into Egipt to driue away their famine.

Exodus teacheth the greate encrease, and incredible multiplication of the Israelites, the maner also and forme wherby they were of god by Moyses deliuered from bondage and set at liberty, and how they wer excellētly adorned with lawes, iudgementes and ceremonies, whiche thinges are also comprehended in the bookes of Leuiticus. The booke of Numbers conteineth very many passages of the Hebrewes, and diuerse placings and orderings of their tents in the desert places, & also certain vsages of those rules which were prescribed before of god in the lawes. And lastly of al in Deuteronomy. When Moyses should depart out of this life, he like a most faithfull minister of god, & moste learned preacher, repeteth vnto the people almost the whole lawe. After whose death Josua captain of the Hebrewes led the people beyond Jordane, and possessed some parte of the promised land of Chanaan, and deuided it as god had commaūded to his whole natiō by tribes. Whē he was dead god gouerned the Hebrewes by certain excellent mē which were called Iudges, of which Iudges this booke which we haue taken in hand to enterpreate hath his name and title.

What is cōtayned in ỹ bookes which go before the iudges.

But for the better vnderstanding of the title therof we muste know that this word Shaphat in the Iewes tongue signifieth sometime to execute the law, and to iudge the causes betwene thē which are at controuersie, which office yet is not proper to those Iudges, of whiche we nowe entreate. For there were Leuites appointed which sate and gaue iudgement at the gates of euery citye, and aboue all iudgementes sate Senadrim which were an assembly of 70. elders.

Why thys is called the booke of the iudges.

Senadrim.

Furthermore ỹ word signifieth to reuenge & to set at libertie, which these excellent mē performed, whose noble acts ar declared in this volume. They by their authoritie, through their might and counsell, deliuered the Israelites when they were oppressed of straungers, and kept them in the obseruing of the law & true worshipping of God. And that their office may the better be perceiued, we wyll briefly expound the face and estate of that publike weale. God himselfe was the true and proper king of that nation, for he onely had the principal power there, but not as he had ouer other nations, but so, that he by his becke, oracle, and certain commaundement, gouerned the estate of the Israelites, which he promised to do in the. 18. chap. of Exodus. Whereas he said that that people should be by his chiefe kingdome. But because he would also vse the ministery of men, he prouyded al thyngs necessary for the Hebrewes, first by Moyses and then by Josua as long as they liued. They exercised the office of princes or captaines, which men being dead god would haue the best and most excellent men to haue the rule ouer thē (for such men were picked out to be of the senate, whose excellent conditions are set forth as well in Exodus as in Deuteronomy: for the lawes of God would not suffer euery one to be called to that office.) If thou shalt therfore consider these men then shalt thou see the forme of that gouernment which is called Aristocratia. But because that it was not lawfull to attempt great matters without the peoples consent, we may therfore iustly thinke that it was also a common wealth which endured to the tyme of Saule and Dauid the first kings. That estate therfore in respect of god was a kingdome, but in respect of the Senate & those chiefe men it was Aristocratia. Because in electing of thē they had no regard to their riches but to their vertue and godlines, & for ỹ the weightiest matters wer referred to the people, therfore we may say it was a cōmon welth. Wherfore it manifestly appeareth ỹ the administratiō of matters of the Israelits was very well tēpered of three kinds of gouernments. And because, whereas many gouerne the common wealth, it is nedefull when daungerous tymes doe happen, for the better successe and expedition of thinges to be done, one muste be ap-

Of the common wealth & estate of the Iewes.

What is whē ỹ best men are gouernours ouer the cōmō weale

What was the cause of the rayssing vp of Iudges.

appointed which may haue both ẏ chiefe rule & also ẏ chiefe authoritie: for ẏ which cause ẏ Romanes created often tymes both Emperors & also Dictators. So god whē ẏ Israelites wer most grenously oppressed of their enemies, iudged it mete to deliuer them and bring thē to libertie, he euermore stirred vp some one man by his spirit, whom he endued with noble vertues, strēgth of body, warlike arte and other gifts mete for that purpose which shuld be brought to passe, by whose industry & good successe the people might be deliuered from tyrantes.

The differēce between the iudges & princes of the heathen.

Betwen forrayne nations and the Israelits in this similitude, thys difference is to be marked. Emperors and Dictators were appointed and chosen of men. But the iudges of the Hebrues wer not declared by the voyces of mē, but by ẏ ordinance & inspiratiō of god. They could not be properly called capitaynes or kinges or els lordes, Posteritie or succession was here of no force, neither was therea regard to one perticular tribe or family, neither was there required the election of mā or the cōmon assent of ẏ people. In humane publique weales these vse to take place, but God in thys hys publique weale preferred whom he pleased to be iudge in ẏ gouernmēt of things. Besides that, they which are chosen by the cōmō voyce of mē must first be endued wt excellent strēgth & vertues, but god made those whō he decreed to be Iudges & setters at libertie of ẏ Israelites, notable and most excellent vppon the sodayne, though they were neuer so much rude and vnmete of nature. And that this is true, witnesseth the 2. chapter of this boke where it is thus written, God raised them vp Iudges, which deliuered them out of the handes of their oppressours. &c. And therunto is added when the Lord had raised them vp a iudge, he was with the iudge, and deliuered Israell al the dayes of his lyfe. Moreouer these men in time of their authoritye were not in dede Lords ouer the Israelites, but onely wrought with authoritye, admonition, counsell and exercising warlyke trauayles. This is made playne by that that Gedeon as it is written in the. 8. chap: when he had gotten the victorye ouer the Madianites, when it was offred hym to be king ouer Israell he refused it. For the people sayd vnto hym: Reygne thou ouer vs and thy sonne. By the which wordes they dyd not geue the kingdome onely vnto him, but also to hys posteritye. But he would none of it, yea he answered them thus. I will not reign ouer you, God shal reygne ouer you. And it is written in ẏ fyrst boke of Samuel that God sayd vnto the Prophet, They haue not cast thee away but me, that I should not reygne ouer them. It appeareth therefore manifestly ẏ these Iudges were neyther kynges nor yet Lordes of the Israelites. I would to god that this kynde of authoritye were diligently marked in the poppish Church, where wicked men do so impudently vsurpe vnto themselues spirituall promotion, seing that Christ hymselfe as he is the true priest, so also is he oure only priest, for he only pacifyeth the father towardes vs and they whiche are gouernoures of the Church here on earth are to be counted only as hys ministers. Wherfore they can not claime vnto themselues that title, but they muste cast away Christ and do hym iniurye.

The papists do impudentlye claime vnto thē selues the title of spirituall honour.

Neyther is thys to bee passed ouer, that the Iudges whiche were ordayned of god dyd alwayes deliuer Israell from the miserye wherwith they were oppressed: but the kinges, into whom ẏ common wealth did afterwards as it were degenerate, did not alwaies deliuer the people out of bondage, which was cōmitted vnto them, yea they oftentimes destroyed them and compelled them at the length to slauery. Wherfore it is to be iudged ẏ the estate of the Hebrues was farre better vnder the iudges than vnder the Kynges: not ẏ God gouerned not that people in tyme of the kynges, but bycause hys administration shewed forth it self more in ẏ time of ẏ iudges. And in dede ẏ people was neuer led awaye into captiuity vnder ẏ iudges, although they were ofte times oppressed by outward

The estate of the Hebrues was better vnder the Iudges than vnder the kings.

tyrantes which they deserued by their wickednes. That age therfore might be called as it were a golden age. Let vs marke also that there wer very fewe good and godly kings, but almost al the Iudges were good and godly. For although as they were men so sometymes they fel, yet we must beleue that they returned againe into the right way and repented, for they are not condemned at any time by any testimony or Iudgement of the scripture as far as I can perceiue. How notably Syrach iudged of them he playnly declareth in hys booke of wisdom the 46. chap. But we leauyng his testimony aside, let vs see what the Epistle to the Hebrues in the xi. chap. doth ascribe vnto them, where as it is thus sayd. The tyme wil be to short for me to tel of Gedeon, of Barach, Sampson, and of Iephthe &c. All these certeinly were iudges, and they are mencioned of there together wt other holy men, which were notable and of an excellent and wonderful faith.

Almost al the iudges were good and holy men.

Thou wilt aske peraduenture, If god loued so wel to hys people as long as the iudges were ouer them, how came it to passe then, that they were so often brought into bondage by their enemies? For bicause God handled with them faithfully and by a couenaunt.

Why the Israelites were so oftentimes oppressed of their enemies in the time of the iudges.

The league that was made is written in the 30. and 31. chap. of Deut: where god promised the Hebrues that all things should prosper with them so long as they kept his lawes and worshipping of him. But if they should fall from hym to Idols, and cast away the lawes of their god, then should they be deliuered into the handes of their enemies, but in such sort, that if they repented and would desire ayde of their god, he would streight waies be present with them, to deliuer them from al the euils wherwith they should be oppressed. But we shal not nede to stand long now about this matter, bicause in the proceding forward of the hi story, we shal manifestly perceaue, that the Israelites did oftentimes offend. And god chastened them as his children with such punishments. But when they turned and cried vnto him, he had compassion of them, and deliuered them by iudges out of their miseries. This remayneth also for vs to declare, ỳ for as much as Christ is called the end and perfection of all the holy bokes, how these actes also of the iudges may and ought to be referred vnto him, and how they prophecie him vnto vs, as the other holy bookes do. To answer to this I will take that which Origen writeth in his first Homely vpon thys boke. Al the workes of god by themselues are great: but when they are conferred together, some of them may be called small, and other some greate. If god, his leadyng of the children of Israel out of Egipte and throughe the wildernesse should be beholden by themselues, they are surely great woorkes: but if they be afterward conferred with this, that God loued the world so, that he gaue his onely begotten sonne for it, then shall this be a great worke, and the others small. But bicause in the greater things the lesse are comprehended (for that they are partes of thẽ) as the number of two is contayned in three, and three in foure. So these priuate deliueries of the people which happened vnder the Iudges, for as much as they are comprehended in that principall redemption, which is geuen vnto mãkynd by Christ, it must nedes be that they shold expresse vnto vs ỳ same, for that they were certain assured partes and figuratiue shadowes, and had the same authour namely Christ him selfe. For he which before deliuered the Hebrues by iudges, did afterward redeme al men by him self. And euen as the miseries of thys lyfe, the spoyling I say of goods, banishments, woundes & torments are very greuous to the flesh whẽ they are pondred by themselues: so when they are conferred wt the anger of god & euerlasting death, into ỳ which we incurre by reason of our sinnes, they may most rightly be esteemed small thinges, for that these are most grieuous. Wherfore when we consider how the Iewes were deliuered frõ out-

After what sort the holy histories do conteine & teach Christ

ward

ward miſeries: Let vs call to remembraunce, thoſe moſt great euils, frō which Chriſt of his ſingular goodnes hath deliuered vs. And when as the children of Iſraell do oftentimes eſcape by iudges out of their afflictiōs, they do as it were point with their finger Chriſt vnto vs, raiſed vp from the dead, they ſhew vnto vs alſo ỹ laſt reſurrectiō of the ſaints, wherin they ſhal be altogether deliuered from al perilles & infirmities. Wherfore as wel this booke as alſo other holy hiſtories do moſt much profit admoniſh the readers of Chriſt and his members.

What kind of writing is obſerued in this boke.

The definition of an hiſtory.

And bicauſe I think I haue ſpoken enough already of the matter and ſubiect of this boke, I wil now go to declare the forme of the writing therof. It conſiſteth altogether of an hiſtorical kind of writing, as may eaſily appeare to al the readers. An hiſtory is (as Quintilianus writeth in the ſecond boke, & 4. chap: of hys Inſtitutions) a ſetting forth of a thing done. From which Auguſtine differeth not much, who writeth on the ſecond chap: of Gen: vpon the letter. An hiſtory is whē a thing done either by god or by mā is ſet forth, & in this diffinitiō he cōprehēdeth as wel prophane hiſtories as holy. But our boke doth chiefly for the moſt part ſet forth thoſe things which wer done by god. But bicauſe al ſetting forth of thigs done are not of one kind, whē as ſom ar called chronicles, & other ſome named hiſtories, we muſt ſe in which of theſe two, this our declaration muſt be placed, & that can we not wel do except we ſeperate theſe ỹ one from ỹ other, Cicero in his 2. boke de Oratore, touching theſe, writeth after this ſort. The gretians at ỹ firſt wrote euē as our Cato, Pictor & Piſo did: for an hiſtory was nothig els but a collecting together of things done yerely, which thigs that thei might ỹ better be kept in memory ỹ chief biſhop frō the beginning of matters of Rome euen to Publius Mutius ỹ chief biſhop wrote al things that wer done euery yere & brought thē into a commō place, & ſet thē out on a table in his houſe ỹ the people alſo might frely haue knowledge of thē, & they be they which are now called the great yerely Chronicles. This forme of writing many haue followed, which haue without any deckings or ornamēts left behind them onely the monumēts of tymes, men, places and of things done. Wherfore as Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acuſilaus & very many other wer amōgſt ỹ grecians, ſo is our Cato, Pictor, & Piſo, who cared not for the eloquēt kind of writing, & while that mē might vnderſtād what they ſpake, they counted ſhortneſſe to be the onely prayſe of ſpeaking &c.

The diffrence betwene an hiſtory and a chronicle.

He addeth after ward, The nature of things deſireth the order of tymes, it requyreth alſo the deſcription of countreyes, bicauſe in weighty matters and worthy of memory, firſt counſels are loked for, then the acts, & afterward the endes. And as touching counſels is ſignified what the author alloweth. And in things done is declared not only what is done or ſpoke, but alſo how &c. By theſe things we may gather what is the nature of yerely chronicles, and alſo what of an hiſtory: and me thinketh that theſe our narrations are rather to be counted hiſtories thā yerely chronicles, for bicauſe not only things done are ſet forth, but alſo ỹ cauſes, counſels and maners are declared. Alſo orations, admonitions, and reprouings, are ſometimes added not without ſome ornamentes: All which thinges pertayn rather to an hiſtory thā to bare yerely chronicles. But now ỹ we haue heard Ciceros opiniō, let vs alſo heare what Aul. Gelli. writeth in ỹ. 5. chap. of his 5. boke, which writeth this: Some do thinke that an hiſtory differeth frō a chronicle in this, ỹ whē both of thē are a declaratiō of things done, yet an hiſtory is properly of thoſe things at ỹ doings wherof he ỹ wrote thē hath bene preſēt. &c. He followed not this diſtinctiō, & not wōut cauſe, which neuertheleſſe Seruius Gramaticus enbraced, & Iſidorus in his firſt boke of Etymologies followed hi, which is maruel bicauſe he is not only againſt Cicero, which ſaith ỹ an hiſtory is a gathering together of thinges done yerely, but alſo againſt Vergil whoſe verſe in ỹ firſt of the Eneydos is. And now haue we lay ſure to heare the yerely chronicles of our labours. Where he declareth, that yerely Chronicles pertayne

The narratiōs of this booke are hiſtories & not yerely chronicles.

The opinion of Aulus Gellius as touching yerely chronicles and an hiſtory.

also vnto things at the doyngs wherof we our selues were present. But now to agayne to Gellius. He sheweth that there were other which thought hystories to be either an exposition, or els a demonstration of thinges done. But yerely chronicles were, when things done in many yeres were compiled together, obseruing the order of euery yeare. &c. According to which sentence, this our booke cannot be called a yerely chronicle, for that in the narrations thereof, it oftentimes noteth not the yeres wherin things were done. Moreouer the same author I meane Gellius addeth Sempronius Asellios mynde therin, but this was the difference betwene those whiche woulde leaue behinde them yearely chronicles, and those which enterprised to write of thinges done by the Romaynes. The yerely chronicles did declare that onely whiche was done and in what yeare it was done, but that was not sufficient for an hystory to declare what was done, but it must also shew, by what counsell, and after what sort they were done. And a little after the same Asselio writeth in the same booke: for neither can the bookes of the yerely chronicles any thing stirre vp the readers to be more quicke to defend the common wealth, nor yet more slow to cõmit thinges vnaduisedly. Furthermore bicause that by the knowledge of this booke men are admonished and stirred vp to the true worshipping of god to repent, to put their trust in god, and to practise all dueties of lyfe carefully. It conteyneth an hystory and not yerely Chronicles. Peraduenture I haue expounded these thinges with to many woordes, but yet as I suppose with some fruicte.

The number of the yeares that the hystory of the iudges conteyneth.

But the space of the tyme which is comprehẽded in these declarations (if we may beleue Augustine in his xviii. booke de ciuitate dei, and 22. chap.) is 329. yeares, which he gathereth thus. Whẽ Rome was builded, the Hebrewes had bene in the land of Chanaan. 718. yeares, of which (as he saith) 27. perteyned vnto Iosua, 329. to the Iudges, & 362. are referred vnto the kinges. For Ezechias the king lyued in the tyme of Romũlus.

God is the author of hystories.

An hystory is not to be counted a thing of mans inuention when as god himselfe was the author therof, which would haue the elders to expoũ to their children and their posteritie those thinges which he had done for Israell in Egipte, in the sea, and in the wildernes. And he commaunded also (as it is written in *Exodus*) that the warre which was had against Amalech, and the victory which the Hebrewes got of him, should be put in writing, yea and this kind of writing

Hystories were before Moyses time.

began before Moyses, for he maketh mencion both of the booke of the battails of the Lord as also of the booke of the iust men. I will not speake of the Prophetes which with their prophecies oftẽtimes mixed hystories. I passe ouer Dauid, who adourned here and there the psalmes whiche he song with hystories. I skip ouer our Euangelistes and the Actes which Luke wrote, in which are written moste profitable hystories in the new Testament. If god be the author of these bookes as we must nedes beleue, thẽ god must be counted the author of hystories, which is not a thing for him vnsemely, for an hystory is a noble thig (as Cicero writeth in hys 2. boke de Oratore, it is a witnes of times, ẏ light of truth, ẏ life of memory the maystres of life, the messenger of antiquitie. &c. These prayses certainly are great, and they agree not with euery kynde of hystories, but with those onely, in which those rules are obserued, which ẏ same author hath set forth in that place namely, that it set forth no lies, or be afraid to tel the truth, that there be no suspicion of fauour or flattery.

The praise of an hystory.

What are requisite to a true hystory.

The Latin Hystoriographers are more faithfull than the Grecians.

Which order although the Latin Hystoriographers haue more faithfully accõplished than the Grecians (for Quintilianus saith in his viii. chap. of his secõd boke that he greke Hystoriographers vsed as much licence in writing almoste as the Poets did) yet Augustine in his. 131. epistle to Memorius the Bishop, when he amõg other liberall disciplines attributeth much to hystories writing of the truth

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therof, saieth, that he cannot see, how those hystories whiche are written of men, can wel follow the truth: for that the writers are compelled to geue credite vnto men, and oftentimes to gather together the byrute of the vulgare people, whiche writers neuertheleſſe are yet excused, if they kepe liberty and write nothing diſceitfull, but there can be nothing at al more true than the hiſtories reuealed and written by the inſpiration of god as our hiſtories are. The holy hiſtories are moſt true.

Beſides the truth, whoſe knowledge without controuerſie is moſt excellēt, by the reading of hiſtories, we get alſo other cōmodities, and thoſe very excellēt. The commoditie of an hiſtorye. By them we attayne to matter, and moſt aboundant plenty of moſte profitable arguments. For (as Quintilianus writeth in the. iiii. chap. of his. 12. boke) Exāples and hiſtories are iudgementes and teſtimonies. And the profit of the exāples is at the leaſt way two fold. One is, that we ſhould imitate, vſe, allow, and commend thoſe thinges which we are taught to be done of holy mē. We vnderſtande by the diuyne hiſtorye that Abraham was a holye man and dearly beloued of god, and alſo one that kepte very good hoſpitalitie. Whereby we learne that hoſpitalitie is a noble vertue, and very deare vnto God, and againe we are taughte to auoyde thoſe thinges, which we ſee theſe godlye men to haue auoyded. For when we conſider howe Dauid wouldo not kil Saul hys deadly enemye, hauing twice libertie to doe it, we gather that it is not to bee permitted that priuate men although it laye in their power ſhoulde not reuenge their priuate iniuries. The other vſe of exāples is that of theſe thinges whiche are there declared particularly, when we ſhall perceaue that they be al like, we may of them gather generally and vniuerſally ſome one profitable ſentence. The vſe of exāples is double.

By the hiſtory of the Sodomites we note how greuouſly, god puniſhed moſt horrible fleſhly filthines, and that the tribe of Beniamin for the ſame cauſe was almoſt cleane put out, and Ruben the firſt begotten ſon of Iacob for inceſt was put beſides his place and dignity, Dauid for committing aduoutry, incurred horrible puniſhmentes, and Ammon and Abſolon for committing inceſt came to a moſt wycked end, and Troy (as the heathen teſtifye) was vterly ouerthrowen for aduoutry ſake. Of theſe things therfore in ſuch ſort conſidered which happened particularly, we plainly ſay that all theſe wandring and vnlawfull luſtes of men are moſt greuouſly puniſhed of god. To which propoſitiō if we ſhal adde this ſentence that now alſo throughout all Chriſtendom ſuch free and wāndring filthy luſt raigne euery where, we may ſtrongly conclude, that for this horrible wickednelle there hangeth vpon this our world moſt ſharpe puniſhments.

Yet in this kind of arguments that vice is moſt diligently to be taken hede of, which creapeth vpō one before he beware therof. And ỳ commeth two maner of wayes. Firſt that we take not vpon vs to follow thoſe doynges of the ſaīctes which they ſometimes committed vnaduiſedly. For euē as men, they fell ſome times, & that moſt filthily. Wherfore ỳ things done by thē, which we do ſet forth as exāples to be followed of vs, muſt with great iudgement be examined. Auguſtine. Auguſtine writeth of this thing in his 2. booke againſt the 2. epi. of Gaudētius after this ſort. We muſt not alwaies imitate or allowe whatſoeuer good men haue done, but we muſt adde therunto ỳ iudgement of ỳ ſcriptures, & marke whither thei allow theſe deedes. This father doth very wel admonith vs here, ỳ although they wer holy mē, & pleaſed god very many waies, & the holy ſcriptures witneſſed excellently well of them, yet are not all their actions to be iudged abſolute and without fault. For euery man both is a lyar and oftentimes ſinneth. For who woulde followe Dauyd his horrible aduoutrye and betraying of faythfull Souldioure, or the forſwearyng of Peter or hys wycked diſſimulatione ſurely none which hathe but euen a cromme of godlineſſe. Moreouer it ſometymes happeneth that that worke whiche is done well and rightly by ſome er- Of exāples we reād what vices are to be eſchewed. The faulting of the fathers are not to be followed.

cellent person, is forbidden of other men, because God which hath geuen a lawe to men, is not so bounde vnto the same, that he may not lose some frō that common bonde, when it semeth good vnto him. It is not lawfull for any man to steale, and yet the Hebrewes when they were led out of Egypt were permitted yea and commaunded of god, to cary awaye the Egyptians goodes which they had borowed of them euen agaynst their willes and without their knowledge. What shal we do then? Thus truly, we must well and diligently cōferre those thinges which are expounded in the holy histories, with the general rules of the cōmaundementes of God wherewith when we do perceaue that they do agree, let vs boldly vse them. But if they disagree from thē, let vs reckon them either for certaine callinges or singular prerogatiues of some, and kepe our selues backe from following of them. And these prouisoes beyng added, great profit shall come by reading of histories and especially diuine histories. And that did Chrisostome very well vnderstand when as in the preface of his exposition vpō the Epistle to Philemon, he wished that all those thinges had bene written for vs, which the Apostles spoke and did, when they sat downe, what they did eate, or what they did write & other thinges of this kynde. And the same Chrisostome writeth in his 57. Homily vpon Genesis, that histories were geuen vs by the holy ghost to the entente we shoulde followe them. Also Augustine, in his seconde booke and 28. chap. *De doctrina Christiana*, teacheth that many darcke and hard thinges may some times onely be opened by the knowledge of an history. Wherefore who soeuer muche exerciseth him selfe in redyng ouer of histories, he doth not without fruite reuolue with him selfe the doinges & examples of our times. There was vpon a tyme a certaine man euill fauored enoughe, who neuertheless was meruelous desirous of beautifull children: and yet he maryed a fowle wyfe, wherfore he was mocked of euery bodye. This man went into the Citie, where he bought most fayre ymages, which he set in his chambre, and gaue his wife charge that for a certayne space she should euery day most earnestly looke vpon those ymages. She obeyed her husbandes commaundement, and by that meanes brought him forth most beautifull children. So wil it also come to passe with vs, which thoughe we by reason of naturall sinne grafted in vs are deformed & lothsome, and are continually prouoked as well by the deuill as by wicked men to vnlawfull thinges, yet if we will attentiuely & diligently gather together the exāples of the sainctes, trimly paynted forth in the diuine histories, and if we reuolue the same in our mynde, we shall forthwith shewe forth most excellent workes & acceptable to God. And now that I haue entreated enough (as I suppose) of the matter and forme of writing of this booke, the nexte is to speake some what of the efficient cause.

God will some times haue certaine thinges done of godly men which be not lawfull for others to do.

The doynges of saintes must be weighed by the rules of gods Law.

Chrisostome.

Augustine.

Note a pleasaunte history.

If we would searche to knowe the man, by whom God would haue these thinges written, that can we not vnderstand by the holy Scriptures. The Hebrewes affirme that *Samuel* put these thinges in writyng: but they speake that without testimonie of the Scriptures. Other also thincke that euery Judge wrote suche thinges as were done in his own time, which monument of theirs being in sondry pampheletes *Samuel* afterwarde compiled into one certain body or volume. Agayne there be some which ascribe all this to *Esdras* or to *Ezechias* the king, which *Ezechias* the booke of Prouerbes mencioneth to haue gathered together some of the sentences (or as some call them) the parable of *Salomon* but I thincke it is not mete for me to stāde about this matter, for there is no cause why we should curiously searche out those things which God will not reueale in his oracles wherfore I will returne to declare the principall efficient cause of this booke. We must ascribe al what soeuer it is to the spirite of God. For *Paul* writing to Timothe sayth that the scriptures were reuealed by god,

What is the efficient cause of this booke.

The spirite of God is properly the auctour of this Booke.

and

and there is no doubte but he spake then of the bookes of the olde Testament. But thou wilte aske who shall persuade vs that the holy bookes were reuealed vnto men by the holy ghost: Euen the same spirit which hath prouided to haue these things written, doth make vs assuredly to beleue that they are not the inuentions of men. For nether can the holy lyfe of the teachers nor yet miracles be sufficient to persuade vs of this. It is the spirite, the spirit I say of god which testifieth vnto our spirite of this thyng.

The spirite of God testifieth vnto the faithful that the holy Scriptures came frō God.

The moste daungerous erroꝛ of the Antichꝛistes must diligently be taken hede of, whiche dare affirme, that it is the Churche which bꝛingeth authoꝛitie to the holy Scriptures, when as it is cleane contrary. For what soeuer authoꝛitie oꝛ estimation cōmeth vnto the Churche, that all whole cōmeth of the woꝛde of God. It is hoꝛrible to be heard, that the holy oꝛacles and woꝛdes of god should get their credite by men which are otherwise lyers. But these things they faine to the entēt that seyng they are manifestlye founde often tymes to haue decreed and ratified in the Sacraments & doctrines farre otherwise than the holy scriptures will beare. Whiche thing they would defend ẏ they may do it, bycause the Churche whiche doth bꝛing authoꝛitie and credite to the woꝛde of God, may alter things in the holy Scriptures, as pleased it. Wherfoꝛe we must resiste them by all meanes possible in this thyng which they take vpon them to do. We may not suffre our selues to be bꝛought to thys poynte, to thincke that the Scriptures haue had their credite and authoꝛity by the Churche. And yet do I not wꝛite these thynges as thoughe I woulde despise oꝛ contemne the dignitie of the Churche, vnto the whiche, I do attribute thꝛe offices and them moste excellent as touchyng the woꝛde of G O D. The firste of them is, that I do confesse that the Church as a witnesse hath kept the holy bokes. But thereby it can not be pꝛoued, ẏ it is lawful foꝛ it to peruert oꝛ alter any thing in the holy bookes. Experience teacheth vs that publique and pꝛiuate wꝛytinges are committed to scriueners (whiche are commonly called notaryes) to be layd vp and diligently kept of thē. And yet there is none that is in his right wittes which wil say that he may alter any thing in them, oꝛ wil beleue that their authoꝛitie is of greater foꝛce, than their willes were whiche desired to haue the same wꝛitten. Neither shall it be here vnpꝛofitable to obserue the difference betwene the woꝛde of god as it was reuealed at the beginning to the Pꝛophetes & sainctes & as it was afterwardes pꝛeached oꝛ wꝛitten. For we do easely acknowledge betwene these, that there is onely difference of tyme, and not of the authoꝛitie oꝛ efficacie.

There be thꝛee offices of the Churche touching the woꝛd of God.

The Churche as a witnesse kepeth the holy Bookes.

The woꝛde of God reuealed and wꝛitten.

For we confesse that the woꝛde vnwꝛitten was moꝛe auncient, than that which was afterward appointed to letters, and we graunt that either cōferred together was geuen to the Churche, but in suche soꝛte, that the Churche (as we haue sayd) can not by any meanes wꝛest oꝛ chaunge it. And this vndoubtedly is the second office of the Church, to pꝛeach & publish the woꝛdes committed vnto it by God. In which thing it is lyke a common crier, who althoughe he do publishe the decrees of pꝛinces and magistrates, yet he is not aboue the decrees oꝛ equal vnto them in authoꝛitie. But his whole office is faithfully to pꝛonounce all thynges as he hath receaued them of the pꝛinces and magistrates. And if he should otherwise do, he should be counted altogether foꝛ a traytour. Wherfoꝛe the ministers of the Churche ought to care and study foꝛ nothing so much as to be founde faithfull. We acknowledge also the last office of the Churche to be, ẏ seyng it is endued with the spirite of God, it must therfoꝛe discerne the sincere & vncoꝛrupted bookes of holy Scriptures from the counterfaite and Apocriphas, whiche is not yet to be in authoꝛitie aboue the woꝛde as many do foolishely dꝛeame. For there are very many which can discerne the true & pꝛoꝛe wꝛitings of Plato and Aristotle from other falsely put to them, & yet in comparison of iudgement

The officce of the Churche is to publishe and pꝛeache the woꝛde of God.

The Churche discerneth the holy bokes frō counterfaite & such as are Apochꝛiphas.

gemēt they are neither of greater lernyng noꝛ yet of equall, with *Plato* oꝛ Aristotle. And euery one of vs cā easely know God from the deuill, & yet are we not to be coũted equal with God, & much lesse can we thinck that we do excel him. So the Churche ought not bycause of this to pꝛeferre faith oꝛ authoꝛitie thereof before the Scriptures.

Augustine.

But they say, Augustine sayeth, I would not beleue the Gospell except the authoꝛitie of the Churche did moue me therunto. But in that place is read (to moue together) foꝛ in very dede, it is the spirite of God, which poureth faith into the hearers of his woꝛde. And bycause the ministers of the Churche are his instrumentes, they are rather to be sayd to moue with, than absolutely to moue.

Faith is not poured in by the minister but by God.

The same Augustine writeth in his 28. booke and second chap. against Faustus, that the Manicheis ought so to beleue that the first chap. of Matthew was writtē by Matthew, euen as they did beleue that the Epistle whiche they called Fundamentum, was written by Manicheꝰ, bycause vndoubtedly they were so kept by their elders, & from hande to hand deliuered vnto them. This is it therfoꝛe that the Churche moueth withall to beleue the Gospell, bycause faithfully it kepeth the holy scriptures, pꝛeacheth them, and discerneth them from straunge Scriptures. The same father manifestly witnesseth in his 6. booke of his confessions the 4. and 5. chap. that God him selfe in very dede did geue authoꝛitie to the holy scriptures. But Tertullianus and Irenæus hauing to do against heretikes did therfoꝛe send thē to the Apostolicall Churches, bycause they did not admitte the whole scriptures: Wherfoꝛe they would that they should take their iudgemēt of those Churches which were certainly knowen to be Apostolical. Foꝛ it was meete that those Churches should continually remayne both witnesses and also keapers of the holy scriptures: and yet therfoꝛe they did not decree that the authoꝛitie of the Churche should be pꝛeferred beforꝛe the scriptures.

Tertullianus
Irenæus

What is to be thought of a certayn rule of the Logicians.

But the aduersaries say, that they are led by the sentence, whiche is cōmonly vsed among Logicians: Euery thyng is such a thyng by reason of an other, Wherfore that other shal more be counted suche. Wherfoꝛe they reason after this maner: If by the Churche the Scripture hath hys authoꝛitie, it must nedes be that the Church much moꝛe hath that authoꝛitie. But they remēber not that this sentence put by the Logiciens taketh place onely in finall causes, and is of no strength in efficient causes. Foꝛ although our inferioꝛ woꝛlde be made warme by the sunne and the starres, yet doth it not thereby followe that they are farre moꝛe warmer. And agayne when immoderate men by wyne are made dꝛoncke, we can not therby conclude the wyne to be moꝛe dꝛonken than they. Yea the Logiciens teache this, that this their sentence is then strong and of efficacy in efficient causes, when such efficient causes are bꝛought foꝛth whiche are whole and perfect, and not whiche are perciall and maymed, whiche rule is not obserued of our aduersaries in this argument. Foꝛ the Churche is not the whole and perfect efficient cause of that faith and authoꝛitie whiche the holy Scriptures haue with the faithfull. Foꝛ if it were so, then were it very easy to persuade the Ethnickes and Turkes of the holy Scriptures, and to bꝛyng the Iewes to receaue the new Testament, and how true this is, the thing it selfe witnesseth. And I thincke, I haue spoken enough of the efficient cause of this booke and of the holy Scriptures.

Of the ende of this booke.

And now lastly oꝛder semeth to require, ỹ seyng we haue spoken of the matter, foꝛme and efficient cause of the holy bookes, we shoulde also entreate somewhat to what end they were written. Wherin I thincke it not nedeful to kepe the reader long, foꝛ that beforꝛe when I entreated many thynges of an hiſtoꝛye, I haue expounded also the pꝛofite and commodities whiche come therof, whiche no doubte of it, belong vnto the ende: but nowe pꝛesently I will say thus much

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compendiously, that all these thinges are mentioned by the holy ghost, that we shoulde behaue our selues vprightly both in prosperitie and also aduersitie. For we learne by the examples of holy men, when we are afflicted with sundry troubles and miseries, stedfastly to holde our faith, to put our hope in God, to call vpon him only, & therewithall to repent vs of our sinnes whiche thinges if we do, he will no lesse be present to helpe vs, than we know ỹ he oftentimes deliuered the people of the Iewes. And this Paul declared, when he sayde to the Romaines, whatsoeuer things are written, they are written for our learning, that we thorough patience and consolation of the Scriptures might haue hope. Moreouer we are instructed, in prosperous thinges to kepe the feare of god, lest we fal into grieuous sinnes, by whiche meanes we might be made guiltie both of punishement in this lyfe, and also of euerlastyng damnatiō. Finally we may moste manifestly gather the ende of reading of these bookes out of the Apostles doctrine, whiche he deliuered to Timothe, writing after this sorte in his second Epistle and third chap. All Scripture geuen by inspiration of God is profitable to doctrine, to reproouing, to correction and to instruction which is in righteousnesse, that the man of God may be perfect and prepared to al good workes.

And now that as I suppose I haue spoken enough of the ende and other causes of this booke, I will come nygher to the exposition of the same, & first I wil declare whether this booke according to the sentence of the Hebrewes be the second booke of the firste Prophetes, whose coniunction is so great with the history of Iosua that a man woulde easely saye that they be both one. And peraduenture there be some which suppose that Iosua should be reckened with the iudges: to whom I will not subscribe. For iudges were raised vp of god, when the people were oppressed with outwarde enemies, but when Iosua was proclaymed prince, all the affaires of the Israelites were in good prosperitie. For Sihon and Og moste mightie kinges were ouercome, and that office was cōmitted to *Iosua*, wherby Moyses being dead he might leade the people ouer Iordane and take possessiō of the lande of Chanaan, and deuide the promised lande by lottes vnto the children of Israell, and besides that the people did set their handes to a decree whiche they had made of *Iosua*, that he whiche obeyed not his voyce should be killed, as we read it written in the first chap. of his booke. But there is no mention made of suche thynges as concernyng the Iudges. And yet both the bookes are so like and of such affinitie, that many thinges are repeated in this our booke especially in the beginning, whiche no doubte were done when Iosua was yet lyuing.

Whether the booke of Iosua ought to be reckened with the booke of Iudges.

There resteth now to admonishe the reader somewhat of the partes of this boke. There are as many principall membres in it as there were Iudges to Samuels tyme. For ỹ in euery one of them still riseth vnto vs a new history. But the first of all was Othoniel, of whom we will speake in the third chap. So that all those thinges whiche are written vnto that place do contayne the thynges done from the death of Iosua vnto Othoniel. And certainly bycause the Iewes, as long as Iosua liued, worshipped god a right, & kept the lawe as muche as the weakenesse of mā coulde dotgod still wrought with them according to his couenaunt, & gaue thē a great victorye ouer their enemies, so that euery tribe ouercame his enemies for the most part which were yet aboynyng to their borders. And then when the Israelites obteynyng the victorye did transgresse the commaundements of their god, & did not cleane destroy the nations which they had ouercome as god had commaunded them, yea they made them tributaries vnto them, god therfore grieuously admonished them by his messanger, bycause they had not only saued their enemies, but also had moste filthyly honoured theyr gods. So that god was not wont a cause angry with them, and deliuered them

The partes of the booke of Iudges.

into

into the handes of outwarde tyrannes: But when they were sorye for it and called vpon their god, he had compassion of them, and raysed them vp Iudges, by whom they might be deliuered, & when they were deliuered, they fell agayne to Idolatry & they were afflicted againe, & they repented, wherby in course their deliueries and oppressions are set forth. But their first oppressiō worthy of memory was vnder Chusan Resanthaim, from the which Othoniel the first of al the iudges reuenged them, of whom we will speake in his place. But now we will put here vnderneth the wordes of the holy history.

The first Chapter.

1 IT came to passe after the death of Iosua, that the childrē of Israel asked the Lord, saying: Who shall go vp for vs agaynst the Chananites to fight first agaynst them?

2 And the Lorde sayd Iudah shal go vp, beholde I haue deliuered the lande into his handes.

IT semed good vnto the children of Israel to take warre in hande, for as it is writtē in the xiii. chap. of *Iosua*, they had not yet at this tyme conquered all the promised land, so that in euery tribes lotte there were enemyes remayning. And when they sawe there was no remedy but that they must dryue them out by force, they doubted not whether they shoulde make warre agaynst them, but their doubte was whiche tribe should fight before all the other. The matter seemed to be of such great importaunce, that they asked counsell of god, whiche was the chief gouernour of their publicque weale. Iosua that worthy captayne was no more a liue at whose becke and pleasure they hanged. Neither yet had they forgotten howe euill successe they had, when not long before they toke weighty affaires in hand, without asking counsell of God. For in their setting forth to battaill againſt the citie of Hai, they sped very vnluckely in the battaill, bycause they went to warrefare without oracle, as it is written in the viii. of *Iosua*. It is also written in the same boke in the ix. chap. that the Gabaonites were receaued into league without the oracle of god, and it is also writtē in the boke of Numbers that the Israelites were slayne by the Amorrhites, when they fought cōtrary to gods will. This peoples iudgement therfore is worthy to be praysed, for it is excellently well done, in most weighty affaires to aske counsell of God first of all. And that must be done conueniently, and holyly; otherwise it profiteth not. For the Israelites whē they should make warre agaynst the tribe of *Beniamin*, although they asked coūsell of God, yet were they twice put to flight & slayne, & cowardly tourned their backes to their enemies, bycause they behaued not themselues well in asking counsell of god. And it is to be beleued that the Hebrues after the death of Iosua considered this with themselues, that their hang a great matter in those first warres whiche should be enterprised after the death of Iosua bycause if they happened to be ouercome of those nations in one battaill or two, then would those nations thincke with themselues, that the good lucke of the Israelites were chaunged with the death of their captayne. By whiche opinion they would easely haue ben boldened and their affaires should haue had better successe dayly. But on the contrary if it happened that the Israelites gotte the vpper hand in the first battailles, they sawe that the power and audacitie of the nations woulde euery daye diminishe, and beyng made feable and faynter they should the easelyer be ouercome. They did not therfore without cause aske coūsell of God in so great a matter: which also to do the cōmaundement of the law did vrge them, which is writtē in the boke of Numbers. Neither must it be now thought, ỹ they so required the oracle, as though they did not the same whē Iosua was

The Israelites aske counsell of God.

The Israelites affaires had euill successe whē they were done without God hys counsell.

Wherfore they asked counsell of God.

God was also asked counsell of in the tyme of Iosua.

was lyuing, for they required also answers of God verye often when he was a lyue, but after his death it is said that they enquired for this thing chiefly & principally, namely which tribe should go vp to battail before all ỳ other in al their causes. And thys is the signification of the hebrew word Lanu that is, for vs. And this woord to go vp is mencioned, bycause they saw that they should fyrst banquishe the holy places.

Against Chanaan. This is somtimes a general name, & containeth al these nations, which God had decreed to destroy out of Palestine, whereby all ỳ lande was afterward called Channan. And sometimes it signifieth particularly some one nation of that people. And that lay chiefly about Tyre & Sidon. Which the Euangelical history proueth when it calleth the woman a Chananite which offered her self to the sonne of God, when he was goyng to Tyre & Sidon. And of that nation peraduenture, bicause it was mightier than the other, were the rest called Chananites. And I wyl not ouerskip this by the way, that ỳ people which is singularly called Chanaan, when they wer driuen out of their coastes by the Israelites, they departed to Aphrica, where they remayned safe, euen to the time of Augustine. So that ỳ father writeth in his booke of the exposition whych hee begon vpon the epistle to the Romaines thus: Our rusticals beyng demaunded what they wer, they answered in the Affrick tong, Chananites. And theyr language is very nye to the Hebrewe tong, as the same Augustine writeth in hys booke of questions vpon the Iudges the. 16. question. For by *Baal* in the Affrick tong they seme to say Lord, whereby by *Baal* Samen is vnderstoode as thoughe they would say, Lord of heauen: bicause these tonges differ not much one from an other. Hierome also agreeth therw̃, writing vpon Esay the prophet, when he enterpreteth these woords: Behold a virgin shal conceaue, in the Affrick tong (saith he) which is said to haue had his offspring of the Hebrues. A birgin is properly called Almah. Also Virgil when he called Dido an Aphrician & a Sidonian & the inhabitants of Carthage Tirianes hath most manifestly confirmed that Dido & her people came of the Chananites. Wherfore it is no maruel if they almost kept in remembraunce the Chananishe tong. But these thinges I haue spoken by the way. But now Chanaan signifieth no one special nation, but is a cõmon woord for al those nations which the Israelites should ouerthrow. For the tribe of *Iudah* which is said to haue gone vp first of al to the war, had in his lot the Iebusites, & not the Chananites. Moreouer I admonishe the Reader ỳ the Hebrues asked not counsel of God for their Captaine, neither desired they to know what man should be made chief ruler ouer the Israelites going to batttail against the Chananites, but which tribe should begin the battel first. Othoniel ỳ first Iudge should be of the tribe of *Iudah*. But we entreate not of him now presently.

What ỳ people of Canaã were

Augustine.

The Africans ar Chananites

Hierome.

Virgil.

For what thing the Israelites asked councell of God.

And bycause it is said that the children of Israel asked counsell of the Lorde, some wil aske after what sort the Iewes accustomed to aske anye thing of hym at that time. It may be answered, that ther wer three accustomed & ordinarye waies which are rehersed in the. 28. chap. of the first booke of Samuel namely by dreames, by Vrim & Thũmim, & lastly by prophets whẽ ther wer any to be had, & therfore Saul complained in ỳ booke, that God had answered hym by none of these waies, when he would haue asked counsel of hym of the successe of ỳ most daungerous battail. I finde also other waies in the scriptures of asking coũsell of god, but they wer extraordinary waies. One is by reuelacion of angels, or of god him self, expressing him selfe vnder some forme. An other way was, when som holy men by ỳ mouing of god did appoint to themselues certayn tokens of thinges to come, which did signify before, whether they happened this waye or that, what should be looked for.

Howe many waies ỳ elders asked councell of God.

So Abraham hys seruaunt decreed with hymself that she should be his Lordes wife, which only amongest many maydens comming to the well, offred drinke

of her owne mynde to hym and to his Camels. Ionathas also the sonne of Saule had then the victory promysed him, when the Philistianes shoulde say, Come vp hither to vs, and contrarilye, if they shoulde byd him tary till they came downe thither. I haue called these extraordinarye wayes bycause they were not commonly vsed, neyther are they often red in the Scriptures. Lottes also are of this kinde. There is mention made of them in the fyrst booke of Samuel, when Saule should be declared King, all the tribes standing there before the Lord, Beniamin was caught, which R. Salomo expounding ascribeth the same place to Lottes, and sayth that the names of euery tribe were fyrst written in scrolles, and burled into a certayne potte, out of the which they were afterwarde drawen by the hand of the Prophet. This is his iudgement. Although R. *D.* Kimhi thinketh ꝑ that iudgement was geuen by Vrim and Thumim. But howsoeuer it was it skilleth not much, for no man ought to doubte but that there were lots vsed at that tyme. For Salomon sayth, that lots were caste into a pot and gouerned by god. Yea and the promysed lande of Chanaan was no otherwise deuided vnto the people thã by lots. But by what meanes, in what places, or after what sort they were had, it is no place here to declare. It were to long to tell what Vrim and Thumim properly were. R. *D.* Kimhi speaketh aboundauntly of that matter in the booke, which we now haue in handes, when he expoundeth the history of the concubine reuenged agaynst the Gabaonites, And I will set forth an other time in a more fytte place what it should seme to be. Neyther dyd thys custome for asking councell of God florysh only in the tyme of Moyses law, but also in the patriarches tyme. For we learne in the booke of Genesis that Rebecka desyred an oracle. The heathen also asked councell eyther of theyr Prophetes or els of their southsayers. Balak king of the Moabites called vnto hym Balaam. They had moreouer Sibelles and *D*elphos, Apollo and Iupiter Amnõ, and were euer to much geuen to diuinations, but such as were corrupted and false. Only amongest the Hebrues whereof we are certayne the maner of oracles was pure: Bycause God was knowen onely in Iudea, as Dauid hath song.

The manner to aske counsell of Gods hand was before the lawe geuen.

The heathen had their oracles and diuinations.

Why Iosua deuided the lande not yet possessed.

Moreouer it is demaunded why Iosua deuided ꝑ land to the .xii. tribes at ꝑ cõmaũdement of God whẽ as he had not at that time conquered ꝑ same. I answer he dyd it that he myght leaue a testimoniall, howe certayne they oughte to be of those things which God had promised them, namely that they myght be as certayne of the possession of that lande whiche was promised them, as if they had it already in theyr hands. It would seme to haue bene folyshly done, if the obtayning of that land should haue bene hoped for eyther by chaunce, or by mannes strength, or els by warlyke power. For the which cause Cesar in his Comment. doth not vnworthily laugh & wonder at the madnesse of the Pompeians, whiche when they had not yet fought, would yet bargayne among themselues in their tentes concerning the diuision of priesthoodes, dignities, patrimonies & Cesars goods. But thys distribution of the Hebrues, which was ordayned by the commaundement of god, could not be frustrate. And moreouer the Israelites, when that partitiõ was made by Iosua, had obtained alredy many victories, & had possession of a great deale of ꝑ land. Besides these things this ordinance was very profitable for this purpose, to take away frõ the tribes controuersies for ꝑ limits of their land. Yea and thei made war in better order, after that euery tribe knew who were their enemies that they should fyght agaynst. And finally when as profite and rewards for labours are set forth, they do not a litle stirre vp men, stoutly to venter vpon any daunger and labour. By the same counsell vndoubtedly hath Christ our sauiour the sonne of god, geuen vs alreadye eternall lyfe, although we haue it presently but only begonne. For we must labor & wrestle very much before we come thither, although the fight be not vncertaine to them which put their trust in God.

Cesar.

There are thꝛee cauſes alledged, why God would not by and by deſtroye all the Iſraelites enemies out of the lande of Chanaan. The fyꝛſte is, bycauſe the Iewes at the beginning wer not ſo many in numbꝛe, as coulde inhabite all the land, ſo that by that meanes if all the Chananites ſhould haue bene deſtroyed, moſt part of the land ſhould haue lyen walke. Whereby many and ſundꝛy wilde beaſtes (wherewith the regions in the Eaſt abound) would maruelouſlye haue encreaſed, deſtroyed the poſſeſſions, and bꝛought no ſmall damage and deſtruction to the Hebꝛewes. This reaſon is alledged of God hym ſelfe in Exodus. An other cauſe was that the Hebꝛewes myght thꝛoughly learne to fyght, and to be expert in warres agaynſt their enemyes, and they coulde not doo that neyther in Egipt, noꝛ yet in the wyldernes. The thyꝛd cauſe was, that they might therfoꝛe feare God moꝛe and moꝛe, foꝛ they vnderſtandyng that they obtayned victoꝛies and poſſeſſion of the lande as long as they obſerued their religion, and contrarywyſe, how they were oppꝛeſſed with moſt grenous miſfoꝛtunes, troubles and miſeries, when they foꝛſooke the obedience and wooꝛſhipping of God, they myght at the leaſt by thys meanes be ſtyꝛred vp not to fayne from theyꝛ fathers lawes and moſt holy oꝛdinaunces of God. I would to God the ſame cauſes, eſpecially the two latter whych are deſcribed in the thyꝛde chapter of thys booke myght teache vs, why God wyl haue them whych are hys to be ſubiect in thys lyfe to ſo grenous and ſo many temptacions, namely that by fyghtyng and waꝛfaꝛyng we myght be exerciſed wyth fruite and pꝛofyte, callyng vpon God continually.

Why God deſtroyed not by and by all the Chananites.

But why God choſe the tribe of Iudah, to begynne the battayle firſt againſt the enemyes, many reaſons may be alledged. Fyꝛſt, that tribe was very popu-lous, of great foꝛce, valiaunt of courage, warlyke, and verye expert therein. Whych neuertheles I ſpeake not, as thoughe the election of God were moued by theſe gyftes: yea rather in that poynt the cleane contrarye is to be affirmed, namely that thys trybe was therefoꝛe valiaunt and warlyke, bycauſe God him ſelfe had deſtinied it to exerciſe thoſe offices. Neyther is it to be doubted, but that both valiauntnes and warlyke ſtrength are hys giftes. But that reaſon whych I haue declared is thus to be vnderſtand, that theſe excellent gyftes which wer freely geuen of God to the tribe of Iudah, made it apt to begynne the battayle fyꝛſt againſt the enemies. Neyther had it this kind of office cõmitted vnto it only at this pꝛeſent, but alſo afterward when they ſhould make waꝛ againſt the Benia-mites, God being aſked counſel of, decreed that marchyng foꝛwarde to battail ſhould be by the tribe of Iudah, to geue to it that it might be as it were a chiefe captayne to all the other Iſraelites. In the booke of Numbers foꝛ pytchyng the Campes, it had the chiefe place. Alſo the kinglye power was attributed vnto it by the oꝛacle of Iacob. And as the Hebꝛewes wꝛite, it was the fyꝛſt of al the reſt that paſſed ouer the red ſea. But foꝛ thys it is wooꝛthy to beare awaye the garland, bycauſe of that tribe Meſſias ſhould be geuen not onely to the Iewes, but alſo to al the wꝛld. Neither happened theſe pꝛiuileges and dignities to Iudah by oꝛder of birth. Foꝛ it was reckoned the fourth amõg the ſonnes of Iacob. Ruben in deede was fyꝛſt boꝛne, but bycauſe of his vile inceſt, wherby he abſtayned not euen from his fathers bed, he was thꝛowne downe from hys pꝛoper dignity, and in his ſteade as concerning the kyngdome Iudah was ſubſtituted. But the dignity of birthꝛight was geuen to Ioſeph. Wherefoꝛe his firſt tribe called Ephraim was not onely valiant & mighty, but alſo was exalted to the kyngdom of ten trybes: which kingdome neuertheleſſe was both vnconſtant, and alſo abode not alwayes in that famyly. But the pꝛincipallity of Iudah is euerlaſting, bycauſe it was not taken away from it euen to Chꝛiſtes tyme, and he comming of that family, raygneth and ſhall raygne foꝛ euer. All whych thynges Iacob

The pꝛayſe of the tribe of Iudah.

The election of god tarieth not foꝛ our gyftes and vertues.

Wherein Iudah excelled the tribe of Ephraim.

hym ſelfe confirmed wyth hys noble prophecye, wherein he fore ſayde to hys children what thynges ſhoulde happen to them in the latter tymes. Wherfore it is not to be maruelled, if his Prophecies be in ſome parte fulfilled now. For the ſpirite of god doth euer wel agree with it ſelfe, as it whiche bringeth thoſe things to paſſe, which are agreable to his prophecyes.

How farre the oracle geuē to the Iſraelites pertaineth vnto vs.

And that which is ſayd here to be anſwered to the Iſraelites let vs thinke alſo to be anſwered vnto vs, that if we will be ſure to obtayne the victory agaynſt the enemyes of mans ſaluatiō, we muſt haue him to be the captaine of our battayle, which by the holy Prophecye of Iacob is called ỳ Lyon of ỳ tribe of Iudah. If by hys conducting and name we wil fyght agaynſte the deuil, the fleſhe, the world, death and hell, our victorye ſhall not then in any poynte be doubtfull but moſt certayne. And yet would I not haue the reader to thinke, becauſe I haue put thys allegorye in, ỳ therfore I will vſe many allegoryes in thys hiſtorye, for I will vſe them rarely and very ſeldome, not ỳ I would haue theyr pleaſantnes and elegancye be vtterly diſpiſed. (The old fathers certaynly delited very much in them, I will not ſay to much. Yea and we fynde them ſometymes applyed in the holy Scriptures. For Chriſt in the goſpell compared hymſelfe allegorically both to Salomon and to Ionas, and alſo to the ſerpent which Moyſes at the commaundemente of God hong vp in the wilderneſſe. I will not ſpeake of Paule who writing to the Galathians, made Iſaac and Iſmaell the ſonnes of Abraham two peoples, and pronounced Sara and Agar to be two Teſtamentes, applying the Hebrewes to the Mounte Sina and the Chriſtian Church to the Citye of Ieruſalem) but euen as Allegoryes are not vtterly to be diſpiſed, ſo are they not to much rashly to be vſed. For although it be free for euery man in thys kynde of interpretation, to deuiſe what things he lyſte, ſo ỳ he ſtraye not from the rules of fayth and holy Scriptures, yet haue we not therby any ſtrong or certaine argumentes for the confyrmation of the doctrine of fayth. Therefore there is ſmal profyte by the labour taken in them. Neuertheleſſe I except thoſe which are put in the holy Scriptures, for they are to be counted the wordes of the holy ghoſt. Wherfore theyr authoritye is great both in proouing & alledging of teſtimonyes. But the other, wherin the wits of men haue dalied, although with Godlynes, and in a ryght vnderſtanding, becauſe they are the inuentions of men, theyr cōcluſions and argumentes are very weake. For men being the authors of them myght both be deceaued, and alſo deceaue. But thys Allegorye by me brought forth, namely that the aunſwere of God for the appoynting of the tribe of Iudah to be captaine of the warres doth no leſſe belong to vs than to the Hebrues, hath no ſmall certaynty and ſcarcely pertayneth to allegoryes. For whatſoeuer they were that defended the people of God in the olde time, Chriſt was theyr hed and captayne. Wherfore whatſoeuer they dyd in defendyng of hys members, they did it as his miniſters and vicars. Wherby he which religiouſly reuolueth their actes in his minde, and then putting them aſyde, doth behold the hed and chiefe captayne, by whoſe conducting they obtayned the victoryes. He I ſaye doth not ſtraye from the marke, which the holy ghoſt had in the holy bookes. After thys maner thoſe thynges which are red in the holy Scriptures, both of Salomon and alſo of Dauid and ſeme to be ſpoken of them in reſpecte of the hiſtorye, are not allegorically applyed by the Apoſtles in the new Teſtamente to Chriſt, ſeing ỳ the holy ghoſt ſpake them purpoſedly of hym. Wherefore I haue not abſurdely ſayde, that the oracle geuen to the Iſraelites ſhoulde be thoughte to bee ſpoken vnto vs.

Allegoryes are not alwaies to be vſēmēded

Allegories muſt not be rashly vſed.

Whitherſoeme argumēts may be brought frō Allegories.

Howe thoſe thinges agree with Chriſt which ſeme to be ſpoken of Dauid & Salomon.

Behold I haue geuen the land into his hands. God sheweth forth in this place his liberal & bountefull goodnes. He doth not only geue anſwer to ỳ which he was demaūded, but alſo addeth therunto a moſt notable promiſe. He firſt appoyn-

pointeth the tribe by name, which he will haue to make warre first before the other tribes against the Chananites. Then he promised to geue them the land of the Chananites which he did to their great commodity, for he made the Iewes more cherefull to fight, in that he sayde that he woulde helpe them. Moreouer, he wold not haue the possession of those regions ascribed vnto their own strength or power, but vnto him selfe. Ye shall not take it (saith he) but I haue deliuered the land into their handes. And he vseth a verbe of the preterperfect tense, wher by the certainty of hys sayinges shoulde be expressed.

Of this place we may iustly gather, that in busines which we take in hande what so euer they be, God must alwaies be asked counsel of. And thys maye be proued not onely by this example, but also by infinite other which the treasures of the holye scriptures minister vnto vs, to which cõmeth a most strong reason. What so euer is not of faith (sayth Paul) is synne, wherby it followeth, that no man should attempt any thing without fayth. And that is no fayth which leaneth not to the woorde of God. For as the same Apostle hath taught, faith commeth of hearing, and hearing commeth by the woord of God, which woord we cannot haue by any other accustomed rule and ordinary way, than out of Gods oracles which haue bene set foorth vnto vs in the holy scriptures.

We must aske counsel of God when we take any thinges or affaires in hãd.

From whence the woord of God is to be sought.

And it wer good to marke the difference which is found betwene the asking counsel of God in the old time and ours at this present. They were very much carefull for the successe of thinges, and they almost desyred alwayes to knowe when they tooke warres in hand, or attempted anye other thyng, whether they should speede wel or il in them. And that was not hard for them to do, for they had an oracle prepared of God for them for that purpose. And God had promysed that he would answer them out of the mercy seate, what soeuer they should demaunde or aske of him. But we, if we should aske counsel of the holye scriptures for the successe and end of our enterprises and purposes, cõcerning earthly infelicities and misfortunes, we should seeme, and that not vnworthily, to play the fooles. For there is no place there at all, which answereth anye thyng for our singular and priuate thinges. But that onelye remayneth for vs to enquire for, whether that which we begyn or go about, be allowed to be iust, holy, and acceptable to God by the testimonies of the holy scriptures.

Howe wer and the elders do diuersly aske cõsel of God.

But why the Iewes had proper and certayne oracles geuen them for theyr matters, and we haue nothing answered vs particularly. I thynke there be no other cause, but because vnto that people a certain assured publique wealth was due by the immutable cõsel of God, which should endure to the time of Christ, and therefore there were prepared for it certaine extraordinarye aydes aboue the power of nature, whereby it should be kept and defended by God. But vnto vs there is no such promise made of any certain seate or publique wealth, seing that our church is dispersed throughout the whole world, whereunto is no certaine seate or place promised, and therefore it needed not, that concernyng humaine thinges our publique wealthes should be particularly gouerned by certaine oracles & answers for temporal thinges. Besides this, the volumes of the holy scriptures are more aboundaunt in our tyme, than they were at that time with the Hebrewes when these thinges were done which we nowe expounde. They had but the law onelye, we haue receaued nowe the bookes of the Prophetes and of wyse men, vnto which are added also al the writinges of the new Testament. And seing that those writinges are so manye & so excellent, it is no marualye if we are not euery day instructed of god by new oracles & answers. Neyther ought we to thinke because of that, that God setteth lesse by vs than he did by the Hebrewes. I wyl not speake howe hys spirite is geuen to vs thorow Christ more abundantly and more openly, than it was in the olde tyme

Why we haue not oracles as the Iewes had

to the Iewes. Finally, our publique weales, dominions and kingdomes ar endewed with many moze artes which serue foz peace and warre, than the people of the Hebzewes were. Wherefoze it is no maruel if we being heaped vp with so many other gyftes, be destitute of singular ozacles. It shal be our part therefoze aboue al thinges, when we haue any affaires to take in hand, diligently to consider the woozd of God, wherein is opened vnto vs hys commaundement oz wyl, & afterward to embzace the same with a firme and stedfast fayth, whereby we maye bee vehementlye kyndled to cal vpon our heauenlye father, by the which we may be able to fulfyl that which he hath commaunded, and to obtayn that which he hath promysed.

How we ought to behaue our selues in asking counsel of God.

3. And Judah said vnto his brother Simeon: Go vp with me into my lot, that we may fight agaynst the Chananites, and I wyl also go with thee into thy lot. And Simeon went with hym.

The tribe of Iudah doth associate to it selfe the Simeonites to make warre against the Chananites, which most euidentlye testifieth that the answer of God dyd not speake of any one singuler man, but of the whole tribe of Iudah. Foz neither Othoniel, noz yet Caleb had any bzother which was called Simeon, and therefoze there is no mencion made of them by Gods ozacle, but it comprehendeth the whole tribe of Iudah. But the cause why Simeon is called of Iudah to be as a companion of hys warre, and that they twoo ayded one an other is, bycause the possession of the tribe of Simeon was mingled and scattered among the fieldes and countries belonging to the tribe of Iudah. Neighbourhed therefoze made them to defende and succour one the other. And this coniunction of these two tribes is most manifestly gathered out of the.xv. chapter of the booke of Iosua. Let vs learne hereby, that it is not agaynst the true fayth foz vs to vse vsual aydes and mans strength, when occasion serueth, to obtayne the easelyer those thinges which God of his goodnes hath liberally promised vnto vs. God had promised vnto the tribe of Iudah, that he would geue the land of Chanaan into their handes, which although they of Iudah faythfullye beleued, yet were they not afeard to cal vnto them the Symeonites whych were their neighbours, that they myght bee ayded of them in their fight. Foz by that meanes they thought they should be the stronger to ouercome their enemies. Christ hath no otherwyse confuted the deuyl, which counselled hym to cast him selfe down hed long, vnder the pzetence of Gods pzomise, wherin he sayd, that he had now committed his health to the Angels, wbych sentence he put foozth out of the holye scriptures. But the sonne of God answered, that God must not be tempted, but he must rather vse staires which were made foz that purpose, to serue to come downe by. Mozeouer, al they are counted to tempt God, which trusting to gods pzomises do neglect humane helpe, which are already oz maye be easelye pzepared and gotten. Dauid in the latter booke of Samuel setteth hym selfe foozth vnto vs as an example, who beyng wonderfullye adourned with the pzomises of God, vsed foz al that in the insurrection of Absalon, not onely to flye away, but also the diligence of Chusay the Arachite and of the Pzieftes. Pea and Paul the Apostle as it is wzitten in the Actes of the Apostels, although his onelye confidence was in Christ, yet he appealed vnto Cesar, & made a discension betwene the Pharisies and Saduces, and testified that he was a Citizen of Rome. It is euident therfoze by these manyfest examples, that we must vse the helpe of nature and wysdome to obtayne those thinges, which God hath pzomised to geue vs. Wherefoze the yong men of our tyme are diligently to be admonished to labour to attayne vnto languages, good artes and sciences, and that wyth great study. Which they may (when opoztunity serueth) vse in pzeaching and defen-

Why Simeon is taken into felowshyp wyth Judah.

It is not agaynst fayth to vse the ayde of men.

Yong men are to be exhozted to good studies

ding

ding the Gospell. For although God haue promised that the preaching of hys woord shalbe fruitful through the benefite of his spirite: yet must euerye man instruct him selfe in hys vocation according to his habilitie. Neyther ought men to bragge out of season (as phanatical men are accustomed to do) God according to hys promyse wyl be with vs when we shal speake. He hath promised in dede, and wyll surely performe, when tyme wyl not serue, or that a man can not either thincke or meditate what to speake. But if libertye be geuen, and leasure graunted to fynde, dispose, and wysely to deuise those thinges which we should speake, then can we not be excused, but that we tempt God, when as we neglect to do these thinges. Yea rather let vs plucke all thinges vnto vs, what so euer they be, so farrefoorth as godlynes permitteth, and occasion offereth it selfe, to helpe our labour to obtayne those thinges which are already promised vs.

Furthermore, this coniunction of Iudah wyth Simeon doth admonishe the readers, that it is lawful in those warres which ar taken in hand iustly to make a league, whereby Princes or publique weales maye be ioyned together to defende honest thynges, as Iudah now ioyned fellowshyp wyth the Symeonites to fyght against the Chananites. But thys must be taken heede of, that such coniunction and league be ioyned together wythout fault, neyther ought the godly to ioyne them selues in league wyth the vngodlye. For the scripture reproueth Iosaphat, who otherwyse was a godly kyng, for making league wyth wycked Achab, and other kynges are often tymes reprehended by the Prophetes, for ioyning them selues in league eyther wyth the Egiptians, or els wyth the Assirians. But surelye this Simeon was of the same region that Iudah was, and both their endeuours tended to thys ende, religiously to fulfyl the wyll of God. I knowe there be some whych by the example of Asa kyng of Iudah beyng well praysed, defende suche leagues made wyth Infidels. For he beyng greuouslye oppressed of Basa kyng of the ten Tribes, as it is wrytten in the fyrst booke of the Kynges, sent vnto Benadab kyng of Siria (as appeareth in the. xvi. chapter) a certayne somme of gold and syluer, and he made a couenant wyth hym of that condition that he shoulde inuade the kyng of Israel, whereby he myght bee deliuered from hys oppression. But they whych affirme those thynges, should consider wyth them selues two thynges. Fyrst, that the kyngdome of the tenne Tribes had now fallen from God, and from woorshypping of hym. Wherfore if an vngodlye kyng was styrred vp agaynst it, the same is not for all that to be conferred wyth those, whych confessing them selues to be Christians, do incense Tyrannes whych are of a straunge religion agaynst other Christians. Beslydes that, thys deede of Asa kyng of Iudah is mencioned in the holy scriptures. But we cannot synde that it was allowed to be well done. Yea if we looke vpon the latter booke of Chronicles the syxtene chapter, we shall see that that kyng was most greuously rebuked of God by the Prophet for suche a wycked deede. For it is thus wrytten: At that tyme came Hanani the Sear to Asa kyng of Iudah, and sayde vnto hym: bycause thou hast trusted in the kyng of Siria, and not rather put thy trust in the Lorde thy God, therefore is the hoste of the kyng of Siria escaped out of thyne hande. Had not the Ethiopes and they of Ludim an exceadyng strong hoste wyth many Chariotes and horsemen? And yet bycause thou diddest put thy trust in the Lorde, he delyuered them into thyne hand. For the Lorde and hys eyes beholde al the earth, to strengthen them that are of perfect hart towarde hym. But thou herein hast done foolyshly, and therfore from hence foorth thou shalt haue warres. &c. For I shewed before that we myght without daunger discommende thys example whych they bryng of thys kyng, when as God doth so sharpelye chasten hym by hys Prophet. But we wyll entreate of thys more largely afterward.

Princes & publicke weales may make leagues somtimes

The godly ought not to ioyne them selues wyth the vngodly.

4 And Judah went vp, and the Lorde deliuered the Chananites and Pherezites into their handes and they ſmote them in Bezek to the number of ten thouſand men.

The victorie whiche the two tribes obteyned ouer the Chananites is deſcribed, and accordyng to the manner of the holy Scripture, the ſame is ſet forth and comprehended in fewe wordes, afterward the maner howe the thyng was done is more amplye expounded. Now briefly is declared that they of Iudah obteyned the victorie and ſlew ten thouſand of their enemies.

Why ſuche as are ouercome are ſayde to be deliuered of God into the handes of their ouercommers.

And the Lord deliuered the Chananites. The holy Scripture obſerueth his olde order, to ſay that they whiche are ouercome in battaile are deliuered into their enemies handes by God, and ſpeaketh thus to admoniſhe vs, that victory is not the worke of our owne ſtrength, but of the goodneſſe and counſel of God. Wherefore ſouldiours and emperours whē they haue the vpper hand in battailes, they muſt bridle them ſelues from boaſting and glorieng, which Ieremy alſo faithfully geueth counſell to do. For he ſayth, let not him that is mighty glory in his owne ſtrength. Nebuchadnezar kyng of the Babilonians fooliſhely deſpiſing this, was ſo vered & tolled with madneſſe, that he was almoſt chaūged into a dumbe beaſte. Wherefore the adminiſtration of the kyngdome was taken away from him, & he liued in great miſery of long time, who out of doubt had not fallen into ſo great miſfortune, if (as it was mete) he had confeſſed that what ſoeuer he had gotten was geuen him by the prouidence and coūſel of God. But as Daniel mencioneth, he being puffed vp with the nobleneſſe and dignitie of his actes, moſt preſumptuouſly and proudly bragged of them: for he ſayd, that in the ſtrength and might of hys owne arme, he had eſtabliſhed the kyngdome of Babilon.

In the bookes of the Ethnikes thou ſhalte very ſeldome or peraduēture neuer fynde any ſuche kynde of ſpeache. For men whiche are deſtitute of faith, do not aſcribe thoſe good thinges vnto god, which they thinke they haue attayned vnto by any labour or induſtrie. Yea and they aſcribed the chaunces of warre not to come by the fauour of God, but by ſtrength and pollicye, and ſometymes by fortune. Wherefore Cicero in his boke of diuination affirmeth that the victory of the Decianes whiche they gotte by vowing of them ſelues to the people of Rome, was an excellent and politicque deuiſe of warre. So farre is he from attributing it to the prouidence of the gods. They knew (ſayth he) that ẏ ſtrength & force of the Romayne people was ſuch that if they ſaiwe their captaynes either to be in extreme daungers, or els to be ſlayne, or to be taken of their enemyes, that they would by no meanes ſuffre ſuch diſhonor, and thincking with thē ſelues by that meanes to ſtay the flight, they thruſt them ſelues into the thickeſt of their enemies, ſetting before them the ſhewe of their vowe and religion. So that by that meanes the harts of the ſoldiours in maner diſcouraged might be called agayne more fiercely to fight with their enemyes.

Cicero.

Howe Cicero interpreteth the vowing of the Decianes.

But we are taught by the holy Scriptures, that when we either ſee or heare of any that are conquerours, or els are ſlayne in battailes, we muſt by and by aſcribe vnto God al that whiche is, or hath ben done, who (after the moſt accuſtomed phraſe of the holy Scriptures) is ſayd to deliuer them whiche are ouercome into the handes of their enemies.

God without any iniury deliuereth ſome in to the hādes of their enemies. The Chananites were defiled with moſte deteſtable wicked dedes.

When it is ſayd that any are deliuered of God into the handes of their enemyes we muſt thincke that that is done without any iniurye. And as touchyng this place we know that thoſe nations of the Chananites were full of moſt heynous wickedneſſe, and for that cauſe, god puniſhed them moſt iuſtly. Whiche cauſe is confirmed by that whiche we read in the booke of Geneſis, where God bringeth a reaſon, why he held the poſteritie of Abraham ſo lōg tyme in Egipt,

namely

namely bycause the sinnes of ỹ Chananites were not yet full. And this is not to be forgotte, that God vseth according to his iustice to deliuer synners to be punished two manner of wayes, or to two sortes of enemies. For sometymes he doth this in geuing them ouer to be vexed with lustes and filthy affections as to certein furyes of hell. And that is it which Augustine oftentimes sayth ỹ sinnes are punished with sinnes. So Pharao hys vnfaythfulnesse and cruelty was punished by hardning & stubbornesse of harte. And Idolaters as Paul teacheth to the Romaines: were geuen ouer of god to their owne filthy lust, so that they most vylie contamined thē selues with most horrible sinnes. But bycause this kynde of punishement is not sene nor felte of mad men, as it is mete, god therfore deliuereth the vngodly, into the handes of straunge enemies, to be vexed, and at the length vtterly to be destroyed. And that this order was obserued with the Chananites, the Scripture manifestly teacheth, for they were not onely addicted to Idoles, but as it is written in the xviii. & xx. chap. of Leuit: They miserably defiled them selues with incestes & most filthy lustes. They were first therfore deliuered of God into a reprobate sense, and then were they deliuered to theyr enemies the Hebrues, of whō they were spoyled both of their life, and also of their most riche kingdome.

God punisheth the vngodly with two kindes of punishmentes.

Augustine.

God punisheth synnes with synnes.

God deliuered them into their handes. That is, into their power. This is not onely an Hebrew phrase, but also a latine: for we say, This is my hande, that is, it lyeth in my power.

And they smote them in Bezek to the number of ten thousand men. To smite is here, to kill. And seing that the hoste of the Chananites was great & there were nowe slayne of it but onely ten thousand men, we must thincke that the rest fled awaye, in whiche flight as afterwarde shalbe declared Adonibezek was taken. But where as these two wordes Chananites and Pherezites are ioyned together in this place. They are thus to be taken, that if thou vnderstande the Chananites after the common signification, wherin were cōprehended those 7. or 9. nations, then this name Pherezites should be added bycause of interpretation, that by it might be expounded that whiche before was not expressed in the word Chananites. But if by this word Chananites we shall vnderstand any one especial or peculiar people of those nations, then must we say that that hoste was gathered of both the peoples, of the Chananites I say and the Pherezites.

5 And they founde Adonibezek in Bezek, & they fought agaynste him and slewe the Chananites and Pherezites.

6 And Adonibezek fled, and they followed after him & caught him and cut of the thombes of his handes and of his feete.

7 And Adonibezek sayd: 70 kynges hauing the thombes of theyr handes and feete cut of, gathered their meat vnder my table: As I haue done, so God hath done to me agayne: and they brought hym to Ierusalem, and there he died, &c.

After mencion made of the victorye it is here more expressed by partes, for the place of the battaile is expressed namely Bezek: but where this Bezek should lye it is not very certain. For there was a certaine Bezek whiche was a citie belonging to the tribe of Manasses whiche was situate 17. myle from Sichem as ye go to Bethsan. And Ierome testifieth that in his tyme there were two Townes which were called by this name. And it is not very likely that Iuda and Symeon would passe with their hoste to the tribe of Manasses, whē their purpose was only to ridde the Chananites out of their owne lottes. Vnlesse peraduenture, that king whiche was called Adonibezek althoughe his kyngdome were in the tribe of Manasse claymed and vsurped by violent tyranny many places in the inheri-

Bezek.

Ierome.

taunce

taunce of Iudah and Simeon. This kyng had prepared an hoste to go agaynst Iudah and Simeon, and to let them from recouering of their own. Which thing being knowen, Iudah and Symeon made towarde him, that he should not entre into their borders. Wherfore it chaunced ỹ they fought with him not farre frō his kingly citie Bezek, or els it is to be thought that this Bezek was a certain citie either in the tribe of Iudah or els of Simeon, wherof is no mencion made in any other place.

Malchisedech. Adonisedech.

This kyng was called Adoni-bezek whiche is a compounde name, wherin ỹ leter Iod is placed betwene two wordes as Malchi-sedech, Adoni-sedech, euē as R. Selomo testifieth. This king semeth to haue fled, for that he sawe his hoste both slayne to the number of ten thousande men, and to turne their backes and flye, he would therfore saue him selfe by flight, but he was brought backe agayn by the Israelites and suffred most grieuous punishement, as he had iustely deserued. For they cut of the thombes both of his handes and of his feete. This word Bohan signifieth in the Hebrew a thombe, & it is in the feminine gender, wherfore it is said in the plurall nomber Behonoth. Although R. Dauid Kimhi do interprete that worde into fyngers, and the Chaldey paraphrast doth interprete it anckles.

Bohan. Behonoth.

And Adoni-bezek said: 70 kings. This tyranne acknowledgeth the iudgement of God, but whether he spake this of true faith or pure repentaunce, it can not be knowen by the wordes of our history. But it is most lykely, bycause he called not vpon God, implored not his mercy, neither shewed any tokens of true conuersion, that rather anguish did extorte from him this his true sayeng, than the godly feling of the minde. We gather hereby that the lawe of rendring like for like semeth euen to the wicked by the light of nature, iust & right, which at the length will they or nill they are compelled to acknowledge the iudgemēts of God. For they haue certein principles of that which is right and honest written in their hartes, although they expresse not the same in dedes. But euen as Paul hath written to the Romaines they holde the truth of God after a certeine sorte captiue in vnrighteousnesse, & when they knew the righteousnesse of God, neither was it hidden from them, that they whiche do such thinges are worthy of death, yet for all that they not onely do them, but also they consent to them whiche do them.

The law of rēdring like for like.

As I haue done, so God hath done to me agayne. Bycause he spake of gods iudgementes, therfore in naming of god he vsed not this worde Iehouah but Elohim. By whiche worde the scripture vseth rather to set forth the myght and iustice of god, than his mercy. This most cruell tyranne confesseth, that he had most cruelly cut of the feete of 70. kinges, and brought them to that poynte, ỹ they were faine to gather their meate vnder his table. It is not to be laughed or hissed at as a lye, bycause in that prouince beyng not very large were 70. kinges. For it may be that at that tyme that custome was in vse, that euery citie had his king. Neither ought the gouernment of a king to be separated from other formes of gouernmentes by largenesse or brednes of borders, but in what societie or multitude of men soeuer it be, where as any one mā is lawfully made gouernour, so that he depend not of any other superiour power, the same man may by good right be called king, yea and as Iustinus writeth, euery king before Ninus tyme was content with the boundes and limites of his owne citie. And such a custome if I should speake the trouth I can not but greatly commende. For what shall it profit kinges most amplye to dilate the territory of their empyre, when as afterward they are ouerwhelmed with ouer much weight therof, neither are they able to gouerne it by reason and counsell. But what should man do? The Monarches in these dayes are so set on fire with such great ambi-

The name Iehouah and the name Elohim.

Euery citie in the olde tyme had their king.

Definition of a kyng. Iustine.

It is not profitable to haue large kyngdomes.

tion,

tion, that they haue not a reſpect how many they are able to gouerne, but onely haue a regarde to this, how many they may reigne ouer. Neither doth this diſeaſe (whiche is the more to be lamented) raigne onely in worldly princes, but it is alſo moſt filthyly ſpred abroade in the Churche where Byſhoppes couet by all meanes to haue moſt large dioceſſes, of whiche (although they neuer looke to them) they may receaue moſt plentifull fruites.

The Biſhops ſeke to haue large dioceſſes

But nowe I returne to the matter and aſke the cauſe why the *Iſraelites* did cut of the thombes of the handes and feete of Adonibezek. R. Leui aunſwereth to this interrogation, and ſayth that it was therfore done, that the cruell Tirant might be made altogether vnapt to do any thing, and eſpecially to make warre. For they whiche are ſo maymed are neither able to drawe ſworde, neither to take or ouercome any man in battaille. Moreouer by this ſo harpe puniſhment other princes whiche were yet remayning might eaſely be made affeard to lifte any weapon agaynſt the *Iſraelites*. Theſe thinges are somewhat lykely, but the wordes of the ſame tyranne teache vs that we muſt conſider ſome deeper cauſe, namely that it was ſo done by the prouidēce of god, that cruell and bloudy princes ſhould not at the length eſcape the iudgemēt of God, yea rather they ſhould haue experience on them ſelues of that whiche they had committed agaynſt others. And in that thing bycauſe it is good ſometymes to be taught by the example of wicked men, God would now alſo admoniſhe vs by this Adonibezek. He teacheth vs that we ſhould not muche ſtaye in inferiour cauſes whiche are nerte vnto vs, but rather by theſe examples ſtrayght wayes to lift vp the eyes of the mynde to conſider the wonderful and moſt highe iuſtice of the decrees of God. The ſelfe ſame moſt cruel tyranne doth not aſcribe vnto the *Iſraelites* that they had feabled hym by cutting of his handes and feete, but by and by ſayeth. As I haue done to other, ſo God hath done to me agayne. Which ſame thing alſo Chriſt hath taught vs, for this alſo was his ſentēce, With what meaſure ye meate, with the ſame ſhall other meate vnto you.

Wherfore Adonibezeb was ſo maymed of the Hebrues.

We muſt not ſtaye in the inferior cauſes but rather cōſider the higheſt cauſes.

Of this lawe of rendring like for like, let the cruel tyrannes of our tyme be affeard, whiche neuer make an end of killing, tearing, and burning of holy and innocent mē, as thoughe wiſedome neuer admoniſhed them: By what ſoeuer a man ſinneth, by the ſame alſo is he puniſhed. Neither haue they at any tyme heard Habakuc the holy prophet cryeng thus. Bycauſe thou haſt ſpoyled many nations, others alſo ſhall ſpoyle thee. Thoſe be bloudy tyrannes, when they do ſo extremely rage, being altogether vnmindful of humane chaunces, neuer thinking how the ſame thinges may happen vnto them ſelues, wherwith they do ſo cruelly afflicte others. For if they would remember this, they would vſe them ſelues more mekely not only toward innocent men, but alſo euē to them which are giltie & iuſtly condemned by them. Let vs learne in all thinges whiche ſhal happen, what ſoeuer they be, to conſider as well the iudgementes of god as alſo his goodneſſe, and therby we ſhall get good matter either of repentaunce, or els of thankes geuing.

Why tyrannes do ſo cruelly rage.

But there is a doubt, why the Iſraelites killed not this king by and by, and why they brought him to Ieruſalem, there to die miſerably? I aunſwere, to teſtifie vnto all men, that he being woūded was not gloriouſly killed in the battaille, for his horrible tyrāny deſerued not ſo famous an end of this life. Neither is it to be merueiled that when he came to Ieruſalē he was not holpen by the diligence and remedies of Philiſtians: for the Iewes did it not of cruelty, but bycauſe they were affeard to violate the commaundement of god, who commaunded that all their enemies the Chananites ſhould be ſlayne euery one, amongeſt whom this Adonibezek deſerued not one death but a thouſand: beſides that, it was done that his moſt ſhameful end might be an exāple to al mē. He worthily

Why Adonibezek was not by and by ſlayne of the Iewes.

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therfore being maimed and despised, departed this life in a most famous citie. But it semeth to be demaunded, for what cause when he had so vilye maymed 70. kinges he would also haue them vnder his table to gather their meat there: He did it surely to the setting forth of his victories, and also whē he should eate meate, he would not onely refreshe his body with meate and drinke, but he would also reioyce his haulty and proude minde after a certein horrible sort, he thought to him selfe that he had the fruition of no vulgare pleasure, when as in his dayly banckets he renued after a sorte by that terrible sight the victories which he had hitherto gotten. We read of the like example of one Sapor king of the Persians, who when he had taken in warre Valerian the Emperour of the Romaines and father of Galien he bounde him wᵭ an Iron chayne and drew him with him, & set his feete vpō his backe, as oftē as he would get vp vpō his horse. Tamerlanes also king of the Scythians, caried about with him a tyranne of the Turckes taken by him and inclosed in an Iron cage. By these and such like examples we se that the mindes of cruel tyrannes are wonderfully sicke of the diseases of vayne glory and cruelty.

Sapor king of the Persians.

Tamerlanes.

Tiranes are infected with boasting and cruelty.

And hereby we gather that to much cruelty doth greatly displease god: and therof I thincke it came to passe that as wel by gods lawes as by mās (I speake but of those which are counted iust & honest) certain punishmētes were prescribed for crimes according to the grieuousnesse of thē, whereby iudges had ẏ lesse libertie geuen them to exercise tyranny. Yea & the lawyers added this rule, that punishmentes should rather be diminished by iudges thā augmented: which is for all ẏ to be vnderstād, as much as the nature of the faulte & cōmoditie of the publicque wealth suffereth, which I therfore speake, bycause some times those cōditions which cōmonly they call circūstannces, make the crime so terrible and horrible, ẏ the iudges must nedes there augment the punishments which haue ben prescribed by the lawes, & that to the entēt to feare away others frō so grieuous mischieuous dedes, & so Dauid when Nathā the prophet declared vnto him an execrable & horrible thing, he decreed a more grieuous punishment against him that was guiltie, than the law had ordeyned for common thieues & stealers of cattel. I haue therfore made mencīō of these, bycause there were in ẏ law three kindes of death appointed for euil doers, I meane, hanging, stoning, & burning, vnto which some Hebrues adde the fourth, namely the punishment of the sword: but bycause there is no mencion made therof in the lawe (as farre as I know) I haue therfore left it out. We read that Adonias, Ioab & Agab king of Amalech & many other were thrust thorough with swordes, But we finde it not prescribed by any lawe or precept that the guiltie should be put to death by the sword. Seing I say the matter is so, we se that the children of Israel vsed nowe in their tentes a certein extraordinary kinde of punishmēt against the king Adonibezek. And I beleue they did it not vᵭout the instinction of god. For god would punish the cruelty of this tyranne wᵭ an exquisite punishmēt, which was neuertheles of rendring like for like, which kinde of wicked doing to the entent we may the easelyer auoyde, it shall not be grieuous vnto vs to speake somewhat of it.

Punishmentes are rather to be diminished thā augmented.

Three kyndes of death in the lawe of God.

The Hebrues vsed an extraordinary punyshment in their tentes.

This word cruelty is deriued either of this latin word Cruor, which signifieth bloud, wherin cruel mē like wild beastes do delite, either of Crudæ carnes which signifieth rawe flesh, which fierce & barbarous people somtimes do eate, & may be defined to be a vicious habite wherby we are inclined to sharpe & hard things aboue reason. And somtimes it happeneth ẏ cruelty is coūted for a pleasure, wᵭ which wicked affectiō or habite how tyrānes haue sometimes ben infected, it is manifestly to be sene by many exāples. This holy history setteth now before our eyes this Adonibezek, & the euāgelicall history maketh mēciō of Herode. The Ethnike poetes haue made report of the cruelty of Atreus & Thyestes:

From whence this word cruelty is deriued.

The definition of cruelty.

and

and the moſt horrible wicked act of Xerxes king of the Perſians is ſet forth by Seneca in his third booke de ira, c. xvii. chap. which Xerxes when a certain man named Pithius, who had well deſerued at hys handes, came vnto him and deſyred him to ſpare him one of his ſyue ſonnes which he had, and he bad him as though he would graunt him his requeſt, to chooſe him whom he lyſted to abide at home from battaile. And he did as he was bidden. But this moſt cruell tyranne commaunded that the yong man whom he had choſen ſhould be drawen one ſyde of him one way, and an other the other waye, ſo that at the length he was torne a ſunder, of the whych one part hee commaunded to be faſtened in one corner of the way, by the which the ſouldiours ſhoulde go, and the other in an other corner, ſaying that after this ſorte he purged his hoſte. But not long after he was with much diſhonour ouercome and beaten of the Grecians, and conſtrayned to flie through heapes and dead carcaſes of his owne men. Silla baniſhed an infinite nomber of Citizens of Rome, but at the length he was moſt horribly eaten vp of Lyce. Euen after the lyke ſort dyed that moſt cruel Herode, as it is manifeſtly declared by Ioſephus. Vnto this moſt wicked vice, clemẽcy is directly cõtrary, which as a wonderful vertue doth maruailously wel agree wᵗ̃ princes, & is a ſinguler ornamẽt of Chriſtian men. Auguſtine in his boke of. 83. Queſt. in ꝯ Queſt. 31. defineth it thus. It is an habite wherby men ſtyred vp to hatred agaynſt any man, are through goodnes kept backe. This vertue is a meane betwene cruelty and fooliſh mercy. I cal it fooliſh mercy, by which our mynde is ſo moued wyth other mens miſeries, that it declineth from ſound counſell and iuſt reaſon. And we are ouercome with this affection for this cauſe, by reaſon wee woulde neuer ſuffer ſuch thinges wherwith we ſee others afflicted iuſtly and worthily, and bicauſe we our ſelues abhorre from ſuch thinges, we therfore leaue of from puniſhing ꝯ guilty. Mercy in dede is an affection profitably planted in our hartes of God, wherby we are ſtyred vp to helpe and defende others. But we muſt take heede, that by it we be not made ſo ſoft and effeminate, wherby we ſhould commit any thing againſt the commaundementes and wyl of God. The holy ſcriptures reprehend Achab king of Samaria, bicauſe he ſpared Benadad king of Siria. Of whom he ſaid: if he be on lyue, he is my brother. They condemne Saul alſo by the voyce of Samuel the prophet, bicauſe he ſaued Agag kyng of Amaleck on lyue. And euen as it was ſaid vnto an other by the meſſenger of God: Thy ſoule ſhalbe for his ſoule, ſo Saul being a litle before placed by God in the kyngdome, was depriued therof. What ſhal we do then? Shall we not forgeue ſynnes? Seneca in his ſecond booke of clemency and. 6. chap. writeth: Pardon (ſayth he) is a remiſſion of puniſhment due, by which he is forgeuen which ought to haue bene puniſhed. Wherfore he thinketh it is not a wyſe mans part to geue pardon, bicauſe a wyſe man wyl neuer commit any thyng wherby ought not to be done, or leaue any thyng vndone which ought to be done. This reaſon of his ſeemeth to be very good and effectuall enough. But leaſt we ſhould be deceiued therby, we muſt here ſet a profitable diſtinction of perſons, that is of God, of princes, and of priuate men. No man ought to doubt, but that god may forgeue whom he wyl, whẽ as he is not bound to any other mans lawes. Wherfore in forgeuyng he is not ſayd to remit that which he ought to haue puniſhed. Beſydes this, he hath not ſo forgeuen men their faultes, but that he hath puniſhed them in hys onely begottẽ ſonne Chriſt. But we muſt otherwiſe thinke of the Magiſtrate, to whõ it is not lawful to forgeue the puniſhmentes of ſynnes, bicauſe he is commaunded to geue iudgement by the lawes. To whom neuertheleſſe it is graunted eyther to releaſe or to aggrauate the puniſhmentes according to the wayght and quantity of the crimes. Wherfore when he that is guilty is not wythout hope of amẽdement, neither hath grieuouſly offẽded, the magiſtrate is contented wᵗ̃ an eaſier puniſhmẽt, & ſomtimes he addeth ſom reproche or ſom harper admonitiõ.

The cruelty of Xerxes.

Silla.

Auguſtine.

What clemencye is.

Certayn fooliſh mercy.

Mercy is a profitable affectiõ

Prepoſterous mercy is condemned in holy letters.

Whether ſynnes are to be pardoned.

Seneca.

God maye forgeue ſynnes.

A Magiſtrate ought not to ſuffer faultes vnpuniſhed.

Wherfore let him neuer leaue synnes vnpunished, e the same mā in punishing is not cruel, yea he rather correcteth, amēdeth, e healeth. Which worke is both iust and also milde, so far is it that it should be ascribed to fiercenes or cruelty. I wyl also adde this by the way which is written of the same Seneca, that to haue many executions is no lesse dishonor to the Magistrates, than many corpes are to the Phisitions. But now cōcerning priuate men, me thinketh it must be answered thus: It is their duty to forgeue iniuries don to them selues, neyther can Seneca his saying take place in them, namely that a wise man wil leaue nothing vndone that ought to be done, bycause reuengement is forbidden them by the law of almighty God. And they are commaunded after a sorte to punish such as sinne against them, in admonishing (I meane) and reproouing them. And they are wylled to be content with that punishment when those which haue offended them are amended and made whole. But cōtrarily if they perceiue that they be stubborne, they by the cōmaundement of God ought to complain to the church, by whom at the last they are excluded, vnlesse they wil be obedient to it. And when they are excluded out of the church, they maye also be accused to the Magistrate. In which thing yet is nothing cōmitted against clemency, bycause this is the mynde and purpose of them which accuse, namely vtterly to take away euyl according to Gods commaundement by al meanes possible. And these thinges are now sufficient concerning cruelty and also clemency.

Seneca.

Many executions ar a dishonour to the magistrate.

Howe priuate men should forgeue iniuries.

Bycause Iudah and Simeon obtayned the victory according to the promyses of the oracle, it shalbe our part diligently to consider and marke, that they which worke with faith by the woord of God do without doubt obtaine his promises. For God hath not left those destitute of his ayde, which haue endeuoured them selues to go forward faithfully in their vocation. The promises of God surely are constant, and although heauen e earth should at any time vary or be chaunged, yet shal they alwaies be firme. And therefore when as man is pronounced to be a lyer, God contrarywise must bee confessed and celebrated as moste true. Neither is there any thing found so hard or difficult, but that by faith it maye be performed. Wherfore it is very well written in the .xi. chap. to the Hebrewes, that the saintes by faith haue ouercome kingdomes, and obteyned the victorye. That sentence certainly hath a principal respect vnto these histories of the Iudges. This ought to be so manifest and playne vnto vs, that for the obtaynyng of the promises of God, we ought to attribute nothing to our own workes and merites. Yea, let vs rather bee assured, that what so euer happeneth vnto vs, that the same commeth onely of the goodnes of God, which promised the same. Our endeuour also and labour are required thereunto by the scriptures, as we see here also to be done, where the victory is geuen to Iudah and Simeon when they fought, and not when they ceased. Not bycause God could not haue geuen them the victory ouer their enemyes, although they had done nothing, as sometimes he dyd: but he hath decreed, to bring vs by the crosse and labours after hys accustomed maner, to the rewardes which he freely promised. Neither yet for al that, that our studies and labours are required as causes to obtayne the promyses, when as God doth geue vnto vs freely, and of his own mere liberality those thinges which he hath promised vs. This is principallye true in those promises, which do wholy passe mans capacity, as are eternal life, and regeneration. For they beyng the chiefe and last endes of our vocations, doe farre and muche passe the dignitye and pryce of our workes, though they bee most perfect. And there is a certayne profitable and necessary distinction, which is not to be forgotten, namelye that same promyses are of the lawe, and other some of the Gospell. And this is the nature of promises of ỹ Gospel to be offred vtterly freely to men. But to promises of the law some worke is euer annexed. And ỹ is required to be

They which worke of fayth obtain the promises.

We attayn not to the promises of God by merites.

Promises of the Gospel and of the law.

moſt perfect & abſolute in all poyntes. Which becauſe we can not performe, we altogether fal down vnder our burthen, neyther can we attaine to theſe promiſes of the lawe in reſpecte they are of the law. Thou wilt ſay thē that this kinde of promiſes of the law is vaine? Not ſo, how is it ỹ they be not geuen in vaine if none can attaine vnto thē? They are to this end ſet forth, ỹ mē vtterly leauing the confidence of workes, ſhould hope to obtaine thē by fayth in Chriſt: Which when it is done, they are chaunged frō promiſes of the lawe into promiſes of the Goſpell. And although they be freely graunted, yet in attayning vnto thē we put our endeuor & ſtudye no leſſe than if they were promiſes of the lawe. But yet as touching thoſe good thinges whiche endure but for a time and paſſe not mans ſtrength & labour and the rewardes of them are temporall it is not to be denyed but ỹ our workes are much auayleable. For it is ſayd that they are oftentimes gotte by them. Although alſo in obtayning them ỹ fauor of god is needful thervnto, which is aboundauntly beſtowed on thē which worke by ỹ word of God & by faith. Which thing is manifeſtly ſene of ỹ readers of this hiſtory: for it declareth that god graunted ỹ victory to a fewe Iewes being ſtraungers and young ſouldiers, againſt ſtrong & warlike men, many more in number than they, of a monſtrous ſtature, and inhabiting moſt ſtrong fenced cities and caſtles.

Promiſes of the law are not vayne.

In euangelical promiſes although they be freely geuen yet muſt we worke as though they were legal.

8 And the children of Iudah fought againſt Ieruſalem and tooke it & ſmote it with the edge of the ſword and ſet the citie on fyre.

9 Afterward the children of Iudah deſcended to fight againſt the Chananites, that dwelte in the mountaine, and in the ſouth and in the lowe countrey.

10 And Iudah went againſt the Chananites, that dwelt in Hebrō, (and the name of Hebron before was Kiriath Arba) and they ſmote Heſay Ahimman and Thalmay.

11 And from thence they went to the inhabiters of Debir (and the name of Debir before was Kiriath Sepher.)

The things which are now red vnto the xvii. verſe are moſt part tranſferred hither out of the booke of Ioſua the xv. chap, and are now declared by a certain briefe rehearſall of things, and it is done to this end, that we might vnderſtand that ỹ tribe of Iudah had obtayned Ieruſalem, when Ioſua was yet liuing ſo that it was the eaſier for him to lead away Adonibezek captiue thither. And theſe be the things which are repeated in this place out of the booke of Ioſua. The conquering of Ieruſalem, Hebron, and Debir, the matrimony alſo betwene Achſa & Othoniel and ỹ departure of the Kenites from the citie of Palmes. That al theſe things (I ſay) are now declared by a certaine repetition, it is thereby manifeſt, becauſe it is written in the booke of Ioſua, that the king of Ieruſalem was taken, & we read in the end of the xv. chap. that the ſame citie of Ieruſalem came into the handes of the people of God, and that the children of Iudah dwelt in it with the Iebuſites. Beſides that theſe things which are now rehearſed of Hebron are contayned in the x. xi. and about the end of the xiiii. chap. in the booke of Ioſua. And ỹ hiſtorye of Achſe and Othoniell is red in the xv. chap. of the ſame boke. This repetition therfore or parentheſes extendeth to theſe wordes: And Iudah went with hys brother Simeon, &c. In which place ỹ author returneth to make mention of the actes which the tribes of Iudah and Simeon ioyned together and at this time performe. Which thing alſo by this appeareth the more manifeſt, becauſe ſtrayght way is declared how Gaſa was taken, which citie is ſayd in the xi and xiii. chap. of Ioſua to haue yet remained in ỹ hands of the enemies, & is numbred among thoſe cities which were not conquered vnder Ioſua. Wherfore the wordes of the preterperfect tenſe which are red in this repetition are to be interpreted in that time paſt, which we call the preterplus perfecte tenſe, that the

A briefe rehearſal of things in the booke of Ioſua

How farre this parentheſis extendeth.

The perterfect tence is expoſided by the preterpluſperfecte tence.

order of the history might be made more playne and manifeste.

They smote them with the mouth of the sword. This is a Methaphor in this maner of speche, very often tymes vsed in ỹ holy scriptures, wherin by ỹ mouth of the sworde we ought to vnderstãd the edge therof, bycause it semeth to deuour and consume those thinges which are smytten, in maner lyke a mouth. And wher it is said that They set the city on fyre, we must vnderstand it by this figure Hypallege, when the thing is cleane contrary, for fire is thrown into the city, and not the city into the fyre. Neither ought this to be vnderstand thus, as though they had then burned the whole citye. For it is wrytten in the booke of Iosua, and afterward it shal be expounded in this booke, that that city was after that inhabited by the tribe of Iudah and Beniamin, and also the Iebusites, yea and the castle therof which was very wel kepte was not deliuered vp to the Israelites, tyl in Dauid his time, as it is declared in the latter booke of Samuel. Neyther ought that to moue you bycause it appeareth not in the booke of Iosua that the city of Ierusalem was taken. For although this be not plainly and manifestly spoken, yet may it be vnderstand by those thinges which are there intreated of, namely that the king of Ierusalem was taken, and that Iudah dwelled in that city, neither could he yet cast out the Iebusites from them. All these thinges I say are signes that the city was taken at that tyme, although it was not yet possessed fully and in al partes.

The city of Ierusalem was taken when Iosua was yet a lyue.

It seemeth also some what obscure, that it is wrytten that Iudah descended, when he should go fight against the Chananites, who dwelled on ỹ mountaines. When as we accustome in going to mountaines to ascend, and not to descende. But we must vnderstand that those countries wer ful of mountaines. Wherefore when the host remoued from one mountaine to an other, it must nedes descend first into the valley, from whence it might afterward ascend vpon an other mountaine. Thou wylt peraduenture aske whether Iudah at that tyme conquered the plaine or the valley which was but lowe? Yea verely. He assaulted them in dede, but he could not ouercome them. For we shall heare in the .xix. chap. that those which were not ouercome of Iudah in the valley, had yron Chariotes, so that by that meanes they were not ouercome.

And Iudah went against the Chananites, that dwelt in Hebron. These thinges are now therfore repeated, that we should vnderstande that it was not of necessity that the city Hebron should be taken of Iudah then when the Israelites were in this iourney on warfare, which they tooke in hand after the death of Iosua, namelye at that tyme, wherein the publique wealth was gouerned by rulers without any certaine Iudge, Iosua being yet alyue.

Why Hebron was called the city Arba.

And the name of Hebron before time was called Kiriath-Arba, and they smote Sesay, Ahimman, and Thalmay. The reason of the name of this city is not of euery man taken a like. The cause of the diuersity is this word Arba which in his vsuall and proper signification signifieth the number which the Latines cal Quatuor, & the Grecians τετραρες which is foure. Now some suppose the number of foure to be referred to the foure couple of men with their wiues, which they say wer buried in that city. Yet the holy scriptures make mencion but of three: for in the booke of Genesis .c.23. chap. we reade that Abraham and Sara wer buried there, & also in the .35. & .49. chap. of the same booke we reade of Isaac and Rebeckaes burial there. And lastly in the .50. chap. we fynde that Iacob was caried thither, & he him selfe before that had there buried his wife Lea. But concerning Adam & Eue his wife, who they haue added vnto these, we can finde nothing therof in the holye scriptures. For that which they alledge out of the .14. chap. of Iosua maketh nothing to the purpose, for ỹ word Adam in that place is not the name of the first man. Wherefore they can gather nothyng

It is not certain that Adam and his wife were buryed in Hebron.

out

out of that place, but that Arba was a certaine great man among the Anakims. These are the wordes there: Ha Adam Hagadol be Anakim Hui, that is: he was a great man among ỹ Enakims. But our interpretour translateth it thus: Adā was counted the great among the Enakims. Wherby it appeareth ỹ he thought that Adam was a proper name. But he was two wayes deceaued: first he dyd not marke that the article Ha is ioyned to the word Adam, which is neuer ioyned with proper names. Wherfore it must needes be a common name, which must be referred to that woord Arba, for that name was put a litle before. The other errour is because we reade no where that the first man was reckoned amongst the Enakims, that is to say Giauntes.

The opinion of others is that Hebron was called the City Arba, because it was inhabited of. 4. Giauntes, namely Sesay, Ahimman, and Thalmay vnto which three brethren they adde Annak their Parent. But the opinion of these men is easely confuted, because that in the. 14. chap. of Iosua toward the end, it is by manifest wordes declared that this word Arba is the proper name of a Giaunt. Wherfore it is manifest enough that this woord must not be referred to the number of four. And by that meanes not onely this latter sentence, but the first also is confuted, which would haue this name Arba to haue a respect to the foure couple of men with their wyues, buried in the old tyme in that City. And vndoubtedly for the same cause also, the opinion of others is not to be allowed, which do thinke that the City was so called, because although it were but one City, yet it consisted of foure Cities, and that this woord Arba is all one with this greeke woorde τετράπολις which is foure Cities. Wherefore I iudge it best to thyncke that it was so named of the buylder thereof named Arba, who how he came by that surname it is vncertaine. Onely this we maye gather out of the scriptures, that what so euer he was, he had three chyldren which are called in this place and also in the booke of Iosua, Sehai, Ahimman and Thalmay. And it is very lykely that they were deade long tyme before Iosua. And when they were now dead, then was there mencion made of them, because their families which seme to haue bene of a wonderful huge stature were destroyed by Caleb and Othoniel. And this is the reason why I suppose that these three brethren liued not in Caleb and Othoniels tyme, because this Citye as it is written in the booke of Numbers, was a most auncient city, and was buylt. vii. yeares before Zoham that is, Thamin the kingly Citye of the Egiptians. And in Zoham dyd Moyses and Aaron woorke the wonders before Pharao. And if so be it was the kingly and noble city then, it must nedes be built long time before. Wherefore if Hebron were built before it, and had the name thereof of Arba, how could his chyldren be on lyue at this time? It cannot be so. Besides thys, Abraham had a lodging in this City, & bought there a double caue. And from that time to Iosua his time wer almost. 400. yeres. It is not therefore very likely, that the sonnes of him which builded so auncient a city should lyue tyl Iosua his tyme, vnles any man wyl fayne that the same city was built long time before, & called by an other name, & then in processe of tyme calling away the first name, it should be named by this most strong and mighty Giaunt. But whether it be thus or no, neither skilleth it much, neither semeth it curiously to be sought for.

Arba had three chyldren.

But this might somwhat moue some, because Arba, wherof we now speake, is called in the. 15. chap. of Iosua, the father of Enak. For if he had. 3. sones which were named as well here as in the same booke of Iosua, it wil then be doubtfull who that same Enak was. In which thyng (sauyng the iudgement of a better learned) I would thinke might be answered, that it was not a proper name but a cōmon, wherby at that time men of huge stature, but such as were noble & excellently adourned, wer called. For this word Enak in hebrewe is to gird or to

What Anach signifieth.

compaſſe, and is chiefly referred to chaines which are worne about the necke for comelynes ſake. And thereof is this name *Enak* deriued, & in the plural number hath both the maſculine & feminine forme, & it ſignifieth a chaine, and is transferred to noble & worthy men, whom thou mayſt cal chained. Wherfore Seſay, Ahimman & Thalmay may be called the ſõnes of Arba, who was not called the father of them onely, but alſo the father of Enak, bycauſe euery one of his ſõnes was noble, & wore a chaine, or was a Giaunt, for Giauntes alſo were called Enakim, either bicauſe they wore chaines, or els bycauſe they were of a notable ſtature of body, for it may be that that word was applyed to all kynde of ornaments. Of them is mencion alſo made in the booke of Numbers. 13. chapter.

Why giauntes were called Enakim

By how many names giãtes are called in the holy ſcriptures

Seing we are now by chaunce in hande with giauntes, and that there is often mention made of them in the holy Scriptures, it ſhall not be vnprofitable, ſomewhat to ſpeake of them. Fyrſte we muſte knowe that they are called by diuerſe names in the holy Scriptures as Enakim, Eimim, Zemaſmim, Nefalim, Rephaim. Why they were called Enakim manifeſtly appeareth by thoſe things which we haue ſpoken before. And they were called Eimim, of the terror which they draue into others by their loke, They were called Zemaſmim, of miſchiefe, bicauſe they truſting to their owne power and might, were diſpiſers of lawes, iuſtice, and honeſty, and euer went about wicked actes. For Zemah in Hebrue ſignifyeth miſchiefe. They were alſo named Rephaim. Bycauſe they made men which met them to be after a ſorte amazed, for that worde ſignifyeth ſometimes the dead. Laſtly they were called Nefalim as oppreſſors, bycauſe they aſſayled al men tyrannouſly, of this worde Nafal which is to fall or ſubuerte. Some thinke that they are ſometimes called Geborim: but bycauſe we vſe to referre ỹ worde to power, and properly ſtrong men are called Geborim, therfore I wouldo not put it among theſe.

When giãtes began. Auguſtine.

Furthermore if thou wilte demaunde when giauntes beganne to be, if we may follow Auguſtine de ciuitate Dei, the. xvi. boke and xxiii. chapter. We muſt ſay that they beganne before the floude. And therfore we beleue him, bycauſe he hath proued it by the teſtimonye of the holy Scriptures: for it is written in the vi of Geneſis that giauntes were at that time on the earth: whole kind although it was kept after the floude, yet as he beleueth they were not in ſo great number. Beſides this it may be doubted concerning their procreation and parentes: for there are ſome whiche thinke that they were not begotten of men, but that Aungels or deuils were their parentes. And this ſentence they ſay is confirmed by that which is written in the booke of Geneſis. The ſonnes of God ſeing the daughters of men that they were fayre, they tooke them to wiues, and of them were borne moſt mightye men or giauntes. Concerning this fall of the Angels many of the old writers agree that it was bicauſe they vſed company with women, and among other is Lactantius in his ſecond booke and xv Chapter. For his opinion was (as it is there written) that God feared leaſt Sathan to whom he had graunted the gouernement of the worlde ſhoulde vtterly haue deſtroyed mankinde, and therfore he gaue vnto it Angels for tutors by whoſe induſtrye & care it might be defended. But they being prouoked as well by the wilineſſe of Sathan, as alſo allured by the beauty of fayre women, committed filthines with them. Wherfore they were throwen downe from their dignitie and made ſouldiers of the deuill. This was Lactantius opinion, but yet he ſayth not, that Giauntes were borne of thoſe copulations of Angels with women but earthly deuils which abide on the earth to our greate hurte. Euſebius of Ceſaria in hys. v boke de preparatione euangelica, doth nothing in a manner diſagree from them. For he alſo ſayth that Angels which fell, begat of women whom they filthilye loued thoſe deuils, which afterward troubled the world many wayes, and to the

Whether Giauntes were begotten of mẽ

Lactantius.

Euſebius of Ceſaria

be

he referreth al these which the Poets and historiographers haue written to haue bene Gods, & haue eyther in Metre or in Prose made mention of their battailes discordes, lustes, and sundrye and grieuous tumultes, But Augustine in his xv booke de ciuitate Dei, xxiii. Chap. thinketh that this opinion of these old men can not be gathered out of that place of Genesis. For he sayth that those which are there called ỳ sonnes of god, were in very dede men, namely cõming of ỳ stock of Seth. For whẽ they worshipped god truely and sincerely, and called vpõ him holily and purely, being adorned w̃ his fauor & grace, they are called by ỳ scriptures ỳ sonnes of God. But whẽ at ỳ length they began to burne in filthy lust with those women which came of the stocke of Cain, and by that meanes fel into fellowship with the vngodly, taking them to their wiues and cleauing also to superstitions and wicked worshippings, they were chaunged from ỳ sonnes of God not only into men, but also into flesh. And thys will I say by the way, Aquila translating these words out of Hebrue, They wer not (saith he) ỳ sõnes of God, but the sonnes of Gods: for thys cause so called (as I suppose) bycause their progenitors were holy men, but their children miserably fell from god and godlines by inordinate loue of women. And Symmachus translateth it, The sonnes of the mighty. But now to Augustine againe, he constantly affirmeth that there can be nothing gathered out of that place of Genesis concerning the carnall copulation of Angels with women, but thinketh rather, that farre contrary may be proued by the wordes of God written in the same place. For whẽ the scripture had there sayd, that there were Giaunts on the earth, and that the sonnes of God (as it is sayd) were gone out of the right way, and Giaunts were brought forth, there is added: And god sayd, my spirite shal not abide in man for euer, bicause he is flesh. By this sentence he declareth, that those which so sinned were called men, and not only as they were by nature, but also they were called flesh, whereunto by their filthy lust, they did so much cleaue. But they which be of ỳ contrary opinion do thinke that they do bring a strong witnesse of Enoch which was the vii. from Adam, of whom Iudas maketh mention in his canonicall Epistle. For in the booke which is intituled to be Enochs booke it is written that giauntes had their of spirings of Angels and not of mẽ. But Augustine answereth vnto this, and sayth that that booke is altogether Apocripha, & therefore such fables as are rehearsed in it, are not to be beleued. It is not to be doubted he sayth but that Enoch wrote some godly thinges, when as Iudas the Apostle manifestly testifieth the same: But it is not necessary that we should beleue that all thinges which are written in that Apocriphal booke shoulde be of hys writing, Forasmuch as they haue no sure authoritie. Neither, although Iudas brought thence some one certaine sentence, is it supposed that therfore he by his authoritie hath allowed the whole booke: Vnlesse thou wilt saye that Paule allowed all the things which were written by Epimenides, Aratus and Menander bicause he brought one or two verses out of thẽ. Which thing Ierome in his exposition vpõ the first chap. of the Epistle to Titus declareth to be a very absurde thing and worthily to be laughed at. And now as concerning Enoch, it semeth meruelous, how he being but the vii. from Adam could write of those things of the altercation betwene Michael and the deuil, for the body of Moyses, when as if there wer any such thing (as there is no doubt but there wer) they must nedes haue come to passe a thousand and almost. 500. yeares after. Vnlesse we wil say ỳ those things wer reuealed at that time by some notable strength of prophecy.

Neyther is it to be forgotten, that those whiche do thinke that giauntes had Angels to their parentes & not men, do therfore seme to suppose so, bicause they thinke it is not possible, ỳ huge giauntes can be borne of mẽ of vsual bignesse & stature. Wherfore some of thẽ haue gone so farre, ỳ they haue affirmed that the first mã was a giaunt, and ỳ Noah also & his childrẽ were Giaunts bicause they

Augustine.

Men of the stocke of Seth were called the sonnes of God.

What was the fal of the sonnes of God.

Aquila.

Simmachus.

Enochs booke Augustine.

Ierome.

The reason of them which thought giaūts were not borne of men.

beleued not that ỹ kind of mẽ could be either before or after ỹ floud, except their firſt progenitors had bene ſuch, if it were thought they ſhould be borne of men.

Auguſtine. A womã giãt

But Auguſtine proueth that to be falſe & ſayth, that a litle before the ouerthrow made by ỹ Gothes, there was a womã at Rome of a giauntes ſtature, whõ very many out of diuerſe countreyes came to ſee. Which womans parents neuertheleſſe exceded not ỹ cõmon accuſtomed ſtature of other men. But as touching the cauſe of this huge bigneſſe of giaũtes, if we ſhould loke vpõ nature thẽ can we bring no other reaſon, but a ſtrong naturall heate, & alſo a moyſture which abundauntly & largely miniſtreth matter, for ỹ heate doth extende ỹ ſame not only into length, but alſo it poureth out & ſpreadeth it both to breadth & alſo to thickneſſe. Giaunts therfore begã before the floud, they wer alſo before the accõpanieng of the ſonnes of god with the daughters of men, & after that alſo continued their generation. Men therfore begat them, and had a naturall cauſe ſuch as we haue ſayd. There were alſo ſome without doubt after the floud, for there is mencion made of them in the booke of Num. Deut. Ioſua, Iudges. Samuel, Paralip, and other holy bookes. Concerning their bigneſſe & ſtature we may partly geſſe and partly we haue it expreſſedly deſcribed. The coniectures are becauſe Goliah had a cote of male weing v. m. ſicles, and a ſpeare like a weauers beame, and the Iron or top of his ſpeare weighed 600. ſicles. We coniecture alſo that Og kyng of Baſan was of a wonderfull bigneſſe and that by hys bed, whiche being of Iron contayned 9. cubites in length. And the Iſraelites compared with Anachim ſeemed as graſſehoppers. Theſe be ſignes wherby we may iudge howe bigge theſe men were. But the bigneſſe of Goliah is deſcribed properly and diſtinctly in the booke of Samu. For it is ſayd that he was 6. cubites and a hande breadth highe. And a cubite with the Grecians is two feete, but with the Latines a foote and a halfe. Some allẽdge the cauſe of this difference to be, becauſe the meaſure may be extended from the elbow to the hand, being ſome tymes cloſed, and ſometymes open or ſtretched forth. And thus much as concerning the ſtature of giauntes, ſo farre as may be gathered by the holy Scriptures. But we read among the Ethnickes farre more wonderfull thinges, & ſuch which ſeeme to ſome incredible. Philoſtratus writeth in his booke of noble men, that he ſawe the carkaſe of a certain giaunt which was 30. cubites long, and an other 22. cubites long, and certain other alſo 12. But the cõmon ſtature of men in our tyme palleth littell aboue. 5. feete. And the meaſure of a foote agreeth both with the Grecians & with the Latines, for they both gene to euery foote 4. hand breadthes: and euery hand breadth conteineth the breadth of 4. fingers, that is, the length of the litle finger. But if the laſt fingers, the thombe I ſaye and the litle finger ſhould be ſtretched abroade, then euery foote cõtaineth but two hand breadthes. I thincke it not amiſſe alſo to declare here what Auguſtine writeth in the. 15. booke de ciuit. Dei. 9. chap. where he reproueth thoſe whiche obſtinatly contend that there were neuer any men of ſo wonderfull huge a ſtature, and teſtifieth ỹ he him ſelfe ſawe vpon the coaſte of Vtica a tooth ſo great, that being deuided, it might eaſely be iudged to be an hundred fold bigger in forme and quantitie thẽ vſuall teth in our tyme are, he alſo declareth in the ſame place, that there were in oldetyme very many ſuch bodyes of men, by the verſes of Vergil whiche are written in the 7. booke of Aeneidor, where he ſheweth how Turnus tooke vp ſo great a ſtone from the groũde and threw at Eneas that 12. ſuch men as the earth bringeth forth now of dayes could ſcarſely liſte, whiche place he tooke out of the 6. boke of Iliades of Homere. We may adde alſo vnto theſe, the verſes which the ſame Vergil hath writtẽ in ỹ firſt of the Georgikes, he ſhall wonder at the great bones digged out of the graues. Moreouer Auguſtine bringeth Pliny the ſecond, who affirmeth in his 7. booke, that nature the longer it proceedeth in her courſe,

The naturall cauſe of ỹ great ſtature of giãts

How huge the giauntes were

1 cubite with the Grecians & Latines.

The Ethnickes opinion of giauntes.

Philoſtratus.

The common ſtature of men in our tyme.

The meaſure of a foote.

Auguſtine.

Vergil.

Pliny

the

the leſſer bodyes doth it bring forth daily. And he maketh mention alſo of Homere whiche made complainte ſometymes in his verſes. To whom I might adde the teſtimonie of Cipriane againſt Demetrian. But if I ſhould be aſked the queſtion, whether I thought that the bodies of men whiche were brought forth after the floud are leſſe than thoſe whiche were before the floud, I would peraduenture graunt vnto it: but that they haue alwayes decreaſed from the floud euen to our tyme, I would not eaſely conſent to that, and eſpecially bycauſe of Aulus Gellius wordes whiche be wrote in the third booke, where he ſayth, that the meaſure of the growth of mans body is 7. feete, whiche ſeemeth alſo to be the meaſure at this day in mē of the bigger ſort. But leſt I ſhould diſſemble any thing, we read in the Apochriphas of Eſdras the 4. booke about the ende of the .5. chap. that our bodyes are leſſer nowe, and ſhalbe euery daye leſſe, bycauſe nature is alwayes made more weake. And the ſame doth Cipriane (as I haue a litle before ſayd) ſeme to affirme. But why I would not ſo eaſely aſſent thereunto, this is the cauſe, for that I can ſe almoſt nothing altered in our time from the meaſure whiche Gellius deſcribeth. But now to Pliny agayne who ſayth in his 7. booke, that in Crete, when a certayn mountaine was rent by an earth quake, a dead body was founde ſtanding whiche was 46. cubites long, whiche ſome beleeued to be Orions body, other ſome Othus. It is alſo left in writing that the body of Oreſtes being digged vp by the commaundement of an oracle, was 7. cubites long. But that whiche Beroſus affirmeth, that Adam & Seth his ſonne were giauntes, and Noah alſo with his children, as it is put without teſtimony of holy ſcriptures, ſo may it alſo be reiected.

Cipriane. Whether the bodies of men haue decreaſed from the floud to our tyme.

Aulus Gellius

Pliny.

Beroſus.

Now it ſeemeth good to declare, for what cauſe god would haue ſome men ſometymes to be borne with ſo huge bodies. It was done for this cauſe Auguſtine thincketh in his boke before alledged 23. chap. to leaue a teſtimony vnto vs, that nether the beauty of the body, neither the dignetie of ſtature, nor ſtrength of the fleſhy are to be accompted among the chief good thinges, when as they are no leſſe commune to the godly ſometymes than they are to the vngodly. They ſurely which are deſirous of godlineſſe will iudge that ſpirituall good thynges are farre to be preferred before them, partely bycauſe they are an helpe vnto vs to ſaluation, and partely bycauſe they make vs more noble in deede than others. And that giauntes had no helpe by their huge ſtature to ſaluation, he confirmeth it by that which Baruch the Prophet hath writte in the .3. chap. There are giauntes from the beginning of the worlde, famous men, expert in warres: thoſe hath not the Lord choſen, neither hath he geuē them the way of knowledge, but they haue periſhed bycauſe they had not wiſedome. Alſo if a man ſhall read ouer the holy ſcriptures, he ſhall neuer almoſt fynd that they tooke in hand any good or godly cauſe, whiche they would defend, and for the whiche they would fight: yea he ſhall rather ſe that by their peruerſeneſſe and pride, they haue alwayes ben agayne God. ſo did Og king of Baſan behaue hym ſelfe, ſo alſo did Goliah and his brethren. All theſe were moſt deadly enemies to the people whom God loued and had choſen from the reſt to be peculiar to him ſelfe. There is an other thing alſo beſides, whiche may much confirme our faith, for the holy ſcriptures do alwayes declare how ſuch mōſtrous giaūtes were filthyly ouercome in battaile, and that by feable men and very vnexpert in warlike affaires, namely by Dauid being yet but a ſhepheard, & the people of Iſrael which were thē but yong beginners in matters of warre, whereby the ſpirite of god doth admoniſhe vs to be of a conſtaunte and valiaunte corage when for godlineſſe ſake we muſt fight againſt ſuch monſters. We muſt haue no regarde there to our owne ſtrength, ſeing that the holy oracles do ſo often declare, that it is god whiche deliuereth ſuch beaſtes into their handes whom he defendeth. Whiche thinges ſeing they

Why God would haue ſo huge giauntes ſome tymes.

Forme and ſtature auayle nothing to ſaluation.

Giauntes take not godly cauſes in hande to defende.

Giaūtes were ouercome in battaile of weake perſons

are

are so, this without doubt cometh to passe, that we should by no meanes be afeard of tyrannes, whiche are almost alwayes agaynst God, and trust to their owne great might, when they defend vngodly partes, and thincke that they can robbe and spoyle as they list them selues the flocke of Christ which is feable and weake: seing the might of gods word & power of his spirite will make vs mightie and inuincible agaynst them thoughe we be neuer so lowe and weake of nature. Moreouer if we should follow humane reason, beyng compared with thē, we should easely seeme either wormes or grashoppers: but being hedged & fensed wt the might of god, we shall not only be superiours, but also, (to speake as Paul speaketh to the Romaines) we shal ouercome also. For Christ will ayde vs, who bindeth the strong armed man, & taketh away the most riche spoyles which he had gathered, he hath luckily wrastled with the deuill and his members, & we by him shal haue good successe in our warres, and shal obteyne a farre more noble victorye than that whiche the Poetes haue fayned that their gods obtayned of the Ciclops Titans, and other giauntes, whiche were (as they fable) destroyed by the lightnings of Iupiter at Phlegra. It is a playne token why gyaūtes in the old time & mighty princes now of dayes do wt the wise men of this world resist god: surely bicause they cleaue & trust to much to their owne strength, wherevnto they ouermuch sticking, there is no mischief which they dare not enterprise, there is nothing which they thincke is not lawful for thē to do. But god vouchesaketh not by such men to accomplish those thinges whiche he hath decreed to bring to passe, but to set forth his might & power farre abroad he vseth rather to accomplish such things as he hath decreed to do by David and any abiect persones.

Why Giaunts haue resisted God.

God accomplisheth his thinges by humble persons & not by giauntes.

Of this thing I would thincke that I had spoken enoughe, but that there is a certein place remayning to be expounded: namely how it should be written in Deut. that there was no more of the giauntes remayning but only Og king of Basan. I am not ignorante what R. Salomo fableth, but his expositiō is so childishe, & so worthy to be laughed at, ỹ I am ashamed to rehearse it. I iudge therefore that it was not spokē absolutely & simply, that there were no more remayning but he, as thoughe there were no more giauntes in all the worlde but he: but it is meant that he onely was remayning in those places namely beyonde Iordane. Moreouer we muste vnderstande that not onely the Israelites destroyed the giauntes out of those regions but also the Moabites as it is written in the second chap. of Deut. draue them out of their coastes, which must also be thoughte to haue ben brought to passe by them thorough the fauour of God: for it is in the same place written that god gaue vnto the Moabites those regions to inhabite. Now will I returne to the wordes of the holy history.

Whether Og here the talk of al the giaunts.

The Moabites also draue Giaunts out of their coastes.

And from thence they went to the mountaynes of Debir, and the name of Debir before was Kiriath Sepher. It is commonly translated the citie of letters, and therfore would they haue this citie so called, bycause the first letters wer found there, or els bycause learning or good studies flourished in that Citie, as they do at this daye in vniuersities, where good sciences are openly taught. Some thincke that lawyers lived there, which kept the records of iudgementes. There be some also which write that there was a notable library there. R. D. Kimhi affirmeth that Debir in the Persian language signifieth a letter, but ỹ worde Sephir in Hebrew signifieth not properly a letter or a figure but rather a litle boke or scrolle written vpon. The Hebrues do make mencion that Othoniel did in this place expound certeine rules of the lawe, whiche before that tyme were almost blotted out, and of that dede was the citie so afterwarde named, but this cā scarse be probable, bycause it seemeth that that citie had that name before the Israelites possessed it. We must know moreouer that this citie also was taken when Iosua was a lyue, which is shewed in his owne booke. And that by no meanes can be fayned to be sayd there by preuenting or (as they say) by anticipatiō. For it is written in the .11. chap. And Iosua came at ỹ tyme & destroyed

Why this citie is called the citie of Letters.

deſtroyed the Enakims from the mountaynes, namely Hebron, Debir and all the mountaynes of Iudah. If theſe things ſhould haue ben mencioned in ỳ place, as things whiche ſhould come to paſſe ſone after the death of Ioſua, then had it not ben well ſpoken, to haue ſayd, And Ioſua came at that tyme. And this I thincke the reader ſhall playnly ſee proued, if he will not thincke it paynfull, diligently to read ouer the 10, and 15. chap. of Ioſua.

12 And Caleb ſayd: He that ſmyteth Kiriath Sepher and taketh it, to him will I geue Hachſah my daughter to wife.

13 And Othoniel the ſonne of Kenaz Chalebs yõger brother toke it: and he gaue him Hachſah his daughter to wife.

¶ Here is wont to be demaunded, how theſe cities Hebron and Debir ſhould be written in the booke of Ioſua to haue ben taken of Ioſua, when as it is here put that Caleb conquered them, whereunto I aunſwere that all that warre was gouerned by the conduicte of Ioſua, who was the chiefe and principall gouernour of the whole hoſte. But the principall ſettyng forward agaynſt Hebron and other places adioyning thereunto was committed vnto Chaleb the chiefe of the tribe of Iudah, and that not without a cauſe. For he, as it is written in the xiiii. chap. of Ioſua, deſired to haue that parte aſſigned peculiarly vnto hym for hys inheritaunce: whiche requeſte he eaſely obtayned. For he requiredthe ſame, truſting to God hys promiſes: for when he was ſent with other ſpyes to view the lande of Chanaan, he faithfully made relation of the things as they wer in deede, & not vnfaithfully as his fellowes did. Neither was he an author of the peoples ſeditiõ as the other were, yea he rather encouraged the peoples myndes, and diminiſhed thoſe thinges whiche his fellowes had amplified concerning the ſence of the cities, of the giaũtes alſo, and of the ſtrength of the Chananites. For he regarded not mãs ſtrength, but with a ſingular faith, moſt conſtantly remembred the power, the goodneſſe & promiſes of god. Wherfore god being angry with the reſt, deſtroyed them in the wilderneſſe, ſo that they came not to the promiſed lande. But he promiſed Chaleb for his faithfulneſſe this inheritaunce, whiche when he afterward demaunded, he put Ioſua in remembraunce of the thyng before done, and of the promiſes of God. And the place where the promiſe is contayned is in the 14. chap. of Num. there God promiſed him that lande wheron his foote ſhould treade, whiche wordes the Iewes thincke thus to be expouded. The reſt of the ſpyes being amazed for feare of the giaũtes, and putting ſmall confidence in god durſt not entre into the citie of Hebron, whiche Chaleb him ſelfe ſearched with a valiaunt courage. The promiſe therfore of this poſſeſſion was made vnto him in the ſecond yeare after the deliuery out of Egypt. Chaleb ſurely declared a valiaunt & noble hart, when as he did not only require the poſſeſſion of theſe places, but he enterpriſed alſo to conquere the for al that they were fenced & inhabited with moſt ſtrong giaũtes. Wherfore we muſt beleue, that he tooke in hand ſuch & ſo great an enterpriſe not by his owne power but by gods promiſes.

Chaleb deſired to haue theſe regions aſſigned him for his inheritaunce.

Chaleb was a faithfull eſpye.

God promiſed Chaleb the lãd whereon he ſhould treade.

And here ariſeth no ſmall doubt, howe Chaleb being of the tribe of Iudah, could obtayne ỳ citie of Hebron which by lotte belonged to the Leuites. For god had commaunded that certain cities as wel beyond Iordane as on this ſide, ſhould be had for refuge ſake, that thither might flye as many as had ſlayne any man by chaunce, and not of preteuted purpoſe. And the poſſeſſion of thoſe cities whiche were therfore appoynted belonged to the Leuites. Wherfore it was not lawfull that Hebron ſhould be geuen to Chaleb, ſeing it was numbred amõg the cities of refuge. Theſe thinges are true, but we muſt underſtand in the meane tyme, that the Leuites myght poſſeſſe but their cities only, & the ſuburbes adioyning to the walles of them. But as for the grounde or dominion whiche they call at this day Lordſhip, it was not graunted them to haue. Chaleb therfore deſired to poſſeſſe

Hebron was one of the Cities of refuge.

The cities of refuge belõged to the Leuites

The Leuites had the citie of Hebron, but Chaleb had the grounde and Lordſhip.

poſſeſſe the grounde, but as for the citie whiche he had in his handes, he let to the Leuites as the lawe commaunded. It is moſt certein that there is mention of the citie Hebron in the booke of Gen. when as it is there written, that Abraham liued in the grone of okes of Mamere, & the ſame had (if we may beleue *Ierome*) a precious turpentine tree, which grew there from the beginnyng of the world, and continued till the time of Conſtantine the great. It is ſaid to be 2000. paces diſtaunte from *Ieruſalem*. David reigned in it ſome while, before he was annoynted king ouer all *Iſrael*. Neither haue we any thyng to do to write nowe of the auncientneſſe therof, ſeing I haue ſomewhat ſpoken of it before.

And Chaleb ſayd: he that ſmiteth. This whole hiſtory is declared in the 15. chap. of the booke of *Ioſua*, word for word, whereby it appeareth that ỹ is moſt certain whiche I before admoniſhed you of, namely that all theſe thinges are now mencioned by a certain repeticiō. The conquering of Debir ſemeth to haue ben paynefull and daungerous, and meruelouſly much deſired of Chaleb, when as he offreth ſo ample & noble a gift to the conqueroure therof: namely his owne daughter to wyfe, being him ſelfe the prince of the moſt noble tribe of *Iudah*.

The conquerynge of Debir was harde.

And Othoniel the ſonne of Kenaz Chalebs younger brother tooke it. It is certain that Othoniel obtayned the victory: but whether he were Chalebs brother, or his brothers ſonne or ſome other kinne to him it cā not be gathered by theſe words. But how they were kinne it wer good to know, partly for ỹ knowledge of the hiſtory & partly to vnderſtand whether the matrimony which followed betwene Othoniel and Achſah were lawfull. In the firſt booke of Paralip. and ſecond chap. the father of Chaleb is called *Heſron*, whiche man was the third frō *Iudah*: for *Iudah* had *Pharez* by Thamra his ſonnes wife: and Pharez begat Heſron, which was called by an other name *Iephuna*, for which cauſe Chaleb is very often written the ſonne of *Iephuna*. Of whiche thing I can not tell what ſonde inuētion R. Salo. writeth, namely that he was ſo called, becauſe he diſagreed from the mynde and counſell of the other ſpyes. *Panah* ſignifieth in Hebrew to depart or to decline, wherfore he thinketh that this ſurname was geuen to Chaleb for the cauſe now alledged. Neither maketh that any thing agaynſt it (as he ſayth) that he is called the ſonne of *Iephuna*, when as in the holy ſcriptures it is a cōmon vſe, ỹ this phraſe, the ſonne of death & the ſonne of perdition, are all one with theſe, he is worthy of death, and a mā loſt. And by the ſame kynd of ſpeach (ſaith he) ỹ ſonne of declination & turning away is all one in this place, as if he had ben called declining & turning away from the counſell & wicked will of the reſt of the ſpyes. I will not deny peraduenture but that this opiniō of R. S. is pretty, but yet I thincke it maketh nothing to ỹ purpoſe. For other ſeme to ſpeake more ſimply whiche ſay that Heſron was alſo called *Iephuna*. Wherfore Chaleb was ſometymes called the ſonne of *Iephuna* and ſometymes the ſonne of Heſron, neither is it a rare thing or vnheard of in ỹ holy ſcripture, that ſome one man ſhould be called by two names. Now we ſe what Chaleb was, namely the fourth from Iudah the ſonne of Iacob: wherfore we muſt ſpeake ſomewhat of Othoniel. He is here written to be the ſonne of Kenaz, and ſo is he likewiſe in the boke of Ioſua, and alſo in the firſt booke of Paralip. and iiii. chap. where he is called *Iambes* alſo, and renowmed to haue bene noble and very excellent, his mother called him *Iambez*, becauſe ſhe bare him with moſt bitter payne, for ſo doth that name ſignifie in Hebrew: whiche the father as an vnluckye name chaūged, and in ſtead of Iambez named his ſonne Othoniel. We read that the ſame happened vnto Beniamin, whō the mother as ſhe was dyeng, named Benoni, whiche name becauſe it was not very pleaſaunt nor luckye, Iacob turned and would haue him called Beniamin for Benoni. Neither was Othoniel notable only in ſtrength and feates of warre, but he was very godly and religious, for in the boke of Paralip. and in the place now alledged his prayers are deſcribed

Heſron was called alſo Iephuna.

R. Salomoh.

How the Hebrues vſe this worde Sonne, ſometymes.

Many of the Hebrues had two names.

What Othoniel was.

Othoniel was alſo called Iabes.

ſcribed, wher with he moſt faithfully called vpō God. Wherfore the ſcripture teſtifieth that his prayer was heard, the Hebrues haue added therunto ý he was excellently wel learned in the law of the Lord. And theſe thre vertues in one mā are moſt rare, namely to be a good warriour, to be religious, and learned. Three excellēt condicions in Othoniel.

But now ſeing his fathers name was Kenaz, & Chaleb had Hefron or Iephuna to his father, how neere of kyn were they then? Some hold opinion that Kenaz, when Hefron or Iephuna was deade, maryed his wife, who had not onelye her with him, but alſo kept her ſonne namely Chaleb, being but a litle one, whō ſhe had by her firſt huſband, then they ſay he had Othoniel by her, whereby they conclude that Othoniel and Chaleb came both of one mother, but not of one father. Wherefore Othoniel was by nature the ſonne of Kenaz, but Chaleb was called alſo the ſonne of Kenaz, bicauſe he & Othoniel were brought vp together with Kenaz. R. D. confuteth thys opinion, bycauſe it is neuer red in the holye ſcriptures that any Iſraelite tooke his ſurname of hys mother, and much leſſe of his Stepfather: For euery one in that publique wealth tooke alwaies their ſurnames of their fathers, as the Gerſonites, Merarites, & Leuites. And by the booke of Paralip. he ſaith may be knowen that that maner was ſo ſtyl kept & obſerued. This reaſon if it be true in dede, as it ſemeth to be probable refelleth a certaine opinion of others, which ſay that Chaleb had a brother, a great deale elder thā him ſelfe, who was called Kenaz, with whom Chaleb was brought vp lyke a ſon together with Othoniel Kenaz ſonne. Wherfore they ſeming after a ſorte to be both of one age, & being nourished vp together, were eaſelye counted brethren, namely the ſōnes of Kenaz, wher as in dede Chaleb was Kenaz brother. Wherfore it came to paſſe that they wer both of them called the ſōnes of Kenaz. This I ſay doth R. D. Kimhi iudge abſurde: for if no man could attayne to any kynde of ſurname by the mother or ſtepfather, then vndoubtedly coulde he not haue it by the brother. But the ſame R. D. Kimhi thinketh that they were brethren euery way, bycauſe they had both one father and one mother. And therefore both of them are called the ſonnes of Kenaz, but not by their next Parentes, but by the name of the family, ſeyng that both brethren were borne of one and the ſelfe family, what ſhal we then do? We are not holpen by the hiſtory which we haue in hand, & we cannot diſſolue the queſtion by the places conferred euery way together. Yea and the Iewes agree not in it among them ſelues, neither doo they onely vary one from an other, but our writers alſo write nothing like one to an other of it. Lyranus doth vtterly deny that they wer brethren, which neuertheleſs Paulus Burgenſis affirmeth, yea & that more is, Lyranus agreeth not wt̄ hym ſelfe, for as in the interpreting of the booke of Ioſua hee denyeth that they were brethren, ſo afterward vpon the firſt booke of Paral. in the ſecond & fourth chap. he graunteth they wer brethren. But when I more diligētly weigh the reaſon why in the booke of Ioſua he contendeth that they were not brethren, I gather it to be this, bicauſe he thought ý if they had ben ioyned together with ſo neare a bond of kinred, ý ther could haue ben no mariage, wherby Othoniel ſhould haue had to wife Hachſah his brothers daughter, ſeing ý it was forbidden by ý lawe (namely ý. 18. & 20. chap of Leuit.) ý no mā ſhould mary his aunt. Wherfore he thinketh it muſt nedes follow, ý the niepce by the brother is prohibited, bicauſe that we are ioyned wt̄ the ſame degree of kinred to the aunt, by which ý vncle is ioyned to ý niepce by the brother. But if Hachſah & Othoniel wer brothers children, then ſhal this abſurdity be wholy auoided: for mariage betwene theſe was neuer forbidden by Gods lawes. But Burgenſis a man otherwiſe very wel learned, contendeth ý they wer vtterly brethren, & ſaith ý the vncle might by Gods law mary his niepce by ý brother, & that the Iewes thē ſelues which otherwiſe are moſt diligent obſeruers of outward lawes do kepe this cuſtome at this day. He ſaith moreouer, ý it cōmeth to paſſe oftentimes, as concerning mariages, ý in degrees either of conſanguinity or affinity, ther is found the like diſtaūce betwene perſons, of ý which neuertheles the one is forbidde, & the other graūted. What kin Chaleb & Othoniel wer together.

R. D. Kimhi.

The ſurnames among the Iſraelites wer taken of the fathers.

The Hebrues and our mē differ among thēſelues of the kinred of Othoniel & Chaleb.

And often tymes the prerogatiue of the men and baser condicion of the wymes altereth the thing. For in matrimony man is the head of the woman, as Paule hath said in the first to the Corinth. Wherfore ther must alwaies bee a regarde had, that in mariage the order of kinred bee kept, least the order which was before should be peruerted. For it is meete that mariages should obserue and not violate honestly of order among men. Which honestly should be violated if euery man might take to wife hys Aunt, his vncles wife, or mothers sister. For because that women ioyned vnto vs by this degree of kynred are to be reuerenced as mothers. But if they be made wymes then by the law of matrimony, they are made subiectes, and ar bound to honour, to obey and reuerence their husbands, whom otherwise they ought to haue had in place of childre. Which semeth nothing els, than to commit thinges repugnaunt to nature. But if it be contrarily done, then is there no peruerting of order incurred. For hee which is an vncle either by fathers syde or mothers syde shoulde be honoured and reuerenced lyke a father, when he taketh to wyfe his nieece, the husband is made her head, and shalbe honoured and obeyed of her no lesse than if he wer her vncle, eyther by the fathers syde or mothers syde, neither commeth there any perturbation of order by coniunction of matrimony. These thinges Burgensis alledgeth. Wherfore this place doth not onely admonish, but in a maner also cõpel vs, somwhat to entreate of degrees prohibited in contracts of matrimony. Yet will I leaue at liberty whether Chaleb & Othoniel wer brethren, or whether they were ioyned with any other affinity together. This is most certain if Othoniel wer ẏ sonne of Chaleb his brother, the mariage then was very lawfull. But the state of the question is, whether it wer lawfull for Othoniel by the common lawe to marye hys brothers daughter.

In mariages the fyrst order of kinred maye not be peruerted.

In the law are not rehersed all the degrees in which maryages ar prohibited.

This seemeth first to bee agreed vpon, that in the. 18. &. 20. chap of Leuit. are not rehearsed al persons or degrees, in which mariages are prohibited: for there is no mencion made of Graundmother, when as neuertheles al men will confesse it to be most filthy, if anye man shoulde take to wife his Graundmother, which is farre aboue him in his yeares. The wife also of the Graundfather is not mẽcioned of: & though the wife of the vncle by the fathers side be spoken of, yet is there nothing spoken of the wife of the vncle by the mothers syde. Yea, & that we more maruayle at, there is no prohibition for the father to marye hys daughter, when as al men confesse that these mariages are most incest. Wherfore it is to be thought, that in that place are set forth by the holy ghost certayne degrees prohibited, & those not many, but yet such, that by them as by certain exquisite and manifest rules we may iudge of the like. Wherfore we must thinke that those thinges which are spoken of the mother, are also commaunded of the Graundfather or Graundmother or wife of the Grandfather, seing that al these are to bee reckoned for Parentes. Those thinges also whych are spoken of the wife of the vncle by the fathers syde, do manyfestly declare, what is to be done with the wife of the vncle by the mothers side. For as much as these aliaunces or degrees are of one space or distaunce one from an other. Wherefore I am of this opinion, that I thinke the prohibitions mencioned in the law, are therefore set forth that by them we might euidently vnderstand, what is meete to doo in the lyke degrees. I graunt neuertheless, concerning Paulus Burgensis reason, that they doo muche more violate the law which do concract matrimonies with persons forbidde, and therwithal peruerting also the order of kinreds. For it semeth to me that he doth farre more vilye which marrieth his Graundmother, than he which marryeth his nierce by the brother, although I thinke that bothe these matrimonies are not lawful.

Who syn more greuously against the degrees prohibited.

It is vncertain whether the Iewes doo abyde in ẏ right obseruyng of their lawes.

What the Hebrewes do in our time I passe not much to know: yea I much doubt of that which Paulus Burgensis taketh vnto him as a thing sure & manyfest, namely that the Iewes are at this day most diligent in obseruing of theyr outward lawes. For me thinketh that I should doo well in not geuing to them

more

more dignity or religion than to Christians. Wherefore as it is manifest inough that we haue for mens traditions very much strayed from the right obseruation of the comaundementes of God, and also from the right knowledge of the scriptures: so is it also lykely that the same hath happened vnto the Iewes, especially in this our age. Wherefore I am not iniurious against them, whē as I wyl not geue more to them, than to our selues. Neuertheles I wil not omit that the Rabines haue added to their prohibited degrees in the law many more as wel in ascending as descending, which I see the most learned man Paulus Fagius hath declared in his annotations vpon Leuit. nether can I be perswaded that they were added by them for any other cause, but onely bicause they thought that those degrees were comprehended in the degrees expressed by God. Wherefore to geue iudgement of any lawful mariages, that shal not be sufficient in my iudgemēt, if the degree wherin they are contracted, shal not be prohibited by manifest & proper wordes in the law, nether the order of kinred perverted, for it maye be that the like degree, & of the same distaunce be forbidden by authority of the law. Nether doth the scripture as far as I can see, alledge in any place ỳ reason concerning perverting of order, although (as I haue before said) I doo not vtterly abiect that reason: some man peraduenture wil saye: what matter is it for vs of this age, either to know or els to obserue those preceptes which ar contained in the. 18. & 20. chap. of Leuit. seing that we after the cōming of Christ are no more bounde to the ciuil lawes of the Iewes. I confesse that the Christians are not bounde to the ciuil preceptes of the lawe: but yet I attribue those preceptes whych are there geuē for mariages not to ciuil lawes, but rather to moral. And I think that I make my reason out of the same place to confirme my sentence. For God, when he gaue those lawes, added these wordes thervnto: Take hede therfore, that ye defile not your selues with whoredomes & such incestes, as the Gentiles haue done, whom I haue driuen out of those regions which I haue now geuen vnto you, for for bicause those nations haue ben polluted with so grieuous wicked actes I haue therfore so destroied them, & wil do ỳ like vnto you, except ye shal diligently auoid those thinges, which I cōmaund you as touching these euils. I thinke no man wil doubt but that the Chananites whych receaued not the law by Moyses, neither were Citizens of the publike wealth of the Israelites, could not by that law be condemned, bicause they obeyed not the lawes of the Hebrues. They were subiect only to the law, which is called moral. Wherefore seing God for that cause reproueth them, bicause they were defiled with such fylthy lustes & incestes, & affirmeth that for the same cause he depryued them both of their lande and lyfe: it is manifest that these lawes must bee ioyned not to ciuil preceptes but to moral, which al men are bound to obserue.

The Iewes haue added many other degrees to the degrees expressed of God.

What we must haue a respecte vnto, in iudging of degrees.

The scripture declareth not by many fest wordes the perverting of order, which is to be taken heede of in mariages.

The Chananites ar reproued bicause they had defiled thē selues with incest

Neuertheles this semeth at the first sight to be against this sentence, bicause Abraham (a man otherwise most holy) is thought to haue maried his Brothers daughter namely Sara. Amram also had Iochabed his aunt to wife, of whom he begat Moyses, Aaron, & Mary. And it semeth that so godly & holy mē would not haue done this, if the moral law (as we haue said) had bene against it. To thys we answer, first ỳ the law of nature was much blotted by corruption & wicked nes, which ouerwhelmed al mankind some after synne, & for ỳ cause they whych contracted such matrimonies, thought peraduenture that the same were lawful, and therfore although they cannot altogether be excused by that ignoraunce, yet it is to be thought that they committed lesse synne, than those which durst do such thinges after the lawe was geuen. I adde moreouer, that amonge the fathers certaine thinges are now and then spoken of, which other men must not take example of, whē as they are somtimes to be interpreted as prerogatiues or certain priueleges geuen to thē. But how soeuer it be, we may not (as I think) much labour to excuse ỳ fathers in al things. Although I know there be which do say ỳ Sara was not the daughter of Abrahams brother, but som other way of

Ihrahā & Amram seeme to haue maryed prohibited wyues.

The law of nature was darkned by synne.

It is not certaine whether Ihrahā & Amram maried prohibited wyues.

kyn, and therfore she might be called his sister after the auncient maner of speaking, as though she were of some kinred vnto him, but yet not so nere kyn, but that they might marye together. And in like maner they say of the kinred of Amram and Iochabed. But I wyll omit these thinges, seing that the whole matter may be made playne by these two kinde of answers before alledged.

It might also be demaunded, if the preceptes of Matrimonye be morall, and pertaine to the lawe of Nature, why God would also constitute them in hys lawes. Because the lyght of nature was come to that poynt that it was not sufficient, the brightnesse of it was dayly more and more blotted in the hartes of men: which thing doth manyfestlye appeare not onelye in these, but also in the tenne commaundementes, where it is commaunded that men should abstayne from theft and murther, and yet we reade in hystories that robbyng on the sea, and also on the lande got suche dominion, that they were counted ful of honour and dignity. Plato in hys fyft booke of lawes thought, that concerning procreation of children we should abstayne from Mothers, Graundmothers, and the degrees above them. Again from Daughters, Nieces, & degrees beneath them. But as for other persons he made free. Hierome testifieth in his seconde booke against Iouiniane, that the Scottes in his tyme had no certaine mariages, but they accompanied with their women as they lusted them selues, euen suche as came first to hande. He sayth moreouer, that the Medes, Indians, Ethiopes, and Persians confusedly contracted Matrimonies with their mothers, sisters, daughters, and Nieces: which seemeth neuertheles to disagree with that which Heroditus writeth of the Persians. For Cambyses (as he testifieth) desired to marye hys sister, for the which thing he asked counsel of his Lawyers and wyse men, and demaunded of them whether that matrimony were lawful or no. To whome they answered, that they in dede had no law, by the which it myght be lawfull for the Brother to mary the Sister, but yet they had an other law amongst them, whereby it was lawful for the king of the Persians to do what so euer him selfe lusted. Surely they answered wel in their first part of their answer, but in the latter part they most filthily flattered the tyranne. Notwithstanding the thynges which are written by this Historiographer (although sometymes he wryte fables) and those thinges which Ierome writeth, vary not. Because the vulgare people being now corrupted with fylthy and wycked customes, contracted suche matrimonies, the wyser sorte neuertheles, in whom the lawe of nature dyd shyne, vnderstoode that the same were not lawful, although beyng blynded with couetousnes they abstained not from them. Whom Paule to the Romaines hath greuously reprehended, saying: which men, though they knowe the righteousnes of God, not onely doo suche thinges, but also haue pleasure in them that do them. And these matrimonies by their own nature are so well knowen to be vnlawfull, that they dyde an exceading great horrour into them which do beare that such thinges haue bene done: yea and they them selues which haue committed the same, when their lust all thinged, seined to abhorre those whom they haue polluted. The Poetes make mention of Cynara and Myrrha hys daughter, how after the father vnderstoode that he had accompanied with hys daughter, yea, euen vnwares so hated her, that he persecuted her al that euer he might. Amnō began so to hate hys sister Thamira whom he had defyled, that he commaunded her to bee violentlye thrust out of hys syght. Thou shalt also neuer almoste fynde if thou looke in hystories, that incestuous mariages or carnal copulations came to good ende. Ptholomey kyng of Egipt tooke to wyfe by fraude and guile hys sister Euridices, which the Historiographers and especially Iustine haue manifestly set forth to haue had yl successe. Anthonius Caracalla who maryed hys stepmother, and Nero which committed sylthye fornication with hys mother, came not onelye to a most vnhappye ende, but accordyng to their desertes they were wonderfully hated of the people, and were openly called Monsters of humane

The ten cōmaundementes were blotted in the hartes of men before the law.

Plato.

Ierome.

Incestuous persons haue afterward abhorred those whō they haue polluted.

Cynara & Myrrha.

Incest almost haue euer had horrible endes.

Ptholomey.

Anthonius Caracalla.

Nero.

mane nature. Wherefore we graunt both, that these commaundementes which do prohibite those sinnes pertayne to the law of nature, and were for iust cause renued by God in his morall lawes.

It may also be manifestly ynough declared by an other reason, ỹ incestuous mariages were forbidden by the light of nature, seing that they were earnestly forbidden by the Romane lawes, which were counted among the excellentest & honestest lawes, & these by name, wherby any man should marrye his niepce by the brother. Although Claudius Cæsar whē he would marry his brothers daughter Agrippina, caused the first law to be abrogated, and to be decreed that euery man might haue his brothers daughter to wife. But there was neuer a one at Rome except it were one or two which would follow his example. And ỹ Romaines obserued the first law which was most honest. Neuertheless we muste vnderstand, ỹ diuerse persons were prohibited by the lawes of the Romanes, of whom the law of god hath made no mention, and yet their prohibition was not without a reason. Wherfore the Citizens of Rome were bound to obserue thē, although by the light of nature they could see no cause why they should so doe, which lawes were wont to be called a peculiar kinde of lawes, bicause it semeth to be priuate for certain places. I will make the thing more plaine by examples. The Romaines would not as it is written in Codice that matrimonies shoulde be contracted betwene the tutor and pupill committed to his charge. Bycause they saw that this would easely come therby, that that tutor which had consumed his pupils goodes, least he should be compelled after his tutorship to render accompt of those goods, might sollicite the mayden to mariage, which being obtained, he should be free from geuing accompt of her goods. This surely was a good law, but yet it was not perfectly obserued. Cicero otherwise a graue man, was euill spoken of for the same cause: for being farre in other mens debt, when he had forsakē his wife Terence, he maried his pupill, of whose goods & affayres he had charge ouer as a tutor.

Romaine lawes forbad ỹ mariage of the brothers daughter.

The Romaine lawes in prohibiting mariages had certaine lawes not mentioned by God.

The tutor might not marry his pupill.

Cicero.

The Romanes decreed also, that no president of any prouince should take to wife eyther to himselfe or to any of hys, any out of the same prouince wherein he gouerned. For they knew right wel, that it might so happen, that the Pretor Proconsul, or President in a prouince cleauing to his families and kynsfolke cōming to him by his wife, might make new tumultes, and at length be alienated from the publique wealth. They saw also a great daunger to hang theron, least he should not be iuste and seuere in geuing iudgement, bycause he woulde gratifie his kinsfolke more than others. Lastly mariages shoulde not haue remayned at libertie in prouinces, bicause Magistrates might in a manner compel thē of the prouince to contracte matrimonies either with thē selues, or wt their frendes. We see also this most honest law violated. For Felix which gouerned Iewrye vnder Nero, as it is writtē in the xxiiii. chap. of the actes of the Apostles, had Drusilla a Iewe to wife. But what nede I rehearse that these lawes of a small weyght were not obserued, whē as that people had shaken of, euen those lawes which we called morall and are knowen by ỹ law of nature? Cicero declareth in his oratiō for Cluentius, ỹ one Sassia a most wicked womā, was so prouoked wt filthy lust, ỹ she inkigated her sonne in law Aurius Melinus, to whō she had before maried her daughter, to repudiate his wife, wherby he should marry her self in stead of her daughter: which thig at ỹ lēgth she got him to do. And whē ỹ deed was coūted ful of dishonesty, yet was it not punished by the lawes; neither do we rede that ỹ matrimonye, whiche Cicero cōtendeth to be cōtracted by no good grounds, by no authors, & altogether vnluckely, was dissolued by ỹ power & cōmaūdemēt of ỹ magistrates. Wherfore here of cōmeth a good reasō also, why god would againe inculcate by a law those things whiche by ỹ light of nature were iudged honest. For ỹ bonds, barres, & windowes of nature, were broke by ỹ impotent lust of mē, therfore it was necessary they should be boūd wt an other bond

A president myght not marry a wife of hys prouince.

Felix had a Iew to hys wife.

Cicero.

The monstrus lust of Sassia.

For the Israelites were no more shamefull in keping of natural honestye, than were the Romaines. Neither is this to be left out, ỳ god had certaine proper things in his law, whiche may be called peculiar thinges: for all men were not bound vnto thē by ỳ lawe of nature, but the Hebrues onely. For he wolde not haue them to contracte matrimony with the Chananites, Hamorites, Iebusites, &c. And other people seme not to haue bene bounde to ỳ law, neither should we at this day (if there were such nations still,) be letted, but that we might ioyne our selues in matrimony with them. Although the cause of ỳ law, ought at this day to be holden: which cause is, ỳ matrimonies shoulde not be contracted with them which be of a contrary religion. For it is not conuenient that the Godlye should be ioyned with the vngodly. I know that Augustine writeth concerning vnlawfull mariages to Pollentius in the second booke and of the Sermon of the Lord vpon the Mountaine, ỳ there is not a place in the new Testament, wherin by expresse words, matrimonies with infidels are prohibited. But of this matter I will not write much at this present, seing that I haue largely entreated of it in the Epistle to the Corinthians. This will I saye more ouer, that a good man ought in contracting of matrimonyes, to follow chiefly that which is honest, and not lightly to depart frō cōmendable orders & vsuall customes which are not agaynst ỳ word of god. And if there happen peraduenture any doubt, let him not thinke it much to aske cōcell of his magistrate, otherwise he shal rashly put both himselfe, his wife and his children to daunger. For if he be maryed in any of the degrees prohibited by the peculiar law, he shal not then be counted a husband, but a whoremonger, and his wife a harlot, & their childrē bastardes. Howbeit the magistrate, although concerning matrimonie he maye forbid certaine other contractes besides those which God hath forbidden, yet can he not, neither ought he to remit any of those which God hath commaunded, & whiche he hath prohibited by his law, yea he must most diligently see that he burthē not the people to much, or without an earnest cause, as we see the Pope hath done, who hath two wayes sinned in this thing: fyrst in that he durst vsurpe the office of making of lawes in a common wealth, which vndoubtedly pertaineth not vnto him, Secondly bicause in his lawes he followed not the word of god, but without reason forbad fyrst al degrees euen to the seuenth, which when he saw afterward was not obserued, and al was ful of confusion, he cut of his prohibitions to the fourth degree. In which thing he is yet constant & hardened, if there come no money in, but if money be offred (wherof he must haue much brought hym to fyl his filthy cofers) he setteth at libertie as pleaseth him, both his own lawes and the word of god.

Matrimonyes ought not to be contracted in cōtrary religiō Augustine.

The pope hath grieuously sinned concerning these lawes.

This we must also knowe, that God had in his lawes an other decree whiche may lawfully be called peculiar, bycause it extendeth no way to other nations, neither ought it to be in force at all tymes. And that was, that when any husband deceased without children, the brother which remained on liue, or some other next of kynne, should mary the first mans wife left, so that the first childe which should be begotten of that mariage shoulde be counted the sonne of hym that was dead, and should fully succede him as touching his inheritaunce. For God would not in that publique wealth, that men should altogether be extinguished, and he prouided that the same distinction of landes shoulde be kepte as much as might be. And seing the same is not vsed in our publique wealthes, neither hath God commaunded that it shoulde, it therfore pertayneth nothyng vnto vs. Wherfore we must keepe oure selues vnder the generall and common lawe, namely that no man presume to mary the wife of his brother being dead although he dyed without children.

He that is left of ỳ kinnesman ought to be maryed.

Let vs also knowe that in the beginning, when onely the familie of Adam lyued on the earth, brethren were not forbidden as they were afterwarde

For

For brethren were driuen of necessity to mary their sisters. But afterward whē men were increased in number, shame shewed it selfe forth, and they began by the instinction of God, or by nature, either to abstayn from prohibited persons, or at the least to know that such conjunctions were ful of ignominye. But what tyme they began first to abstaine, it appeareth not by the history. Peraduenture the Heathen Poetes haue declared that necessity of the elders whych compelled the samply of the first Parentes to constrayne the brother to mary the Syster, when as they fable that their Gods had their Systers to wyues: for the chiefe of them, namelye Iupiter had Iuno, whych in Virgil speaketh thus of her selfe: But I whych walke the Quene of the Gods both syster and wyfe to Iupiter.

The Gods of the Heathē maried their Systers.

And although the woorde of God, and instinct of nature were sufficient by them selues to make vs to abstayne from the foresayde conjunctions, yet are there many good causes of prohibition alledged by diuers writers. Augustine in hys. xv. booke De ciuitate dei and. xvi. chap. writeth that the same abstinence was very profitable to dilate more amplye the bondes of humane felowshyp. For if mariages should be included wythin the walles of one family, thē should there come no kynreds with others. Furthermore, it is not meete, that one and the selfe man should occupye the persons of diuers kynredes, namelye that one man should be both vncle and husband of one woman, and the same woman to be both Aunt and wyfe of one man. Which reason Cicero also hath touched in hys fyft booke Definibus, and also Plutarch in his. 108. probleme. And they being both Ethnickes could not haue sene this but being illustrate by the light of nature. This also is the third reason, bicause these persons, from whom we should abstain, do dwel together often tymes in one house. Wherefore if there shoulde be manye maryed folkes together, they woulde not vse them selues so gratuelye and seuerely as domestical shamefastnes requireth. Plutarch in the place before sayde, hath set forth two other reasons, besydes thos which we haue declared: One is, bycause betwene kynsfolkes, discordes are to be feared. For they would soone complayne that the right of kynred should be taken away: whych saying I doo vnderstand thus, if eyther she or he which should ouerskyp the nearer degre, and marry with the degree farther of, she which were nearer would thinke that she had iniury done vnto her, as though in ouerskipping her, he would put her to shame: as it is a common vse in wylles and Testamentes, where they which are nyghest of kynne maye not nor ought not to bee forgotten of hym which maketh the wyll. And in the lawe for raysing vp seede to the brother already deceased, the fyrst place must be geuen to the nyghest of kynne, who if hee refused to vse hys right, was made ashamed, as that law doth more amplye declare the same. Wherefore seyng discordes betwene al men are to be abhorred, much more are they vtterly to be detested betwene kynsfolkes. Plutarch also bryngeth an other reason, bycause women are weake, and therefore they haue neede of many & sundry patrones, wherefore when they are maryed to straunge men, if they shoulde be euyll handled by their husbandes, as often tymes they are, they haue al their kynsfolkes easely for Patrones: but if they bee wyues to their own kynsfolkes, and happen to be euil entreated of them, they should then haue very fewe to defende their cause. For other kynsfolkes woulde not bee so ready, for their sakes to fall out with their owne kynne, which they woulde not be greued to doo with straungers.

Causes why manye degrees in mariages are forbydden. Augustine.

Plutarch.

The causes of strife betwene kinsfolk ought to be cut of.

Women for that they are weake ought not to haue their patrimonies diminished but increased.

But nowe that I am in hande with Plutarch, I remember that which he hath written in the fyrt probleme, and I thinke it is to vnprofitable to declare it, although it seme to disagree from that which Augustine writeth in hys. xv. booke De ciuitate dei. xvi. chapter of the matrimony of Brothers and Systers chyldren. For he affirmeth there, that before hys tyme, the same was lawfull, although those kyndes of maryages semed very rare, bycause men after a forte

Of the matrimoni of brethrē and Systers chyldren. Plutarch.

eſchewed to contracte with perſons ſo nighe: but he ſaith that ꝑ licence was afterward taken away. Which I ſurely can not perceaue in ꝑ Romane lawes, which were publikely receaued & allowed: which yet wer vſed thorough out Aphrica. Wherefore it maye ſeme obſcure to ſome of what lawes Auguſtine ſpeaketh, wherby he ſayth that in his time thoſe kindes of matrimonyes were prohibited. But we muſt vnderſtand, that in his time the law of Theodoſius the elder was of force, who was the fyrſt among the Emperoures that I know of, which prohibited matrimonye of this degree. Which alſo Aurelius Victor and Paulus Diaconus do teſtifye. And that is found at this day writtē in the boke called Codex Theodoſianus, concerning inceſtuous mariages, by theſe wordes. Let this ſentence remaine concerning them, whoſoeuer from henceforth ſhall defyle hymſelf with the mariage of his couſin Germaine, or of his ſiſters daughter, or of his brothers daughter, or of his wiues daughter, laſtly of al whoſe mariage is forbidden and condemned. But that law is not in theſe dayes found in ꝑ Digeſtes, neither in the bookes of the Code, nor in the Authentikes. Which neuertheleſſe Clother the king followed, as it is red in the lawes of the Almaines, entituled of vnlawfull mariages, yea and it is confirmed by the eccleſiaſticall Canons and decrees in Gracian. 35. Queſtion the ſecond and third, alſo by the counſel of Agathen in the 61. Canon. And Gregorye the fyrſt in the ſame place is found to be of the ſame opinion in the chap. Quædam ex Romana, &c. This anſwereth to the ſixth interrogation of Auguſtine Biſhop of Cantorbury, and affyrmeth that thoſe which be ioyned by the degree of couſin Germaines, ought to abſtaine from contracting of matrimony one with an other. Yea and long before Gregorye his time, Ambroſe hath in his 66. Epiſtle ad Paternum, condemned the mariage of brethrens children, & be teſtifieth that it was forbidde by the law of Theodoſius which I haue alſo brought. And if I ſhould vſe coniecture, I thinke Theodoſius did it by the perſuaſion of Ambroſe, who had a ſingular reſpecte to publique honeſtie. Neither was that law ſo ſeuere at that time, but that ſometimes it might be releaſed as he declareth in that Epiſtle to Paternus. In that Ambroſe affyrmeth there that ſuch mariages were prohibited by Gods lawe, It can be made probable to none, which ſhall attentiuely conſider the wordes of the law of god, and doings of the fathers. How the Romanes haue behaued themſelues, toward their couſins, as concernyng matrimonyes in the old time, this I haue obſerued Liguſtine ſayth in the 2. booke and 5. decade of Liuy, that his father gaue him his Vncles daughter to wife. Cicero alſo writeth in hys oration for Cluentius, that Cluentia had lawfully maryed her couſin Germaine M. Aurius. And M. Anthonius the Philoſopher tooke to wife Fauſtina his couſin Germaine, as Iulius Capitolinus teſtifieth. And before Rome was builded the mariages of Turnus and Lauinia were in hand, which came of two ſiſters. Howbeit Plutarch writeth in the place aboue mentioned, that at the fyrſt when Rome was builte, it was forbidden by a lawe, that they whiche were nighe of kinne ſhoulde not marrye together. But yet he writeth that the lawe for brethren and ſiſters children, was vppon thys occaſion releaſed, becauſe a certayne man beyng both honeſte, and alſo well beloued of the people of Rome, when he was greuouſlye oppreſſed with pouertye toke to wife his ſiſters daughter which was ryche, and welthye, for the whiche cauſe he was accuſed of inceſte. But the matter being decided, he was quyted by the iudgemente of the people of Rome: for he was greatly fauoured in the citye. Then after that, it was decreed by the conſent of the people of Rome that from thence forth it ſhoulde be lawfull for brethren and ſiſters children to marry together. Theſe thinges I thought good to declare of this kinde of matrimonye both out of Gods lawes, and the old & new lawes of the Romanes, and alſo out of the fathers and eccleſiaſticall Canons.

Wher-

Wherevnto I will adde that there be very many Cities profeſſing the goſpell whiche do not admitte the mariages of brethren and ſiſters children, as Surike, Berna, Baſile, Schapuſin, Sangallum, Biema, &c. In the kingdome alſo of England when I was there, that degree was excluded from matrimony. Wherfore in places where the magiſtrate forbiddeth theſe mariages the faithful ought for thoſe cauſes whiche I haue before declared to abſtayne from them.

But now I will go to the preſent matter. If Othoniel as I haue before ſayd were couſin vnto Achſa, he might mary her by the lawe of God: but if he were her vncle, it was not lawfull by the cõmõ lawe. But he maried her. Wherfore we muſt neders ſaye one of theſe two thinges: either that it was a faulte, for the fathers as we haue before ſayd were not alwayes free from ſinne: or elles that god would haue this done by a priuilege or certain prerogatiue, whiche we may not for all that take example by. Neither is this to be forgottẽ, that after the accuſtomed manner of ſcriptures, they whiche were any way of kinne together were called brethren, as Loth is called the brother of Abraham, & the kinſfolkes of Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God are called in the hiſtory of the goſpel his brethrẽ. So may it alſo be in this place that Othoniel may be called the brother of Chaleb, when as he was but only ſome other waye of kinne vnto him. And the interpretours do vſe this expoſitiõ oftẽ times, which I would not diſallow, but ỹ I ſe this particle in the texte, The yonger, whiche is not wont to be added, but when ſiſters and brethren in dede are compared together. But now will I go to other thinges whiche are to be conſidered in this hiſtory.

Kinſfolkes in ſcriptures are called brethren

Chaleb had promiſed him which ſhould cõquere the citie of *Debir*, his daughter to wife. What if any wicked perſone had performed that, ſhould he by the vertue of the promiſe haue ben made ỹ ſonne in law of Chaleb? ſurely it ſemeth not. For what other thing had this ben, than to betraye his daughter? Therfore it may appeare that he promiſed rathly. For a wiſe man ought to foreſee thoſe thinges whiche might happen. Now be it we muſt conſider that there were not at that tyme ſuch wicked and flagitious men among the Iſraelites, for as long as thoſe elders lyued, whiche gouerned the publicque wealth together with Ioſua, as it ſhalbe declared in this hyſtory, the people feared god. Wherfore it followeth, that they vſed to put thoſe to death by the lawe whiche were guiltie of very grieuous crimes. Therfore there was no daunger leſt any ſuch mã ſhould conquere the citie, to whom for that act *Hacſah* ſhould be geuen to wife of ouetye. But if there remayned certaine ſmal and common faultes in him which had conquered it, the ſame might be recompenced by his other vertues. For there is is none ſo abſolute and perfect, but that ſome times he may fal. Moreouer there were ſome hope of amendement of life. And the conquerour might be ſo nighe of kynne, as peraduẽture this Othoniel was, that he could not mary the daughter of Chaleb. Wherfore it ſeemeth that at the leaſt in that part it was a rathe promiſe. But I do not thincke it can be accuſed of rathenelle, for as much as all promiſes ought among the godly ſo farre forth to be of force, as they do agree with the word of god, which thing if Iepthe had diligently conſidered, he would neuer haue ſuffred hym ſelfe to haue committed ſo vnworthy thinges agaynſt his daughter. This cõdition ſurely in all couenaunts and promiſes ought to be counted for a moſt conſtant rule.

Whether Chalebs promiſe were a rathe promiſe.

A conſtant rule of all humane promiſes.

We gather alſo hereby, that it is lawfull to go about a wife by ſuch waies and meanes, as we ſe Othoniel now to haue done: and as alſo holy Dauid did, who did not only kill Goliah the giaũt, but alſo he gaue Saule an hundreth foreſkynnes of the Philiſtianes, for the obteyning of *Michol* to wife. We are hereby taught alſo, that wiſe parentes ought to ſeke them a ſonne in law, not by riches not by power or nobilitie, but by vertue. Now of days they do not ſo, and therfore the miſerable daughters are very often tymes betrayed by their parentes, and very many mariages haue vnhappy ſucceſſe. Wherfore I can not diſcom-

A man by ſuche meanes may go about a wife.

How we a ſonne in lawe ſhould be ſought.

mend

The sayeng of Themistocles.

mend the sayeng of Themistocles, who being demaunded why he had preferred a poore man to be his sonne in law before a riche and wealthy man, he aunswered: that he had rather haue a sonne in law whiche wanted money, thā to haue money wanting a man.

It is lawfull to set rewardes for good dedes

We learne moreouer by this history, that it is lawfull for princes to stirre vp men couragiously to enterprise honest actes, and whiche they ought otherwise of durye to haue done, to set forth vnto them some rewardes. For we see that Chaleb did so nowe, and also Saul, when he promised his daughter to hym whiche could kill Goliah, and we remember Christ hath promised them an hundreth fold in this life, whiche for his sake should leaue father and mother, children and brothers. Wherfore we must knowe that good & honest actions, are by them selues sufficient to be sought for, for asmuch as in this worlde nothyng can happen more sweater, thā to obey god, & with a good conscience to be ioyned vnto him, in liuing vprightly according to his cōmaundementes. Wherfore admitte we should obtayne no other thing, yet a sufficient reward & gayne should be rendred vnto vs, if we may haue a quiet and pacified conscience, and be inwardly filled with spirituall ioye, but god (such is his goodnesse) would moreouer set forth vnto vs giftes and rewardes. For he seeth the disposition & nature of a mā to be feable and slowe to all thinges that be good, healthfull and honest: he would therfore stirre vp the same by promising manifold & sondry rewardes, whiche kinde of remedy we had not neded, if we had continued perfect and absolute, as we were created. Who I pray you, needeth with reward to be stirred vp to drincke whē he is thurſty, or to eate whē he is hūgry: surely no body. Wherfore neither nede men, if they hungred and thurſted for righteousnesse, (as they ought to do) a rewarde to stirre them vp to it. A mother also vseth not to be intised with rewardes to geue sucke, to feede, and care for her own child, that it perish not. Wherfore the promises of god are therfore necessary vnto men, bicause they by reason of synne haue ware colde from a vehement affection and zeale toward godly and holy workes, we be altogether dull and sluggishe to the offices of godlinesse and righteousnesse: wherfore God of his gētleneſſe would adde spurres of promises: which appeareth most manifestly in the law, where almost for euery cōmaundement are both threatninges & also promises added. Wherfore seing holy men haue done this oftentimes, seing also the lawe of God hath done so, and the same is found in the new testament, we may conclude without doubte that it is lawfull. For then is that whiche we do, to be allowed, when it agreeth with the example of god him selfe, and rule of the scriptures, or els with the excellent actes of holy men.

Good & honest actions are of them selues to be sought for.

Why God set forth rewardes and giftes.

Promises and threatninges are added in ỹ lawe to the cōmaundements.

Whether it be lawfull to do good for rewardes sake.

But now must we se, whether he whiche doth good workes, and performeth ỹ whiche he is bounde to do by the lawe of God, ought to be moued with hope of the reward, or whether rather he should only haue a regard to goodnesse, righteousnesse and gods pleasure: To aunswere to this question, I thincke that thys must be the first grounde, that a man is not only appoynted to some certein end, whē as god doeth nothing rashly or by chaunce, but also he is appoynted to many endes, which neuertheleſſe are so ioyned together, ỹ they do mutually serue and helpe one an other by a certain order. First we are created to set forth the glory of God: then that by the sight and perfect knowledge of God we should come to be happy: and that whilest we liue here, we should lyue together among our selues in an acceptable fellowship to God. Souldiours do therfore beare weapons and make warres, to defende honest and iust causes, and that in that sorte by whiche God in his lawes hath commaunded to be defended, which men moreouer ought so to be encouraged to bring this thing to passe, that thoughe there were no other reward or gift comming vnto them, yet ought they to enterprise it. Moreouer men die to fight to defend their country, wiues, children, kinsfolkes, & friendes. And if so be that they besides these looke for iust stipēdes,

How mā is appointed to an end.

whereby

whereby they may honestly norishe both thē selues & theirs, no man will counte that for a vice in them. For the Apostle hath sayd in the first Epistle to the Cor. Who goeth on warfarre at his owne cost? But now to descend to things more perticular, when any mā tempereth him selfe from any grieuous wicked act, he ought to do ẏ first to the entent he may obey the cōmaundementes of God, as it is mete. Then that therby he may escape either eternal or ciuile punishementes. Moreouer that he may not offend the myndes of the brethren, and plucke them backe from a holy conuersation and pure life, by his wicked example, and finally that by his wickednesse he prouoke not the wrath of God, either against him selfe or his familye, or against the people. Wherfore it is manifest, that the end of our actions is not simple, but sundry and manifolde.

For what things we may auoyde wicked actes.

And this being thus finished and concluded, we must diligently take hede, that when many endes are set before vs, we may preferre that before the rest, whiche by good right excelleth the rest. For if it should be otherwise done, and if those thinges whiche are hindermost and of smaller valew should be preferred before the better, we should be iustly condemned for peruertyng the order of thinges. Wherfore we must take hede, that we directe not God him selfe or the worshipping of him, either to our owne commoditie, or els to any other endes. For thē should that surely happen vnto vs which Augustine doth so sore detest, ẏ we should haue the fruition of those things which we only ought to vse, & contrariwise we should vse those things which we should haue the fruition of, than which peruersenesse in humane actions no worse thyng cā be thought. Wherfore when it is demaūded, whether it be lawful in well doyng to haue a respect to the gayne or reward. We can not well deny but ẏ it is lawfull: for as much as god him selfe hath promised a reward to them whiche lyue godly: neither did God that for any other cause thā by his giftes and allurements to stirre vp men to iust, good, godly and holy workes. But although we do not vniustly in hauing a regarde vnto the reward offred vs by God, whē we are occupied in good workes: yet this is diligently to be taken hede of, that we be not moued onely bycause of the reward whiche is offred vs. Neither is this sufficient, for if a mā would say that he would in doing good both obtayne the reward set forth, and by the same worke obey God, he must take hede, that he attribute not the chiefest partes to the gift or reward, bycause alwayes (as I haue already sayd) that among the endes eche of them as he is more excellent by nature, so ought it to be preferred in the first place. And in this there needeth a singular diligence: bycause it oftentimes happeneth, that we deceaue our selues, falsly supposing that nothing is more excellent or dearer to our myndes than god, from whom neuertheless we are by litle and litle withdrawen and plucked backe by reason of to much delite and delite of reward or gift. Wherfore it afterward happeneth, that we come to great miseries therby: For when god perceaueth ẏ we more esteme those thinges, whiche ought to be of lesse estimation with vs, he withdraweth them away, lest they should more and more plucke vs away from him. Whiche thing happened many tymes to the Israelites, frō whom God sometymes toke away riches, libertie, and the promised lande, to call them agayne to him selfe, whom they lesse esteemed than their riches, possessions, and also Idols. Wherfore those thinges being marked and obserued whiche I haue rehearsed, I doubt not but that it is lawfull for godly men after the sincere & earnest desire of God to do good for reward and gift.

Whiche end is to be preferred before the rest.

What is the chief peruersenes of humane actions.

Neither is the reward onely to be desired, neither ẏ chief partes must be ascribed vnto it

If we preferre other things before god we incurre into grieuous punishementes.

Neither am I ignorant that Bernarde writeth in his litle booke of louyng of God, that charitie by it selfe can not be empty, although it behold no reward. &c. By which words he putteth vs in mynde of two things: both that ẏ workes of charitie in them selues haue so much delectatiō, pleasure and commoditie, as may be sufficient for them whiche lyue well, although of that their well doyng they should haue no other reward geuen them of God. And that we in louyng

Bernarde.

of

of God should looke for no other reward, but this, that he according to his goodnesse wil not suffer, but faithfully to render those things which are to be rendred vnto vs. And therfore no man ought chiefly to be moued with the desyre of the reward. And he addeth, that he doth farre preferre the loue of the wyfe toward her husband before the loue and obeysaunce wherwith the children loue the father. For as much as the sonnes do so loue their father, because they hope they shalbe enriched of him by his inheritaunce: wherfore their loue (as he thincketh) is not so pure. But the wife if she be such a one as she ought to be, she wisheth good to her husband for his owne cause and his owne sake, although she hopeth or looketh to obtayne no good at his hand. Many haue thought that the sentẽce of this father ought to be allowed, & haue gone about to make playne the same by a certain distinction not so circumspectly inuẽted by them in my opinion: for they affirme that we may measure God or his nature by our worthynes, or that we may beholde him, according as our perfection & vprightnesse is. Moreouer they say that we must do what soeuer we do, for his sake in the first consideration, and not in respect that he is our chief goodnesse and felicitie. And this they thincke that Bernarde ment by the wordes now alledged. For they bryng these words which he writeth in another place, namely that he suspected al that loue wherewith we loue any thing besides God. But these men do not marke that by this distinction, which is founde out rather by the iudgement of men, thã by the veritie of the Scriptures, that they are agaynst the sentence of God. For he sayd vnto Abraham as it is written in Gen. I am thy reward and that very ample: walke thou therfore before me, & be perfect, vndoutedly by these wordes God offreth him selfe vnto vs, not imagined by him selfe, or plucked away from our commodities, but in respect that he is our rewarde.

A comparison of the loue of the children & of the wife.

We must worshyp god also in that he is our felicitie & blessednesse.

Moreouer, as I sayd now at the first, god would not adioyne promises, gifts and rewardes to his commaundementes, in vayne or without effect, but aduisedly and moste wisely. Did he that I praye thee that we should close our eyes and ouerskip them? I thincke not. Neither canst thou say that they serue for the ruder sorte, and such as be not yet absolute and perfect: for I will demaunde strayght waye of thee, whether Abraham, Moyses, Dauid, the Prophetes and Apostles were not so perfect, as either the nature of men in this life can be, or is required of vs? If thou wilt say they were imperfect, then can not I tell what excellencye or perfection of men thou faynest to thy selfe. Paul certainly setteth forth him selfe vnto others as a perfect man, in such sorte, as a man may in this lyfe be perfect, when he wrote be ye perfect as I am perfect. I speake not how the Scripture yea god him selfe pronounceth Moyses to be most meeke, he commendeth Dauid also that he was made according to his will and harte. Wherfore if thou wilt graunt that these were notable excellent and perfect men (as men may be in this world) neither canst thou deny the promises and rewardes offred to them of god. This without doubte followeth that men of the excellenter sorte may in well lyuing and doyng lift vp their eyes to the rewarde.

To looke for a rewarde set forth vnto vs by God is not only of such as are vnperfecte.

Augustine.

And I thincke Augustine hath trimely made manifest this thing where as he sayth in his booke of confessions, he loueth thee not (speaking to God) whiche loueth any thing besides thee, which he loueth not for thy sake. By these words is gathered, that we may loue gayne and rewardes for gods sake: for it is lawfull to embrace the meane endes for the last and chief goodnesse. Neither are we forbidden but that we may sometymes wishe for meat, drincke, and cloth, and such thinges as are nedefull for this lyfe, yea and Christ hath commaunded by expresse wordes that we should aske them, and he hath promised them to those whiche seke for the kyngdome of God: for he hath sayd, first seke the kingdome of God and these thinges shalbe ministred vnto you. Wherfore it is true, that these may be so hoped for, regarded and receaued of God as gifts and rewardes, and not as the principall thinges. For they also are to be referred to a farther

We may loue gayne and rewardes for gods sake.

end,

end, according to Paules moſt wholeſome admonition, who hath written: whether we eat, or whether we drinke, or whether we do any other thing, let vs do it to the glory of God. And finally ſeyng God him ſelfe, his glory, benevolence & fauour are the roote and foundation of other promiſes, and of euery reward, ſo often as we ſhall beholde theſe other thinges, for as much as they are comprehended in thoſe former thynges, we muſt neuer ſuffer to haue one ſeparated from an other, but in the latter continually looke vpon thoſe whiche are firſt. Wherby as Auguſtine hath geuen vs counſell, we ſhall loue nothyng beſides God which for his ſake we ſhould not loue. And thus much of this ſaid queſtion, now we will returne to the hiſtory. For as muche as it is now manifeſt that it was lawfull for Chaleb to ſet forth a reward to all them, whiche ſhould conquere the citie of Debir, to encourage them to performe that, whiche they ought otherwiſe of duety to haue done: it was counted no ſinne in Othoniel (of whome we now entreate) couragiouſly to fight for the obtayning of a wife, whiche he knew otherwiſe to be acceptable to God.

What is the foundation of earthly promiſes.

In latter promiſes the firſte are continually to be beholden.

14 And it came to paſſe, as he went, ſhe moued him, to aſke of her father a fielde and ſhe lighted of her Aſſe, and Chaleb ſayde vnto her: What wilt thou?

15 And ſhe aunſwered him, geue me a bleſſing, for thou haſt geuen me a drye lande, geue me alſo ſpringes of water. And Chaleb gaue her ſpringes both aboue and beneath.

In the xv. chap. of Ioſua, where all theſe thinges of Achſah and Othoniel are rehearſed in maner, by ſo many wordes, onely thre differences are perceaued in the word. One is, that which is here Techatioth and Alioth, is there Techitith & Alith. Moreouer there it is ſaid Tinna & here is Heah. Laſtly there is Scadah & here is Haſchadah. R. D. Kimhi hath noted theſe things. For ỹ interpretors of ỹ Hebrues are moſt preciſe, yea in obſeruing the very pricks, I would they were as quicke in ſight & diligẽt in rendring reaſons of annotatiõs. Achſah perſuaded & prouoked her husband, tq aſke the field of Chaleb her father, which I therfore tell you, becauſe the Latine trãſlation is corrupted. For it hath that the huſbãd perſuaded the wife to aſke the field of Chaleb. Furthermore by this we may conſider the ſharpeneſſe of the witte of a woman. She therfore moueth her huſband, to aſke the field, becauſe ſhe was perſuaded with her ſelfe, that her father would not deny him that whiche he ſhould aſke. She thought moreouer that if her husband obtayned the field, ſhe ſhould eaſely by her ſelfe afterward obtayne the waters, whereas if ſhe ſhould haue aſked them both at one time (namely the field and the waters) it might peraduenture be hard to obtayne both together. But if the field were firſt geuen to her husband, her father might be cõted very hard, if he ſhould deny his daughter the waters, ſhe requiring the of him. And in aſking ſhe wiſely watched a fitte tyme, namely when ſhe ſhould be brought to her huſbãd: for then parents are wont to ſhewe the ſelues more gentle towardes their childrẽ, whẽ they ſe ỹ they ſhalbe by & by taken frõ thẽ. Wherfore thoughe they were at other times hard, thẽ yet they ſomwhat relent. In this reaſon of the petitiõ I haue followed Leui the ſonne of Gerſon, who expoundeth that Hachſah would therfore haue her huſbãd to aſke ỹ ground firſt ỹ ſhe might the better afterward deſire the waters. But R. D. Kimhi in interpreting of ỹ boke of Ioſua, ſayth, ỹ he, namely Othoniel would not aſke it, wherfore the womã her ſelf was conſtrayned by her ſelfe to aſke her father. And this ſemeth to be ỹ meanyng of this interpretor, Chaleb had before geuẽ vnto his daughter ỹ field, as lãd for her dowry, ỹ ſoyle wherof was dry & barrẽ, wherfore ỹ witty mayde toke occaſiõ to aſke, ỹ it might be fertile thoroughe water. But howſoeuer it be, it ſkilleth not much, let vs only delightly marke this, ỹ Chaleb was liberal & honorable. For

Dauid kimhi

The pollicy of Achſah.

Leui the ſonne of Gherſon.

D. kimhi.

that he graunted his daughter both the waters aboue, & the waters beneath.

She lighted of her Asse, she lighted, to declare her due obeysaunce towardes her father, and to make her petition the more acceptable, and she so lighted that she kneled on the grounde with her knees, as the Hebrew word signifieth. For the Hebrewes vse that worde, *Sanach*, when they will signifie a stake or wedge or any such thyng to be driuen. To be shorte, she asked vpon her knees those thinges whiche she desired. Rebecka also, as it is written in the booke of Gen. whē she sawe Isaak to whom she was brought for to be hys wife, she lighted of her camele whereon she sat. Neither let vs meruayle that Achsah beyng the daughter of a prince rode on an Asse teseing that in Syria Asses are very muche vsed: for this kynd of beast, whiche is of his owne nature cold, is more vsed in hotter countreys, than in regions towarde the northe. And as we shall heare in this history, fifty sonnes of a certain iudge rode vpon fiftye Asses. Mephibosheth also the nephew of Saul the kyng, and Balaam the Prophete vsed this kynd of beaste. Neither is it in vayne that this request for waters is so diligently described in this place: for as muche as *Syria* hath grounde fertile enoughe, but that it wāteth water here and there. Wherfore it commeth to passe that riuers and fountaynes of waters are muche esteemed in those places. And God of purpose brought his people to these so dyre regions, neither would he haue them dwell in watery places, that they wayling for water might continually depend vpon hym, and thereby might haue the better occasion, to pray the oftener to the heauenly father, and the more feruently to obserue his commaundements. Neither hath God him selfe left this his counsell vnmēcioned of in the holy scriptures.

Asses are very vsed in Syria.

Riuers & fountaynes of waters are muche set by in Syria

Why GOD brought hys people to dyre regions.

Such things as Chalebgeueth his daughter, belong (as some thincke) either to the dowery or to the augmentatiō therof, whiche might be done by the ciuile law of that nation. For it was not forbidden, ỹ wiues might not geue ground, and landes to their husbandes in the name of a dowery, so that they maryed in their owne tribe and familie, as now Achsah was geuen to Othoniel, who assuredly was of the same tribe and familie that she was of. But if she had maryed in an other tribe, it had not ben lawfull for her to geue grounde and landes to her husband by the name of a dowery. For God had commaunded, and that diligently and precisely, that grounde and landes in especiall commyng by inheritaunce should not be alienated from their families for mariages sake. And the daughters of Zalphead gaue an occasion of this lawe makyng, as it is written in the booke of Num. the 27. and 36. chap. For those maydens, hauyng no brethren, obteyned of God by Moyses, that they might not be put beside their Fathers inheritaunce, but that in the deuisiō of the lande of Chanaan those landes might be assigned vnto them, whiche should haue ben geuen either to their father or to their brethren. But this was expressedly commaunded them that they should not mary out of their owne tribe and familie.

The Hebrewe maydēs which had dowerye landes, myght marye out of their own tribe

Whether husbandes in the olde tyme receaued doweryes of their wiues.

But whether husbands receaued dowerye of their wiues before the law, it is vncertain. The seruaunt of Abrahā rather gaue giftes to *Rebecka* thā receaued, for as much as he brought with him golden and siluer vessels in the name of Abraham and Isaak to be geuen to his wife. But there is no mētion made of the maydens dowery. *Iacob* also serued for his wyues, so farre was he frō receauyng any thyng of thē in the name of a dowery. *Sechē* also the sonne of Hemorh inordinately louyng Dina the daughter of *Iacob*, with whome he had committed fornication, sayd vnto the sonnes of *Iacob*: Increase her dowery as ye list, I will refuse no condition, so that I may haue your sister to wife. Now be it I can not tell, how ỹ custome of the auncient fathers in not taking but geuing doweries to wiues which they should mary, ought to be cōmēded, yet I thought good to rehearse those thinges which I haue read of this matter by ỹ way. And to begyn wt *Magadorus* (as it is in *Plautus*) in his comedy Aululari when he should take to wife the daughter of a poore mā, being also without dowery, commen-

Magadorus of Plautus.

deth

deth hys counsell by these wordes. If (sayeth he) other men would do after my example, the Citie would then be in better concorde, and enuie should not be so ryfe among vs, as it is. They, namely the wiues will feare vs the more, and we shall kepe them with much lesse cost, &c. When I consider these things, they seme to be very wisely spoken. For now & then it happeneth, that one citie is after a sort deuided into two parts, whē as the dāughters of poore men are without hope, to mary with them that be more riche, either bicause of the smalenesse of their dowery, or els bycause they be altogether without dowery. For they obtayne that neuer but by a certain happe, or els very rarely. Wherfore the richer and mightier sorte are much enuied & grieuously hated of the poorer sorte. Besides that, wiues that haue good doweries do not feare their husbandes, yea they contemne and despise them, countyng them as vnworthy to be matched with them in mariage. Lastly their ornamentes and lustes can not be satisfied but with extreme charges Plutarch sayth in the Apothegmata of Licurgus, whē he was demaunded, why he had cōmaunded by a law that virgines should mary without dowery, he aunswered, to the intent some should not be left vnmaried for pouertie sake, or other some should be to much laboured for, and estemed bycause of their riches, but that euery man diligently considering the manners of the maydens, might chose him a wife by her vertue. He sheweth also in the 30. probleme, that a bride brought to the bridegromes house onely a distaffe and a spindle. The *Decem viri* of *Rome* decreed also by the lawes of Solon, that a woman should be without a dowery, and should bring from her fathers house onely thre garmentes & also certayne vessels of smal price, bycause they would declare that the fellowshyp of mariage is not confirmed by money, but by the loue of children. These certainly agree very trimme with that whiche is written of Paul and Vulpiā in the *Pandectes* of gifte betwene the husband and the wife. It is written also of the Egiptians, that if they receaued dowery of their wiues, they should be then counted, as their wiues bondemen. Whiche custome did manifestly teache, that it seemeth both full of ignominie, and also vnprofitable, to seke a dowery for wyues, when as nothing is more noble than libertie, and nature hath ordayned that the husband should rule the wife. And it is written that the Spaniardes had a custome that the wyues should bring to their husbandes a distaffe with flare on it, in steade of a dowery. I coulde make mention of a great many besides, to shewe, that all the men in the olde time allowed not, that husbandes should haue doweryes geuen them when they maried their wyues. But certainly the lawes of God make mention very oftentymes of a dowery. And I am assured that it was vsed somewhere before the lawe. In Exodus, he which had defiled a virgin, was bound to mary her, so that her father were content: which if he were not, then was he cōpelled to geue her a dowery, as the lawe sayth the dowery of virgins is. Furthermore in the first booke of kinges. ix. chap. Pharao gaue for a dowery vnto Salomon which had maryed his daughter Gazar, a citie whiche he had taken from the Chananites. Besides this the Romane lawes, whiche otherwise are moste ful of equitie of all other lawes, do make much mention of doweryes, and haue many whole titles, in whiche this thing onely is entreated of.

Plutarch.

The lawe of Decemuiri.

The custome of ỹ Egiptians.

The maner of ỹ Spaniardes

But now seyng we are come thus farre, it were good to defyne what a dowry is, that therby we may the easlyer knowe, howe much of godly men is to be attributed vnto it in contracting of matrimonyes. A dowery is a right to vse thyngs, whiche are geuen to the husband by his wife, or by others in her name, to sustayne the burthens of matrimonye. And althoughe a dowery be properly sayd a right of vsyng, yet notwithstanding those thynges which are geuen vnto the mā, are oftentimes called by this word dowery. But the end is chiefly to be marked in this definition, namely to sustayne the burthens of matrimonye. It semeth also that seyng the husband bestoweth very muche in norysshyng hys

The definition of a dowery.

wife, and honestly mayntaining her, iustice and equitie require that somewhat be recompenced vnto him agayne. Wherefore for as much as a dowery hath this foundation of iustice, there is no doubt but that it is a thing lawfull. But in it is an error not to be suffred, because some are not ashamed to say, that by a dowery concorde betwene man and wife is the easelier obtayned. This both reason and experience teacheth to be most false. Who is ignorant, that that kynde of amitie whiche hath a respect onely to profit, and whiche is founded only vpon pleasure, is very fraile and transitory & Moreouer experience teacheth, that mariages so contracted that no other thyng be considered but onely beautye of the wife, & the dowery, haue very ill successe. Wherefore those are reprehended by the cõmon prouerbe, Qui vxores oculis & digitis ducunt, such as marry wiues with their eyes and fingers: that is whiche are moued onely with beauty and money. Wherefore iust lawes ought not to take away doweryes, but seuerely to forbid, that they be not to much encreased, or that they be not contrary to vertue and honestye. Therefore the Romane lawes commaunded those doweryes to be cut of, whiche were greater than the abilitie of the geuer could beare, as it is written in the Digestes of the lawe of doweryes. And contrarywise we must take hede, that the parentes or tutors being ouercome with couetousnesse geue not lesse than honestly requireth, as it is written in the title de dote inofficiosa. And bycause doweryes are geuen to sustayne the burthens of matrimony, those can not be excused, whiche when they haue receaued them of their wiues, are not afeard afterward to vse their wyues vnworthily. They be besides that vniuste bycause they violate the lawe of God, by whiche they ought to loue their wiues as them selues and their owne body, when as they will not conuenientlye helpe them with their owne goods. Yea there be some, whiche if they were not letted by publicque lawes would consume, sell and vtterly alienate their wiues doweryes. And ỹ that should not happen, lawes, chiefly the Romane lawes haue diligently prouided for: for they decree that the dominion of the dowery should remayne with the wiues althoughe the husbãds had ỹ fruit & vse therof as lõg as ỹ mariage should last. But what, I pray you, shall I say of thẽ, which do suffer so grieuous & intollerable burthens of matrimony to be dayly augmented, in to much cokering & flattering of their wiues? Surely they sinne most grieuously, for as much as now neither their own patrimony, neither their wiues doweries cã be sufficient, they will so abound euery way in ornamẽts & sumptuousnesse. How beit godly husbãds & holy wiues ought to appoint all thinges moderatly. But why thinck we haue ỹ lawes ordained so many things, & by so many ways cõcerning doweries? Bicause they would kepe ỹ citizẽs wout hurt or damage, whẽ they marry & are ioyned together in matrimony. For it is expedient for the publicque wealth, ỹ if the husbãd do dye, ỹ dowery may remayne whole vnto ỹ wife, wherũ if she wil she may mary agayn. Or if ỹ wife dye before, ỹ the dowry may serue to nourishe, apparell & bring vp the children gotte by matrimony.

But thou wilt aske, wherefore are doweries sayd to be geuen by this title to sustayne the burthens of matrimony? Least the same dowery should be counted a price, as thoughe wiues & mariages were thinges to be sold. For which selfe cause in the digestes, giftes betwene the husband & the wife are prohibited, namely, that in matrimonyes already contracted, giftes betwene the husband and wyfe should not be receaued. Furthermore when as diuorcements were geuen by that ciuile lawe, if giftes betwene man and wife had ben lawfull, mariages should most easely haue ben dissolued. For if one of the maried would not geue vnto the other as muche as he would demaunde, he should by and by haue ben repudiated. The men in dede might geue certaine giftes vnto their wyues before the mariages, whiche were called ioyntures, as some certaine recompencinges of the dowery. But when they were once maried together, the Romane lawes permitted not that they should geue giftes one to an other. Of whiche thing

In errour concerning dowry

Frendshyppe grounded on profit and pleasure is weake.

Agaynste to great doweryes and such as be against all vertue & honestly.

Why the dowry ought to remayne for the wyues.

A dowery is not the price of matrimony.

ἀντίφρηα.

thing Plutarch also hath made mention, out of whom neuertheleſſe is brought an other reaſō, thā ẏ which I ſhewed to be taken of ẏ lawes. Theſe be ẏ wordes in the 35. & 36. precept of matrimony: Certain bodies are ſaid to conſiſt of ſeuered things, as an hoſt, & an army, other bodies of things ioyned together, as a houſe and a ſhip: other ſome are united & congeled together as al liuing creatures are. Wherefore matrimony which conſiſteth of liuing creatures is united and ſetled together. But ẏ matrimony which cōſiſteth either for dowry ſake, or for childrē longeth to bodies ioyned together. And ẏ which conſiſteth for pleaſure & carnal copulation, may be numbred among the ſeuered bodies. For there man & wyfe may be ſaid to dwel together, but not to liue together. And as in liuig creatures the temperatures of humors run through out all the partes: ſo mariage muſte mingle bodies, money, frends & kinſfolkes together. And ẏ maker of ẏ Romane lawes forbad perſons coupled in matrimonye to take or to geue giftes one to an other, not to the entent they ſhould not be partakers of any one thing, but that they ſhould thinke all things to be cōmon, &c. But theſe things are to be vnderſtand of free giftes & not of doweryes, which otherwiſe were both lawful & alſo much vſed in the Romane publique wealth. For the daughters of Scipio, Curius and Cincinnatus had dowryes out of the treaſorye, bycauſe of the pouertie of their parentes, to the intent they ſhould not be maried without doweries.

Certayne maydens had dowryes oute of the treaſorye.

Yea and ẏ generall councell holden at Orleaunce (as it is rehearſed in the. 30. Queſti. 5. chap. Nullum ſine) decreed ẏ no matrimony ſhould be contracted without a dowery. Let the dowery (ſayth it) be according to the habilitie, neither let any perſon preſume to marry but publiquely. This Canon I gladly allow in ẏ it condemneth ſecret mariages: but in that it decreeth ẏ matrimonies can not be contracted without a dowery, for as much as it is not confirmed by the teſtimony of the word of God, I can not admit it. For there are & haue bene very many which haue maried wiues cleane without any dowery, yea & thoſe mē of ſo great honeſtye and authoritie, ẏ it ſhould ſeme very raſh to condemne their fact, ſeing the holy ſcriptures are not againſt it: neither do I iudge that matrimony ſhould by any meanes be denied to thoſe womē which are without dowery, if thei haue nede of matrimonye. Paule furthermore teſtifyeth, ẏ matrimonye ſhadoweth the coniunction of Chriſt with the church: wherfore if we ſhould loke vpō the truth, the church had nothing which it could offer vnto Chriſt in the name of a dowry, yea rather (as Ezechiel teacheth) God found it rolled in bloud and myre. The fathers in the old teſtament ſeme to haue had wiues ſometimes without doweries. Wherfore it ſemeth to be decreed, ẏ men may and ẏ it is lawfull to receaue doweryes when they are geuen, & that the ſame cuſtome is honeſt, ſo that ẏ iuſt meane be not exceded, and he which marieth be not allured to matrimony by ẏ name of the dowery as the principall cauſe. The manners and godlineſſe of the wyfe ought chiefly to be regarded, neither ought any man byandby to perſuade himſelf, If I ſhal marry a wife without a dowery, I ſhall therefore haue her the better and the quieter, ſeing (as Ierome declareth in his fyrſt booke againſt Iouinian) Cato Cenſorius had Actoria Paula to wyfe, who was borne of a baſe kinred, who was poore alſo and without a dowerye, and yet for all that ſhe was a dronckard, weake, and proud vnto the ſame Cato.

It is falſe that matrimonie can not be cōtracted without a dowrye.

The generall councell holden at Orleaunce.

Ierome. The wyfe of Cato.

16 And the childzen of Kent Moyſes father in lawe, went vp oute of the citye of the Palme trees, with the childzen of Iudah, into the wilderneſſe of Iudah, that lieth in the ſouth of Arad: and went and dwelt among the people.

In the conquering the citie of Hebron and Debir there is mention made alſo of the childzen of Moyſes father in law: they were Ethniks in dede by kinde,

Of the Kenites

but they wer ioyned wᵗ the Israelites in will and fayth, from whō also in ꝑ fyrst offspring of kinred they wer not straungers: for as much as they came of Madian the sonne of Abraham by his wyfe Keturah. And the same Kenites constantly abode with the Hebrues tyll theyr captiuitye into Babilon, for as much as the Rechabites came of the Kenites, as it is written in the booke of Paralipomenon. But why they were called Kenites it is vncertaine. But some thinke ꝑ it came of this, because the sonne of Iethro, namely Hobab, the brother of Moyses wife, was called Kin by an other name. He therfore in the beginning with his familye dwelled together with the Beniamites in the fieldes of Iericho, when the Israelites passing ouer Iordane vnder Iosua possessed the city of Iericho. But after when they sawe that the tribe of Iudah possessed the cityes of Hebron & Debir, they went vnto thē, and dwelt more cōmodiously in ꝑ plaine of Harad, although they had no certayne houses, but liued continually as it were in tentes.

The citie of Palmes.

Although some suspecte the citie of Palmes to haue bene Engaddi, yet moste part of the expositours interprete it to be Iericho, with whom Iosephus de Antiquit. Hebr. agreeth, and also Paraphraste Caldaicus, yea and the booke of Deut in the xxxiii. chap. testifyeth the same. For as muche as that citie had a notable grone of Palmes of a hundred furlongs, which thing Strabo also testifyeth. And yet we may not thinke that ꝑ Kenites reedifyed the citie of Iericho: for it was accursed by the commaundement of Iosua, who amongest other thinges published this (as it is to be beleued) in the name of God, namely that he which should attempt to repayre it, should wrappe himself vnder the curse which came to passe in very deede: For in the time of Ahab the wicked king, one Aiel builte it vp agayne, but to his own great hurt. For his two sonnes Abiram & Segub perished whē ꝑ citie was in repayring, as it is written in ꝑ first boke of kings. xvi. chap.

Strabo.

The fielde of Ierichobelōged to the tribe of Beniamin.

But the countrey or ground thereof belonged by diuision vnto the tribe of Beniamin. And these Kenites as it semeth had pitched tentes there, eyther for warfare, or els for keping of shepe, in which thei liued for a time eyther about ꝑ citie or els betwene ꝑ decaied places of ꝑ city. And there was a regard had vnto thē in distributing of ꝑ land, & in assigning of fieldes (as Iosephus also testifieth) according to ꝑ promise made vnto thē by Moyses, which is writtē in the. xxvi. chap. of Num. And it is thought to be very lykely ꝑ their lot was in the tribe of Iudah which being not yet possessed by the children of Israel, they dwelled (as it is said) in the land with the Beniamites in the field of Iericho. This exposition semeth ful and manifest inough.

Kimhi

But Kimhi followeth an other opinion, and thinketh that the children of Israell, when they after they had conquered Hebron and Debir in the time of Iosua, had determined vtterly to destroy the citie of Iericho, vnderstanding that the Kenites dwelte there lyke straungers as I thinke (because they came of the flocke of Madian) before they ouerthrew al the city, they called them away, that they might not perish with the other Chananites. The same curtesie syd Saule shewe vnto them, when he should make warre agaynst Amelek, as it is writtē in the fyrst booke of Samuel xv. chap. For he commaunded the Kenites to depart, least they shoulde be destroyed with Amelek: and he shewed a cause, namely because they were good and gentle vnto the Israelites comming vp out of Egipt. Kimhi addeth moreouer, that Amelek and the Kenites were of a farre contrarye affection toward the Israelites. For the Kenites loued thē wonderfull wel. But Amelek hated thē deadly. Wherfore eue as god had bound himselfe by an othe, ꝑ warre should be continually made agaynst Amelek: so would he haue ꝑ Kenites recōpenced alwayes with benifites. This interpretation should be very likely, if this departing of ꝑ Kenites frō Iericho, were not put by our history after Hebron and Debir were conquered. But Iericho was conquered of Iosua fyrst of all after he had passed ouer Iordane: and certainely before he had gotten Hebron & Debir Besides thys oure history entreateth eyther of the Kenites whiche remayned

in

in Madian, or ells of those which had ioyned thēselues in fellowship with ỳ people of Israel. It semeth ỳ this can not be spoken of the firſt, whē as Iericho is not in Madian, yea it is farre distant frō thence, but if we shal vnderstand this to be spoken of those which came with Israell, how shuld it be vnderstand ỳ they dwelt in Iericho, before Iosua toke it? Moreouer it is not found in ỳ texte of the hiſtory, ỳ they were called forth as Kimhi writeth: but it is playnly written ỳ they went frō thence to Iudah. Wherefore I can better agree with Iosephus, who writeth ỳ they therfore departed frō thence, bicause in ỳ deuision of the land, & distributing of fieldes (as I haue before sayd) their inheritaunce fell about the tribe of Iudah wherfore they got thē vnto it when Hebron & Debir were conquered. But why frō the time they came ouer Iordane euen to this time they dwelt rather about Iericho thā in any other place, seing the scripture speaketh not of it, I am cōtent to lacke the knowledge therof.

Iosephus. Why ỳ Kenites departed from Iericho.

But bicause this Kenite (as many Hebrues confesse) was the father in law of Moyses, which thing also Ierome confyrmeth in his booke of traditiōs or Hebrue questions vpon the firſt boke of Samuel & vpon Paralip. we muſt therefore call to memory Iethro, of whom is mentiō made more largely in the boke of Exodus. That Iethro was he to whō Moyses came when he fled out of Egipt, who was also either prince or prieſt of Madian. For ỳ Hebrue word Cohen ſignifieth both, & therfore the holy hiſtoryes writeth of ỳ ſonnes of Dauid ỳ they were Cohenim ỳ is princes, & highly exalted amongeſt magiſtrates: for ſo were kynges wont to exalte their children. Although Aben-Esra affirmeth Moyses father in law to haue bene prieſt of Madian. And sayth ỳ he miniſtred not to Idols, but to the true god: for the pure worshipping of god was not ſo peculiar to the people of Israell, but ỳ there were godly men in other places, which worshipped god ſincerely. There is no doubt but ỳ Melchiſedech was ſuch a one, whō the ſcripture calleth the prieſt of the high god. Moyses defended the daughters of this Iethro frō the shepeherdes at the wel, by which meanes he was made his ſōne in law. And afterward when he led his shepe not farre frō the mount Sina he was called of god, to deliuer the people of Israell frō the Egiptian bondage. Wherefore he asked leaue of him to depart & went his way to Egipt, & frō thence after wonder full worckes of god, he led the people into the deſerte, and fought againſt Amelek in whoſe land Kenite the Madianite dwelt. And when Moyses had obtayned the victory, Iethro, who was not with Amelek in the warre, came vnto Moyses hys ſonne in law, & reioyced at his happy ſucceſſe in the battaile, he did ſacrifice, and cōmunicated together with his ſonne in lawe, & the reſt of the Israelites in geuing thankes to god. He gaue also vnto Moyses wholeſome coūſell, not to weary himſelf in hearing al cauſes: But rather that he ſhould haue men choſen out, which might both beare & also determine cōmon and light cauſes, & ſuch as were harder, to be referred only to him: and he for ỳ moſt hard matters to aske coūſel of god, and loke what god had anſwered & commaunded, the ſame to be decreed for the people. Whē Iethro or Kenite had done theſe with Moyses in the wilderneſſe after the warre of Amelek before the law was geuen, he returned into his own countrey as it is written in the xviii. Chap. of Exodus.

What this word Cohen ſignifyeth.

ii. Sam viii.

Aben-Esra

But concerning his returne into his own countrey, there are two opinions, both of the Hebrues & our men. Some ſay that he returned to diſpoſe and ſet an order in his domeſticall things, and to make preparation for his familie to iourney with the Israelites. Which things being al finiſhed almoſt in one yeares ſpace, he returned to his ſonne in lawe, and went together with him and the Israelites to the land of Chanaan. And ſo they ſay, although it be ſayd in the hiſtorye that he departed before, yet it is truely put in the boke of Num. that Moyses ſpake with him, in the ſecond yeare from the departure out of Egipt, when the tabernacle was then finiſhed, & orders appoynted, whereby the Hebrues ſhoulde go forward. For he deſired him, not to depart frō him, but to be as it were an eye

Of the returne of Moyses father in law into his countrey.

to the Iſraelits in this their iourney into ſtraunge countryes, ſo⁊ that he knew all the places of ꝯ deſert very well, bycauſe he was bo⁊ne in the countrey adioyning vnto it. Not bycauſe the pyllers and cloudes led not the Iſraelites ſafely & ſoundly, but bycauſe this man was very cunning in pitching and camping an hoſte. Moyſes woulde therfo⁊e (as they ſay) haue him to inſtructe the troupes of Souldiours which ſhoulde goe fo⁊th, and to p⁊ouide that they going fo⁊warde, ſhoulde abyde ioyned together, and ſhoulde keepe the iuſte manner of warlyke o⁊der. Whereunto thys alſo was a helpe, fo⁊ that by reaſon of hys knowledge of the countreyes he coulde eaſely admonyſhe the Iſraelites of the nature of thoſe places, and howe farre diſtante and nyghe they were together. Howbeit other ſay, that Iethro ſo returned to hys houſe, after he had reioyced with Moyſes that he retourned not vnto hym agayne: fo⁊ as it is to be beleued, he was very aged, and therfo⁊e he ſpent the reſte of hys age with hys neyghbours and familye in Madian, exerciſyng his office eyther of a p⁊ince o⁊ ells of a p⁊ieſt. Neuertheleſſe they thynke ꝯ he left a ſonne with Moyſes, called Hobab, to the entente he might be th⁊oughly inſtructed by Moyſes hys kinneſman, and by Aaron, and other excellent men of the Hebr̃ues, in Godlineſſe and knowledge of wo⁊ſhipping of God. Therfo⁊e they wil haue this man to be he, whō Moyſes ſpake vnto in the. x. of Num. and made ouerſear fo⁊ pitching of the campes. Beſides ꝯ they ſay ꝯ this mans ſonnes & familye were now at this p⁊eſent called Kenites. And I my ſelf, to ſay what I thinke true, do much agree with this latter ſentence.

Balaam the Pꝛophet.

Fo⁊ Balaam the Pꝛophet in the. 24. chap. of Num. p⁊ophecied peculiarly of the Kenites, that they ſhould haue their habitations in the moſt fenced places, and ꝯ thei ſhould there abide, til they were led away captiues by the Aſsirians, & he ioyneth them (as it appeareth manifeſtly in that place) with Amelek: fo⁊ (as I ſayd befo⁊e) they inhabited al one land with the Amelekites. Wherfo⁊e it is gathered that Iethro ſo departed from Moyſes into Madian, to dwell there continually. And ſo it might be that Balaam the Pꝛophet ioyned the Kenites with the Amelekites, of which Kenites neuertheleſſe part were with the Iſraelites, fo⁊ as much as Iethro (as it is ſayd) left his ſonne with them.

Beſides this in the. x. chap. of Num. Hobab was deſired of Moyſes, to come & go with the Iſraelites, whether they went: who refuſed to goe any farther, bycauſe he was mynded to returne home into his countrey. Fo⁊ he was left there of his father to be better inſtructed in the wo⁊ſhippyng of God, and he abode with the Iſraelites tyll they were readye to depart thence, And then he thought to haue returned into his countrey: but being deſired of Moyſes, he conſented at length to iourney fo⁊th with ꝯ Iſraelits. But theſe things could not haue bene ſo, if we ſhould thinke ꝯ Hobab had bene Iethro, which after he had denided & ſet his things in o⁊der ſhould haue returned againe to Moyſes, with ꝯ minde & purpoſe to haue gone fo⁊ward with ꝯ Iſraelits. Fo⁊ what neded Moyſes to haue entreated hym to do that, fo⁊ which cauſe he came from hys owne houſe to doe? O⁊ why ſhoulde he haue chaunged hys purpoſe to retourne into hys owne countreye, whiche he had befo⁊e vtterly fo⁊ſaken? Laſtly why ſhoulde he afterwarde haue denyed to goe, which he had befo⁊e decreed with hymſelf to do? I know in deede there be ſome but not many which affyrme, that Iethro was that Hobab with whom Moyſes ſpake in the booke of Num. which thyng let thē affyrme fo⁊ me, howbeit I thought good to declare what I iudged moſt likely.

And that the familye of the Kenites dwelled long among the Amelekites o⁊ very nyghe adioynyng vnto them, the fyrſte booke of Samuel teſtifyeth, where it is wr⁊itten that Saul ſo called fo⁊th the Kenites, leaſt he ſhould haue deſtroyed them together with the Amelekites. Wherefo⁊e it ſemeth that parte of the Kenites dwelled with the Amelekites, & part with the Iſraelits, of whiche both of thē were alwaies moſt frendly to ꝯ Hebr̃ues. And god declareth ꝯ he had excellētly ado⁊ned thē in their publique wealth, & that wō thr̃ee p⁊incipal giftes.

Fo⁊

For they excelled in the study & knowledge of the law. They were also notable in obtaining of a great victorye. Lastlye they lined vertuously and godlye. And concerning the study of the law, wherein they flourished, the first booke of Paralipomenon and seconde chapter towarde the ende, is a wytnesse vnto them. For there is mencion made of them with the family of Iambes, that is, of Othoniel, and they ar said to haue bene Scribes: wherby it appeareth that the tradition of the Hebrues is not to bee despised, that in the doctrine of the lawe, they were the disciples of Othoniel: for they ar reckoned in his family. And it is a very common thing, to count disciples in the place of children. Ierome also in hys questions vpon Paral. alloweth this opinion, which (as it is said) seemeth to agree with the scriptures. Neither do I thynke that for anye other cause there is mencion made of them in this place among the actes of Othoniel, but onelye bycause they lyued together alwaies with his family most louingly. They ar also counted with the tribe of Iudah, although they were not of the stocke of the Israelites. Wherfore they amongst other wer a figure of the callyng of the Gentiles. The other notable ornament of theirs in that publique wealthe was that noble victory, which is declared in the. 4. chap. of this booke. For Iahel, the wife of Aber the Kenite slew Sisara the captayne of warre of Iabin king of Chanaan, and God would by the hand of a woman of this familye graunt great health to the Israelites. Lastly that they wer wel manered, and obseruers of their fathers commaundementes, the family of Ionadab the sonne of Rechab hath declared. They dronke no wyne, which at that tyme was the maner of the Nazarites, and notably despising earthly thinges they dwelled not in houses, but lyued in tentes, and exercised the arte of a shepherd which is most simple. For which thing they are very much commended of Ieremy the Prophet, and adourned wyth a most ample promisse aboue the Iewes, bycause they had geuen more seruice & obedience vnto him namelye Rechab their parent, than the Hebrues had done vnto God himselfe, which neuertheles dyd continually boast in that father and holy progenitours. Wherefore we knowe that to be most true which Paul hath taught to the Romanes, that they in dede had Abraham to their father, whiche followed the steppes of hys fayth, they were not Iewes by nature, but by wyl and faith were made Proselites, and in godlynes and holynes farre passed very many of those which were by nature Iewes.

Three thinges God seemeth to haue geuen to the Kenites.

1.

Ierome.

Why mencion is made here of the Kenites.

2.

3.

Prayse of the Rechabites.

We gather moreouer hereby, that it muche auayleth vs to ioyne our selues with good men, and with the felowshyp of the godly. The Kenites which wer the posterity of Hobab, if they would haue rested (as the most part of men do) in their owne countrye, and in the place where they were borne, they had fallen at length into the ignorance of God and of his lawes, wherby they should easely haue bene lyke vnto their neighbour Amalek. But bycause they despising theyr owne thinges, and kynded with the faith of the promisse of God, ioyned themselues vnto the Israelites, therfore God gaue them suche good successe in theyr thinges. We ought to remember with our selues the moste honest cause of the peregrination of these men. For al good men trauayle not into straunge countries for one purpose. There be very many, which do therfore often tymes leaue their countrey, bycause they may not worship God there after the sincere & lawful maner of worshipping, yea they are grieuously troubled there, if they endeuour them selues therunto. So Abraham was called out of his lande and from hys kynred, least he should styl haue gone forwarde with his elders to contaminate him selfe with Idolatry. So Christ also said, if they shal persecute vs in ons city, let vs flye vnto an other. But ther be other, which though they be not letted at home from the true godlynes, yet for al that they wil go see those places, wher they thinke they may yet get more profyt, and be more certainlye instructed in thinges deuine and necessary for saluacion. For which cause Plato is commended, bycause he came to the Egiptians, & went to a part of Italy, that is great

It is very profitable for men to ioyne them selues to good & godly persons.

What are the moste honest causes of peregrination.

Plato his peregrination is praysed.

Greece:

Greace: he went also vnto diuers nations, as though he should follow wisdome flieng from him. So in like wise Saba the quene is commended in the holy scriptures, which trauailed from so farre countries to heare Salomon: after this maner the Kenites (of whom we entreate) followed the people of Israel: for although at home they knew & worshipped one God, whose Priest their father also was, yet neuertheles they desired to be styl more instructed, and more absolutelye to receaue the lawes, institutions and worshipping of God.

Hercules.

They are also very much worthy of praise, which do for this cause only trauaile into other countries to profyt others, and to helpe and deliuer them from the miseries wherewyth they be oppressed. After which sorte the Poetes haue sayd that Hercules wandred through the world, by his might to destroy wicked and hurtful men, which miserably afflicted mankinde. Neither did the Apostels trauaile throughout the whole worlde for any other cause, than to deliuer men out of the mouth of the deuyl, and by the preaching of the Gospel to loose them from their chaines of errours. Christ also for this selfe same cause would trauail and iourney among men, that by his doctrine and death he might delyuer mankind frō eternal destruction. Wherfore the Kenites may be numbred with these: for they also adioyned them selues companions with the Israelites, to helpe thē through the deserte. For (as it is said) they hauing good knowledge of those places, might stand the Iewes in great steede. These counsels are plainlye iudged good and honest, for whose causes peregrinations which are taken wythout cōpulsion, are honest and prayse worthy.

There maye be other reasons also of peregrination, which as they be not alwaies to be refused, yet are they nothing to be compared wyth these, eyther in praise, or els in worthynes. Wherfore let godly men take hede when they iourney into farre coūtries, that they apply them selues as much as is possible vnto these causes & reasons now mētioned. And as God hath not defrauded these Kenites of the fruit which they looked for, but made them partakers and that plentifully of those good thinges which he had prepared for his people, so seyng also he is now the same God which he was then, we must beleue, that he will not suffer him selfe to depart from his accustomed maner and perpetuall goodnes, so that we obserue the good and iust causes and reasons of peregrination.

Seneca. What is chiefly to bee obserued in peregrination.

But in that thing we haue nede of great warenesse and diligēce, namely that chiefly (as Seneca hath wel admonished in his. 105. epistle to Lucilla) we depart from our selues, that is that we laye awaye our wicked affections, bycause the chaunging of places do lytle profit, if we cary about together with vs the same affectiōs, which we had before. Yea and ỳ chiefly helpeth to the renuing of godlynes, that we bee made other from our selues. For what had the good lawes, honest maners, and chaste religion which the Iewes professed, profited the Kenites, if they would haue brought their own thinges with them, and continued in the same wherin they wer conuersaunt before? Wherfore they which do trauaile into other countries for studye and godlynes sake, ought not to haue thys purpose before them, to behold the Cities, buildinges, riuers, fieldes, vineyards woods, playes and qualities of men: For all these thynges although they somewhat delite the beholders, as chyldren which with pleasure do marueyl at euery new and straunge thing, yet they do nothing, or very lytle helpe. The chiefe cause ought to be, ỳ they onely study aboue al other thinges to be made better, as touching godlines & doctrine. For if they shal despise this, they shal be sayd to wander, rather thā iustly to iourney. Let them not therfore retaine with them any longer those euyls which are to be auoided, yet let them aboue all thinges iourney from the ignoraunce of God, from the vnskilfulnes of the holye Scriptures, from corrupt affectiōs, and from wicked and pernitious examples. This is the iust cause of peregrinatiō, which the Kenites by their dede do declare vnto vs. If the Lacedemonians had had a regard to thys, they would not by their

lawes

lawes haue prohibited peregrinations: But I suppose that they regarded thys, which they marked so to come to passe for the most part, that the citizens in trauailing into straunge countries, learned of the straungers whom they went to see, not their vertues and wisdom, but rather their vices and errours, and afterward being infected with many euyls, they returned into their country, where they destroied their Citizens by a certayne pestiferous contagiousnes. Which thing surely no man doubteth but that it is a grieuous euyll and discommodity to a publique wealth. And yet we may not therfore decree that al peregrinatiõs are hurtful. For there can be found no City, no people, nor no publique wealth in the world, which hath not many things vnperfect in maners & lawes, which may be amended and corrected by the sight and knowledge of others. Lycurgus certainly which made that law, profited much in trauailing into straunge cõtries. Yea and the Decemuiri of the Romanes went them selues into Græcia, to the end they would know the lawes of that people, and by that meanes they wonderfully prouided for their publique wealth. And thus muche for peregrination.

The Lacedemonians prohibited peregrinations.

Why peregrinations do profyt.

Licurgus.

Decemuiri of the Romanes.

And now let vs finish this history, iudging that the children of Kenite were of that stocke which wer begotten of Hobab in ỹ wildernes among the children of Israel: And that Hobab was the sonne of Moyses father in lawe, & hys liues brother germaine. Neither ought this to moue vs because it is saide in the .x. of Num. Chothen because as Aben-Esra there testifieth, that woorde signifieth not onely a father in law, but also the brother of the wife, and some haue translated the same woorde there not for a father in lawe, but a kynsman. But these Kenites departed out of the fielde of Iericho, that they might obtayne possession with the tribe of Iudah. And therfore they ar sayd to haue dwelled with the people. For first they followed them in iourneyeng with them, & nowe by the same right they are sayd to haue dwelled with them. And they ascended, because Iericho was situate in a valley, and betwene it and Ierusalem was a deserte longing to Iudah, which as it is very lykely had in it wooddy places, and mete for pasture. And that it was so, it is easelye gathered out of the Gospell of Luke, where Christ put foorth a parable, namely that a man descended from Ierusalem to Iericho, and fel into the handes of theeues. And certainly if he descended, it is manifest ỹ these ascended, when they followed the tribe of Iudah going toward Ierusalem. And because the place was ful of woodes, it was an easy matter (especially in the time of Christ when the common wealth of the Hebrues was very much out of frame) for it to be ful of theeues. There certainly (as farre as can be perceaued) the Kenites receaued their lot. And I think I haue spoken inough as touching this history.

Aben-Esra.

The situation of Iericho.

17. And Iudah went wyth Symeon his brother, and smote the Chananites dwelling in Zephat, and vtterly destroyed it, and called the name of the City Horma.

18. And Iudah tooke Hazza and the borders therof, and Ascalon with the borders therof, and Ekron with the borders thereof.

Now we are come to that place where the long parenthesis (which I before admonished you of) endeth. And what soeuer followeth after these woordes The children of Iudah fighting against Ierusalem tooke it, &c. to this place, are declared by a parenthesis. For al those thinges happened not after the death of Iosua, but when he was yet lyuing. And now the history retourneth to that setting forward to battaile which they of Iudah and the Symeonites tooke in hand, styred vp by the oracle of God. And therfore it is written: And Iudah went wyth Symeon hys brother, and smote the Chananites dwellyng

Here the aforesaid parenthesis endeth.

in

in Zephat, and vtterly destroyed it, and called the name of the Citye Horma. The Hebrues did not vtterly throw downe nor destroy certain cities which they possessed, but dwelled in them. Howbeit som they cursed and cleane defaced. And their dowe was called in Hebrew, Cherem, of the thing that was promised, derived from this word Charam, which is to waste, to destroy, to kil, to deface, & to geue vnder curse. The Grecians called that word ἀνάθεμα: They called ἀναθέματα also, ἀφιερώμενα, and ἀποκείμενα as thinges consecrated and put apart. And it may be that so they called them, bycause they were hanged vp in temples, and were seperated from the vse of men, neither was it lawfull to remoue them out of that place. Yea and men somtymes wer called by that name. Paule also vsed that word many tymes, for he saith to the Galathians: Let hym be accursed whosoeuer shal preache any other Gospel. And to the Romanes he wished him selfe to be made a curse for the brethren. And to the first of the Corinthians he saith: he ỹ loueth not ỹ lord Jesus, let him be accursed, Maranatha, wher he taketh this word ἀνάθεμα for this word Cherem, that is, a thing seperated and seioyned vtterly from mans occupying or vse, so that it was wicked either to touch it, or to put it to any vse. Wherfore we haue a testimonye in the booke of Iosua, the. 6. chap. of the city of Iericho. And it semed to haue bene so accursed bycause it was after a sorte the fyrst fruites of the Cities that were taken. For after they were passed ouer Iordane, it was the first of al the cities that was conquered, and that by no mans helpe, for that the walles therof fel downe of their owne accorde, and through the woorking of God. And therefore it was meete that the spoyles therof should altogether bee consecrated vnto God. But that semeth to be vtterly farre from the worshipping of God to destroy both cities and men, and these seme to haue a shew of cruelty, rather than of religion. We that answer, that the destruction of townes in dede of their own nature, belong neither to religion nor yet to godlynes, but so farre forth as they ar referred to the glory of God. And that may happen two maner of wayes. As whē that destruction is counted as a certayn monument of the seuerity and iustice of God against those nations which he for their wickednes would haue destroyed, or as a certain testimony of Gods goodnes and mercy towards the Israelites, whom in that expedition he mercyfully helped. Therefore the ouerthrowing of the city, houses, men, and beastes, did shew the iustice and seuerite of God. And the consecration declared the goodnes, helpe and mercy shewed to that people. Moreouer God would by that meanes proue the obedience of his people in abstaining from the spoiles which wer consecrated vnto God. For we know that souldiours when they haue gotten the victory, are hardlye restrained from the pray. But they which obeied not the curse published, wer most grieuously punished: which the holy history of Iosua declareth to haue happened vnto Acham, bycause he disobeyed vnto him selfe some of the spoiles of Iericho. We know also that Saul for this cause was deprined of his kyngdome, bycause he had reserued Agag the king, and certain oxen and fat cattel of the pray which wer bound before to the vow of the curse.

The vowe of Cherem that is of the curse.

Why the cytye of Iericho was made a curse.

Whether the destruction of cities pertayne to the worshipping of God.

God by these curses proued hys people.

The forme of the curse.

Of the forme and end of the curse we haue spoken enough. For the forme is the destruction of cities, men and beastes, and the consecration of gold, siluer, yron, brasse, precious stones, and costly things, which wer appointed onely to the vse of the tabernacle. But the end was that they might be monuments of Gods goodnes and iustice, and also an exercise and trial of the Israelites. Now resteth some what to speake of the matter and efficient cause therof.

The end of the same.

The matter of the same.

The matter was, what soeuer was found on lyue in those cities, for al that ought to be killed, and the buildinges and other garnishinges of the city ought to be cleane destroyed: but as for the ornamentes and riches, they were (as it is sayd) consecrated vnto the worshipping of God. But ther is to be marked, that none wer vowed vnto so horrible a destruction, but such as were already decla-

red

red and knowen to be enemies of God: for it is not lawfull to kyll Innocentes. Wherfore they sinned most grieuously which so vowed Paules death, that they would neither eate nor drinke tyl they had killed him. And at this daye they behaue them selues more than wickedly, which saye that they haue vowed them selues most cruelly to kil al the Professours of the gospel. Yea, and Iephte without doubt was deceaued, which bicause of hys kynde of vowyng thought that his daughter should either be slaine, or els compelled to perpetual virginity. Agamemnon also is to be condemned, which (as Cicero declareth in his booke of offices) vowed vnto Diana the fairest woman that should be borne in his kyngdome. And to performe this foolish vowe, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. But the efficient cause of the vow Cherem, somtimes is God, as it is written in the. vii. and. x. chap. of Deut. For ther it is commaunded that places dedicated to Idoles, aulters, ymages, groues, & monumentes should be vtterly destroied, and that was a perpetual curse in the land of Chanaan, and to be alwaies obserued. Somtimes the Prince made such a vow, as we reade of Iosua, and somtimes the people, as we find in the. 21. chap. of Num. The prophets also somtimes did this, & so Samuel cõmaũded Saul, cleane to destroi al things belõging to ỹ Amelekites

Iephte.

Agamemnon.

The efficient cause of a curse

The name of this city, wherof we now entreate, was afterwarde called Horma, for it was not so called before, and it was so called of the woorde Cherem. For such a name were they wont to geue vnto such places as were wasted and destroyed by a curse. In the booke of Num. 21. chapter a certaine portion of the Chananites, which the Israelites possessed by violence, was by reason of suche a vowe called Horma.

But some peraduenture wil aske, whether these destructions of townes wer against charity? To whom I answer no. Bicause such enemies were chosen to be vtterly destroyed of the Iewes by the iudgement of God, and not by the lust of men. But as touching the loue or hatred of enemies, wee must vnderstande that Augustine hath written toward the ende of the first booke vpon the sermon of the Lord on the mountaine, that he doth ascende one steppe of righteousnes, which loueth his neighbour, although he yet hate his enemy. But then shall he performe beneuolence and gentlenes at the commaundement of hym whyche came to fulfyl the law, and not to breake it, when he shall stretch it euen to the loue of the enemy. For that degree, though it be somwhat, yet it is so smal, that it may be commõ also with Publicanes. Neither that which is said in the law: Thou shalt hate thine enemy, is to be taken as a commaundement vnto the iust man, but as a permission to the weake. Thus much he writeth, with whom (yf I should speake as I thinke) I do not agree, but am certainly perswaded, that to hate our enemies is not permitted of God, no not to the vnperfect. For it is an euerlasting precept, that we should loue our neighbour as our selues. And he is our neighbour whom we helpe by anye occasion, as Christ hath declared in the parable of the Iewes and of the Samaritan. They were compared as enemyes one to an other, wherefore the condition of enmitye when it happeneth, can not let, but ỹ such as are enemies one to an other be yet neighbours. Moreouer for as much as we se ỹ Dauid & other prophets did oftentimes curse their enemies, by what meanes can we cal thẽ weake, whõ God gaue liberty to hate their enemies. For they wer holy men and very perfect. Neither doth that seeme to make much to the purpose, which the same Augustine saith, namely that the sayinges of these holy men were no vowes & desires, but rather forespeakinges & prophecies of them, who liuing vnder the old testament did oftentimes prophecye the chaunce of thinges to come. For the Apostels ar also found in the new testamẽt not only to haue spoken woords of cursings (as Paul when he saith: I would to god they wer cut of which do trouble you) but also to haue most grieuously punished some. For as much (as it is written in ỹ actes of the Apostels) the same Paul depriued Elimas the Magicien of his sight, and Peter slewe Ananias and Saphira.

These destructions of Cities are not agaynst charity.

Augustine.

Yf is not lawfull for the vnperfecte to hate their enemyes.

Who is oure neyghbour.

Augustine.

Wherfore we must rather say that these great mē did not such things of an hatred graunted to vnperfect men, but ẏ they wer driuen therunto by some other maner of meanes. And therfore me thinketh we must make this distinction, that they somtimes had to do for their own causes, & sometimes for gods cause. Whē they had to do for their matters, al their doings wer ordered wᵭ al modestye and gentlenes. As we se Dauid to haue done, who many times spared Saul his deadly enemy. Moyses also & other holy men did constantly & valiauntly very often grieuous thinges. But when the matters of God wer in hand, the same mē behaued them selues seuerely & nobly. And if they should haue done that in their own causes, they might haue semed to wrest the swerd out of the hande of God and of the Magistrate, which they do which reuenge their own iniuries.

Marke the distinction.

This is also to be added, that men which are appointed to take in hand & to defend Gods cause, although they may then do thinges sharpely & seuerlye, yet they must precisely & diligently take hede, that vnder that pretence, they cocker not their owne affections. The Apostels when they desired Christ to sende fyre from heauen vpon the Samaritaues (as they knew was done in the olde tyme, at the prayers of Helias) wer rebuked of the Lord, bicause they knew not of whose spirite they wer, which without doubt was a most apt answer. For they whom God sendeth to execute these offices, ought not nowe to be counted priuate or symple men, but such as wer prepared and instructed of him, to be in hys steede vpon the earth. But whether it be lawful for priuate men to praye against vngodly and cruell Tyrannes, by whom the true worshipping of God is hindred, and to curse them, Augustiue aunswereth, that it is alwaies lawfull for godlye men to pray vnto God against the kingdome of synne. And that maye be cleane taken away, when the vngodly forsake their wickednes, for whose vnfayned repentaunce we must alwayes pray vnto God. But if they seeme past all hope, it is lawful to praye that their synnes maye sometymes at the length come to an end: namely that when they are taken awaye, they myght cease both to hynder the worshipping of God, and also to trouble the Saintes. For as much as it is not expedient that their synne shoulde escape vnpunished, for when it is leafte without punishment, it is mere vniustice. But when the punishment of God is adioyned vnto it, then ther is in him lesse deformitye. Wherefore God is of the same Augustine called verye wel not a cruell tormentor, but a iust corrector. Moreouer, bycause holy men are very familiar with God, and therefore when by some heauenly reuelation, they are acertained of his wil, bicause they exceedingly loue him, they cannot but allow his sentence, yea they faithfullye praye that the same may be accomplished. Although (in that they be men) they be both sory, and also take it grieuously to haue their neighbours so vexed. After whych sorte Samuel mourned for Saul the kyng, whom he knew neuertheles to be reiected of god. Ieremy also wept for the captiuity which was at hand, and Christ wept for the City of Ierusalem which should be destroyed. For they which be mē in dede, can not chose but be sory for their neighbours and their own flesh when it is afflicted. Neither doth God require of vs that Stoike lacke of compassion. But as touching this matter, if the Reader desire to know more, let hym looke vpon my Cōmentaries to the Corrinthians. But as touching this present purpose, that is to say, that the people of Israel in destroying & cursing of these peoples, followed not their own hatred, but the instinction of God, for they wer his Lieuetenauntes, and might be called his workemen, when as they destroyed those whom god himselfe had declared to be enemies, and cōmaunded that they should be destroyed by them.

What is chiefly to be taken heede of when Gods matters are in hand.

Whether it bee lawfull to pray against tyrans & to curse them Augustine.

Augustine.

Saintes sometimes reioyce & also are sory for the destruction o. the wycked.

God requireth not the not feeling of the Stoikes.

And Iudah tooke Hazzam, and the borders therof. These words do also cōfirme ẏ those things which ar now declared, wer don after ẏ death of Iosua, when ẏ publique wealth of the Israelites was gouerned by elders. For when in the booke of Iosua the. xiii. chap. those Cities were reckoned which were leaft vncon-

vnconquered after Iosuas death, these cities Haza, Ascalon, and Accaron are expressed by name. But there is a doubt, after what sorte these Cities were sayde to haue pertained to the Philistians in the tyme of Samuel, when Saul dyd then raigne. Yea and the same is written in the third chap. of this booke. There are some whiche affirme that these Cities were not nowe altogether taken, but so possessed, that the Israelites obtained some part of the lande which belonged vnto them, which semeth not very lykely vnto me, seing that the history sayth that not onely euery one of these Cities wer taken, but that also the endes and borders of them came into the power of Iudah. Wherfore I would rather iudge that their opinion is best, which affirme that Iudah dyd now in deede possesse these Cities, as it is written, but afterwarde when the Israelites synned, they wer agayne dryuen out of them by the Philistians, who wonne them agayne to their own vse, and so did wynne them, that they counted them as most principal dominions, for they dyd set ouer eche of them certaine noble gouernours. Neyther ought that much to mone vs, because the history doth onelye name Iudah now, & speaketh nothing of Symeon. For that might be, bicause the lot of both these tribes was ioyned together, and they had made a couenant to fyght together: therfore when we heare the name of the one, we must therwith also vnderstand the name of the other. And the name of Symeon is rather vnspoken of, bicause God hymself in his oracle gaue Iudah the principality in this expedition.

19 And the Lord was with Iudah, & he possessed the mountayne: for he could not dryue out the inhabitauntes of the valley, bycause they had yron Chariotes.

He possessed the mountayne. It is written in Hebrewe Veioresch Hahar, which if it wer properly translated is, he draue away the mountain, which without doubt is a figuratiue phrase, for the figure Ζεῦγμα is added, by whych figure, one and the selfe woord serueth for two members, bycause that woorde Ioschebe which is inhabitours, ought to be repeated: that euen as it is said that Iudah could not dryue out the inhabitours of the valley, so also must be vnderstand that the inhabitours of the mountaine were expelled by him, so that thys woord Hahar is the genitiue case, as is this woord Haamak, that is, of the valley. The conquering of both these was paynfull, bycause Cityes founded vpon mountaines are by nature of the place wel fenced, and they whych dwelled in the wel valleys, wer very experte in a kynde of fence, I meane yron chariotes. But least peraduenture we should thinke that the inhabitors of the mountains wer dryuen out of their place of Iudah by the strength of men ther is set before. And the Lord was with Iudah. As though it had ben said, bicause they fought by the fauour of God, therfore the hilly places wer conquered. Wherefore if God had ayded them of Iudah with the like fauour in their battayl in the valley, they should also haue ouercome those which inhabited the valley. There semeth also a cause to be geuen bycause they had yron chariotes. The figure zeugma.

He that shal reade the Iliades of Homer, shal easely perceaue that the men in the old time vsed chariotes in battails, & also the same may be gathered both out of the most auncient histories, & also out of the latter writers, & amongest other Quintus Curtius writing the life of Alexander doth playnlye make mencion of such chariots in the battail fought against Darius. But I thinke no writer writeth more plainly of them than doth Liuie. For he in that battail wherin Antiochus was ouercome of the Romanes, which is in the. 4. decade, & seuenth boke, thus describeth the chariotes whych he calleth hooked. He sayth that they were fenced chiefely after thys maner. The poyntes aboute the draught tree standing out from the yoke, had as it were hornes, wherwith whatsoeuer they met they might thrust it throughe; and twoo hookes hoong oute at eche ende Quintus Curtius. Titus Liuius. The description of hooked chariotes.

in Zephat, and vtterly destroyed it, and called the name of the Citye Horma. The Hebzues did not vtterly thzow downe noz destroy certain cities which they possessed, but dwelled in them. Howbeit som they cursed and cleane defaced. And their dowe was called in Hebzew, Cherem, of the thing that was pzomised, derived from this woozd Charam, which is to waste, to destroy, to kil, to deface, & to geue vnder curse. The Grecians called that woozd ἀνάθεμα: They called ἀναθέματα also, ἀφιερώμενα, and ἀποκείμενα as thinges consecrated and put apart. And it may be that so they called them, bycause they were hanged vp in temples, and were seperated from the vse of men, neither was it lawfull to remoue them out of that place. Yea and men somtymes wer called by that name. Paule also vsed that woozd many tymes, foz he saith to the Galathians: Let hym be accursed whosoeuer shal pzeache any other Gospel. And to the Romanes he wished him selfe to be made a curse foz the bzethzen. And to the first of the Corinthians he saith: he ỹ loueth not ỹ lozd Jesus, let him be accursed, Maranatha, wher he taketh this woozd ἀνάθεμα foz this woozd Cherem, that is, a thing seperated and seioyned vtterly from mans occupying oz vse, so that it was wycked either to touch it, oz to put it to any vse. Wherfoze we haue a testimonye in the booke of Iosua, the. 6. chap. of the city of Iericho. And it semed to haue bene so accursed bycause it was after a sozte the fyzst fruites of the Cities that were taken. Foz after they were passed ouer Iordane, it was the first of al the cities that was conquered, and that by no mans helpe, foz that the walles therof fel downe of their owne accozde, and thzough the woozking of God. And therefoze it was maid that the spoyles therof should altogether bee consecrated vnto God. But that semeth to be vtterly farre from the wozshipping of God to destroy both cities and men, and these seme to haue a shew of cruelty, rather than of religion. We that answer, that the destruction of townes in dede of their own nature, belong neither to religion noz yet to godlynes, but so farre fozth as they ar referred to the glozy of God. And that may happen two maner of wayes. As whē that destruction is counted as a certayn monument of the seuerity and iustice of God against those nations which he foz their wickednes would haue destroyed, oz as a certain testimony of Gods goodnes and mercy towards the Israelites, whom in that expedition he mercyfully helped. Therefoze the ouerthzowing of the city, houses, men, and beastes, did shew the iustice and seuerite of God. And the consecration declared the goodnes, helpe and merey shewed to that people. Mozeouer God would by that meanes pzoue the obedience of his people in abstaining from the spoiles which wer consecrated vnto God. Foz we know that souldiours when they haue gotten the victozy, are hardlye restrained from the pzay. But they which obeied not the curse published, wer most grieuously punished: which the holy history of Iosua declareth to haue happened vnto Acham, bycause he vsurped vnto him selfe some of the spoiles of Iericho. We know also that Saul foz this cause was depziued of his kyngdome, bycause he had reserued Agag the king, and certain oxen and fat cattel of the pzay which wer bound bethzo to the vow of the curse.

The bowe of Cherem that is of the curse.

Why the cytye of Iericho was made a curse.

Whether the destruction of cities pertayne to the wozshipping of God.

God by these curses pzoued hys people.

The fozme of the curse.

The end of the same.

The matter of the same.

Of the fozme and end of the curse we haue spoken enough. Foz the fozme is the destruction of cities, men and beastes, and the consecration of gold, siluer, yron, bzasse, pzecious stones, and costly things, which wer appointed onely to the vse of the tabernacle. But the end was that they might be monuments of Gods goodnes and iustice, and also an exercise and trial of the Israelites. Now resteth some what to speake of the matter and efficient cause therof.

The matter was, what soeuer was found on lyue in those cities, foz al that ought to be killed, and the buildinges and other garnishinges of the city ought to be cleane destroyed: but as foz the oznamentes and riches, they were (as it is sayd) consecrated vnto the wozshipping of God. But ther is to be marked, that none wer vowed vnto so hozrible a destruction, but such as were already decla-

red

red and knowen to be enemies of God: for it is not lawfull to kyll Innocentes. Wherfore they sinned most grieuously which so vowed Paules death, that they would neither eate nor drinke tyl they had killed him. And at this daye they behaue them selues more than wickedly, which saye that they haue vowed them selues most cruelly to kil al the Professours of the gospel. Yea, and Iephte without doubt was deceaued, which bicause of hys kynde of vowyng thought that his daughter should either be slaine, or els compelled to perpetual virginity. Agamemnon also is to be condemned, which (as Cicero declareth in his booke of offices) vowed vnto Diana the fairest woman that should be borne in his kyngdome. And to performe this foolish vowe, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. But the efficient cause of the vow Cherem, somtimes is God, as it is written in the. vii. and. x. chap. of Deut. For ther it is commaunded that places dedicated to Idoles, aulters, ymages, groues, & monumentes should be vtterly destroied, and that was a perpetual curse in the land of Chanaan, and to be alwaies obserued. Somtimes the Prince made such a vow, as we reade of Iosua, and somtimes the people, as we find in the. 21. chap. of Num. The prophets also somtimes did this, & so Samuel cõmaũded Saul, cleane to destroi al things belõging to ỹ Amelekites

Iephte.

Agamemnon.

The efficient cause of a curse

The name of this city, whereof we now entreate, was afterwarde called Horma, for it was not so called before, and it was so called of the woorde Cherem. For such a name were they wont to geue vnto such places as were wasted and destroyed by a curse. In the booke of Num. 21. chapter a certaine portion of the Chananites, which the Israelites possessed by violence, was by reason of suche a vowe called Horma.

But some peraduenture wil aske, whether these destructions of townes wer against charity? To whom I answer no. Bicause such enemies were chosen to be vtterly destroyed of the Iewes by the iudgement of God, and not by the lust of men. But as touching the loue or hatred of enemies, wee must vnderstande that Augustine hath written toward the ende of the first booke vpon the sermon of the Lord on the mountaine, that he doth ascende one steppe of righteousnes, which loueth his neighbour, although he yet hate his enemy. But then shall he performe beneuolence and gentlenes at the commaundement of hym whyche came to fulfyl the law, and not to breake it, when he shall stretch it euen to the loue of the enemy. For that degree, though it be somwhat, yet it is so smal, that it may be commõ also with Publicanes. Neither that which is said in the law: Thou shalt hate thine enemy, is to be taken as a commaundement vnto the iust man, but as a permission to the weake. Thus much he writeth, with whom (yf I should speake as I thinke) I do not agree, but am certainly perswaded, that to hate our enemies is not permitted of God, no not to the vnperfect. For it is an euerlasting precept, that we should loue our neighbour as our selues. And he is our neighbour whom we helpe by anye occasion, as Christ hath declared in the parable of the Iewes and of the Samaritan. They were compared as enemyes one to an other, wherefore the condition of enmitye when it happeneth, can not let, but ỹ such as are enemies one to an other be yet neighbours. Moreouer for as much as we se ỹ Dauid & other prophets did oftentimes curse their enemies, by what meanes can we cal thẽ weake, whõ God gaue liberty to hate their enemies. For they wer holy men and very perfect. Neither doth that seeme to make much to the purpose, which the same Augustine saith, namely that the sayinges of these holy men were no vowes & desires, but rather forespeakinges & prophecies of them, who liuing vnder the old testament did oftentimes prophecye the chaunce of thinges to come. For the Apostels ar also found in the new testamẽt not only to haue spoken woords of cursings (as Paul when he saith: I would to god they wer cut of which do trouble you) but also to haue most grieuously punished some. For as much (as it is written in ỹ actes of the Apostels) the same Paul depriued Elimas the Magicien of his sight, and Peter slewe Ananias and Saphira.

These destructions of Cities are not agaynst charity.

Augustine.

It is not lawfull for the vnperfecte to hate their enemyes.

Who is oure neyghbour.

Augustine.

Wherfore we muſt rather ſay that theſe great mē did not ſuch things of an hatred graunted to vnperfect men, but ẏ they wer dryuen therunto by ſome other maner of meanes. And therfore me thinketh we muſt make this diſtinction, that they ſomtimes had to do for their own cauſes, & ſometimes for gods cauſe. Whē they had to do for their matters, al their doings wer ordered wᵭ al modeſtye and gentlenes. As we ſe Dauid to haue done, who many times ſpared Saul his deadly enemy. Moyſes alſo & other holy men did conſtantly & valiauntly very often grieuous thinges. But when the matters of God wer in hand, the ſame mē behaued them ſelues ſeuerely & nobly. And if they ſhould haue done that in theyr own cauſes, they might haue ſemed to wreſt the ſwerd out of the hande of God and of the Magiſtrate, which they do which reuenge their own iniuries.

Marke the diſtinction.

This is alſo to be added, that men which are appointed to take in hand & to defend Gods cauſe, although they may then do thinges ſharpely & ſeuerlye, yet they muſt preciſely & diligently take hede, that vnder that pretence, they cocker not their owne affections. The Apoſtels when they deſired Chriſt to ſende fyre from heauen vpon the Samaritaues (as they knew was done in the olde tyme, at the prayers of Helias) wer rebuked of the Lord, bicauſe they knew not of whoſe ſpirite they wer, which without doubt was a moſt apt anſwer. For they whom God ſendeth to execute theſe offices, ought not nowe to be counted priuate or ſymple men, but ſuch as wer prepared and inſtructed of him, to be in hys ſteede vpon the earth. But whether it be lawful for priuate men to praye againſt vngodly and cruell Tyrannes, by whom the true worſhipping of God is hindred, and to curſe them, Auguſtine aunſwereth, that it is alwaies lawfull for godlye men to pray vnto God againſt the kingdome of ſynne. And that maye be cleane taken away, when the vngodly forſake their wickednes, for whoſe vnfayned repentaunce we muſt alwayes pray vnto God. But if they ſeeme paſt all hope, it is lawful to praye that their ſynnes maye ſometymes at the length come to an end: namely that when they are taken awaye, they myght ceaſe both to hynder the woorſhipping of God, and alſo to trouble the Saintes. For as much as it is not expedient that theyr ſynne ſhoulde eſcape vnpuniſhed, for when it is leafte without puniſhment, it is mere vniuſtice. But when the puniſhment of God is adioyned vnto it, then ther is in him leſſe deformitye. Wherefore God is of the ſame Auguſtine called verye wel not a cruell tormentor, but a iuſt correctour. Moreouer, bycauſe holy men are very familiar with God, and therefore when by ſome heauenly reuelation, they are acertained of his wil, bicauſe they exceedingly loue him, they cannot but allow his ſentence, yea they faithfullye praye that the ſame may be accompliſhed. Although (in that they be men) they be both ſorye, and alſo take it grieuouſly to haue their neighbours ſo vexed. After whych ſorte Samuel mourned for Saul the kyng, whom he knew neuertheles to be reiected of god. Ieremy alſo wept for the captiuity which was at hand, and Chriſt wept for the City of Ieruſalem which ſhould be deſtroyed. For they which be mē in dede, can not chuſe but be ſorye for their neighbours and their own fleſh when it is afflicted. Neither doth God require of vs that Stoike lacke of compaſſion. But as touching this matter, if the Reader deſire to know more, let hym looke vpon my Cōmentaries to the Corrinthians. But as touching this preſent purpoſe, that is to ſay, that the people of Iſrael in deſtroying & curſing of theſe peoples, followed not their own hatred, but the inſtinction of God, for they wer his Lieuetenauntes, and might be called his woorkemen, when as they deſtroyed thoſe whom god himſelfe had declared to be enemies, and cōmaunded that they ſhould be deſtroyed by them.

What is chiefkye to be taken heede of when Gods matters are in hand.

Whether it bee lawfull to pray againſt tyrans & to curſe them Auguſtine.

Auguſtine.

Saintes ſometimes reioyce & alſo are ſory for the deſtruction o. the wycked.

God requireth not the not feeling of the Stoikes.

And Iudah tooke Hazzam, and the borders therof. Theſe words do alſo cōfirme ẏ thoſe things which ar now declared, wer don after ẏ death of Ioſua, when ẏ publique wealth of the Iſraelites was gouerned by elders. For when in the booke of Ioſua the .xiii. chap. thoſe Cities were reckoned which were leaft

vncon-

vnconquered after Iosuas death, these cities Haza, Ascalon, and Accaron are expressed by name. But there is a doubt, after what sorte these Cities were sayde to haue pertained to the Philistians in the tyme of Samuel, when Saul dyd then raigne. Yea and the same is written in the third chap. of this booke. There are some whiche affirme that these Cities were not nowe altogether taken, but so possessed, that the Israelites obtained some part of the lande which belonged vnto them, which semeth not very lykely vnto me, seing that the history sayth that not onely euery one of these Cities wer taken, but that also the endes and borders of them came into the power of Iudah. Wherfore I would rather iudge that their opinion is best, which affirme that Iudah dyd now in deede possesse these Cities, as it is written, but afterwarde when the Israelites synned, they wer agayne dryuen out of them by the Philistians, who wonne them agayne to their own vse, and so did wynne them, that they counted them as most principal dominions, for they dyd set ouer eche of them certaine noble gouernours. Neyther ought that much to moue vs, because the history doth onelye name Iudah now, & speaketh nothing of Symeon. For that might be, bicause the lot of both these tribes was ioyned together, and they had made a couenant to fyght together: therfore when we heare the name of the one, we must therwith also vnderstand the name of the other. And the name of Symeon is rather vnspoken of, bicause God hymself in his oracle gaue Iudah the principality in this expedition.

19 And the Lord was with Iudah, & he possessed the mountayne: for he could not dryue out the inhabitauntes of the valley, bycause they had yron Chariotes.

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of the cart, the one euen with the carte, the other fastened downeward to the earth, the former serued to cut a sunder what so euer came on the syde of it, the other was made to crushe them which fel downe, or went vnder. There were also two sundry hookes fastened after the same sorte to the extretrees of both the wheles. &c. The vse therfore of these chariotes endured til the tyme that Antiochus was ouercome. Howbeit wee neuer reade that the Romanes vsed them. And that they wer horrible to behold, and hard to be conquered, may manifestly be gathered by the booke of Iosua: For ther in the. vii. chap. when the tribe of Ioseph complained because it was so many in number, and had obtained so narrow a lot, Iosua commaunded them, that if they had not roume inoughe, they shoulde go and dwel or els conquere the places of their enemies adioyning vnto them. They excused them selues, that they coulde not doo that, because their neighbours had yron chariotes. But to repeate more auncienter thinges, Pharao (as it is written in the booke of Exodus) when hee persecuted the Israelites which fled, is said to haue had chariotes, and with the same he tooke vpon hym to enter into the sea. But they beyng ouerthrowen by the power of God, hee was punished for breaking his fidelity.

Yron chariotes cānot resist god

But this is diligently to be considered of vs, whether either yron chariotes, or hooked cartes can withstand the power and promise of God, which if we shal deny (as in very dede we must deny) why ar they then put here as the cause that the victory was not obtained? Whereunto I aunswer, that in this place is set foorth vnto vs the nighest cause, namely that which was sene. And certainly it was a cause, if we should looke onely vpon mans strength. For the Chananites being so armed and appointed could not be ouercome of the Israelites, which wer weaker than they, and not so wel armed and fenced. But if the power and might of God be considered, the same could not be letted either by chariots and weapons or els by power of souldiours. Why did not God therfore which had geuen part of the victory, graunt the whole also? Kimhi aunswereth that God dyd it to proue the Israelites thereby. For if they should haue bene constrayned (as in deede they were) to dwel for a while with these nations, then experience should haue tryed how much they woulde set by their God, namelye whether they woulde perseuer in the lawfull worshypping of hym, or whether they would enclyne to their owne madde customes and worshipping of Idoles. Thys in deede is a true cause, and is set foorth also in the third chapter of thys booke, and toward the end lykewyse of the second. There is also an other cause added, namely to teach them the arte and facultye of fyghting: for they which lyued before their tyme, had no skyll of these thynges. And it is written in Exodus that it was done that wylde beastes shoulde not to muche abounde, which must needes haue followed, if the land shoulde haue bene brought into a wyldernes, before the Hebrues could haue fylled it all. And of these causes I haue made mention before.

Marke the distinction.

Why god graunted not the hole victorye vnto Iudah.

But the Paraphrastes Chaldaicus bringeth an other cause besydes these, and sayth that the children of Israell had synned: Wherefore he thincketh it was done, that God iustlye and worthylye withdrewe hys ayde and gaue not vnto them when they fought, the whole and full victorye. And that, though the scripture doo not now expresse it, may euidently be gathered by other places. For we are very often taught by the holy scriptures that idolatry and synnes were iust causes why the Israelites sometymes went without the victorye promysed vnto them. And though there had bene no other synne, we myght alledge thys, that their faith and prayers were sometymes somewhat more slacke than they ought to haue bene. Which manyfestly appeareth in that warre which the Hebrues made in the wyldernesse against Amelecke for the enemye ouercame, when Moyses beganne to be faynte in prayer. And agayne, the victorye was restored vnto the people of God, when the fayth and prayer of Moyses was more

When faith & praiers ware faynte, then the victory is take away.

earnest

earnest and behement. Synne therfore is not onely ỹ cause of death, but it bringeth also al infirmities, weakenesse and miseries. Contrarily faith is the cause of all strength, myght, and victories. Wherefore it is very well written in the xi. Chapter to the Hebrues, that the Saintes through fayth haue wonne kingdomes. Which may and ought to be referred to the spirituall victorye. Wherfore Iohn doth faythfully admonyshe vs, when he sayth. This is the victorye which ouercommeth the worlde, euen our fayth.

By these may be gathered that God leaueth those destitute of hys ayde, which do forsake hym. And that may easely be declared by oure fyrste Father Adam. Who, as he was created of God, before synne, he had that power of strength and will, that he myght if he had would haue resisted synne. But when he filthely fell from God, God also forsooke hym, but not vtterly, howbeit he forsooke hym so that he lost many of hys giftes, and much fauour. For God would not haue taken so many good thynges awaye from hym, but that he fyrste had alienated hymselfe from God through synne. After the same sorte happeneth it to those whiche are nowe borne a new, who although they haue not yet recouered a perfecte free will, neuertheleſſe for so muche as they are somewhat restored, and may nowe worke together with God, if they shall despyse the giftes whiche they haue in them, and will not vse them as it is meete they shoulde, God will iustely forsake them, seing they thrynke fyrste awaye from hym. As we maye see in the parable of the Lorde, wherein it is written, That the maister going into a farre countrey distributed money vnto hys seruauntes, to be encreased by theyr industrye and laboure, whiche thyng as many of the seruauntes as dyd, they were both commended of theyr maister when he returned, and also nobelly rewarded. But he whiche despysed the commaundement of hys Lorde, was greuously reproued, and greuously punished, for the money committed vnto him.

God forsaketh the that forsake hym.

Adam was not altogether forsaken of God after hys synne.

But if we shall speake of the fyrst generation, whereby we are borne the children of wrath, and we all are of that masse, which lieth vnder the curse, from which God by his election deliuereth whom he will: and whom he will not, he forsaketh according to hys own will and purpose, which is alwayes iust, though it be hidden from vs. Seing that that is not brought to passe by workes foresene, neither that we haue done any good or euill before we were borne, it is manyfest, that certayne, I meane reprobates, are forsaken of God as touchyng hys election, before that they forsake hym by theyr proprye will, for so much as they had not it from the beginning. But we at thys present, speake not of thys matter, neyther will descend into thys question. But that which we haue now affirmed Augustine hath set forth in the. 14. chap. of his Soliloquii animæ ad deum. Thou Lord (saith he) doest not forsake me, vnles I firste forsake thee. And in his booke de natura et gratia against the *Pelagians* in the. 27. and. 28. chap. he elegantlye expounded after what sorte God is forsaken of men before hee forsaketh them. Among other vyces (sayth he) pryde whych is borne in vs, is the head of al euils. Which pryde vseth then to shewe forth it selfe, when wee are doing well, and when we are in the chiefe course of the victory. There the vayne hart of man is puffed vp, so that euerye man thinketh hym selfe not to bee as other men are. Thys is for the most parte, the fyrst departure from God, whereby hee agayne withdrawyeth hym selfe from vs. And euen as wee doo not departe from hym by steppes, but in hart and affection, so is he seperated from vs, not concerning place, (for, for as muche as he is infinite he occupieth all thynges) but he withdrawyeth from vs hys fauour, gyftes, grace, and helpe.

Concernyng eternall reprobation, the reprobate are forsaken of God before they forsake hym.

Augustine.

By pryde god is forsaken before he forsaketh.

And when he is so departed, they whych are forsaken, vndoubtedly fal & come to great misery: which falles yet & miseries (as he is good) he vseth as remedies toward his elect, ỹ they may learne that in the same mysery whych before they had forgotten, namely, that their strengthe was supported by God, and that it

God vseth alſo to punyshe the electe to theyr saluation.

was his mere gifte, in that before they dyd any thing that was good, or attayned to any prosperous things: that being so admonished, they myght retourne into the waye, and with moste faythfull prayers to employe of hym helpe, ayde, and strength, as they whiche had nowe proued, by theyr own ill, that they had all theise thinges of him when they stoode. And after thys sorte is that interpreted, whiche the Apostle writeth to the Phil. With feare and trembling, worke your saluation. For it is God whiche worketh in you both to will and also to perfourme, accordyng to hys good pleasure. Wherefore feare and trembleyng ought alwayes to be driuen into vs, leaste when thinges goe well and prosperous with vs we ware proude, and whileste we profite in our renouation and instauration. Then muste we alwaies with feare and trembling marke that it is God which worketh in vs both to will and to perfourme. Neyther dyd the Apostle say, liue rightly and holily with securitye: For he which is secure from himselfe, esteemeth thinges so, as though they depended of himselfe, which is not to be suffred, when as it is God himselfe which worketh in vs both to will and to perfourme.

We muste not liue in securitye

But peraduenture thou wilte aske, seing God from the beginning nobleye promysed vnto Iudah, that he would deliuer the land into his handes, and hath not nowe graunted the perfecte victorye, whether he haue chaunged hys sentence? Heare what Augustine writeth of the will of God in hys. 22 booke De ciuitate Dei and firste chap. The will of God (sayth he) is not chaunged, but we are chaunged. But he semeth after a sorte to be chaunged, when where as before he was gentle vnto vs, he now appeareth angry: and contrarilye where as before he shewed himselfe to be angry, he now in a manner gently offereth himselfe vnto vs. Wherefore when we our selues are chaunged we doe finde him after a sorte, to be chaunged in those thinges which we suffer. Euen as the sunne semeth to be chaũged, when we our selues are halfe blind, or that our eyes be greued by some disease. For he which before was pleasaunt, mery, and swete, beginneth now to be troublesome & hurtfull, not as touching his own nature (which alwaies abideth one, & is vnchaũgeable) but by reasõ of our disease & vice, whereunto we are newly fallen. Wherefore let vs more plainely gather ẏ causes of ẏ vnperfect victory. The nigheste cause and ẏ true cause was, bycause ẏ Chananites had Iron chariots: for taking away Gods helpe, the Hebrues were not like vnto thẽ, being so wel fenced & appoynted. And god (as Ionathas ẏ Chaldeian testifyeth) withdrewe his fauor & ayde, bycause they had sinned. Wherfore a suche punishment followed them, ẏ they went without the victory. But God whiche is alwaies very mercifull to his electe, vseth this punyshment to the commoditye of the Israelites: namely fyrst to teach them the arte of warfare: then ẏ his ayde, being withdrawen, they might fele their own weakenesse, & might see wt what mãner of enemies they should haue to do. Besides this ẏ the earth might not be walked of wilde beasts, & brought into a wildernesse. Finally, therby to trye thẽ.

Whether the wil of god may be chaunged.

Augustine.

What were the causes of the vnperfecte victorye of them of Iudah.

Temptation is nothyng ells, but to take proofe or triall of any thyng. Wherfore the end of temptation is rightly called knowledge: as they which will passe ouer a water, do trye oute the shallowe places, to knowe the depth of the water: woundes also are tried of Surgeons, to fele the depenesse of thẽ. In tempting therfore knowledge is sought. But God needeth not that newe and freshe knowledge, for such is his nature, that he knoweth al thyngs most perfectly. But whẽ he tempteth, he only doth it, to leade mẽ to the knowledge of those things which they ought to knowe. Wherfore when he sometymes tempteth good & holy mẽ, he bryngeth into lyght and maketh open the fayth, obedience, strength and godlinesse, which before lay hid in theyr hartes, that they which see the same things, might glorifie God the author of them. And that they which are so tempted, whẽ they haue gotten the victory, may geue him thankes, and desire of him, that euen as he hath done nowe, so he would vouchsafe to helpe thẽ cõtinually in tẽtations

What temptation is.

The end of temptation.

To what end holy men are tempted.

Forco-

Moreouer therby, thei do conceaue a greater hope, ỹ god wil be with thē to helpe them in time to come, when as they see ỹ he hath so louingly graũted vnto them the same helpe now. Wherfore the ende of these temptations is, not that God should know those things, wherof he was before ignorant, but that therby his giftes, fauour and grace might not be hidden. But bicause sometimes it happeneth, that in temptations, euen the elect are ouercome, god graũteth them after their fall, to rise vp againe frō sinne a great deale more modest than they were before, which the holy scriptures testifie to haue bene done in Peter and Dauid. The end therefore of such temptations, is, ỹ we knowing our own weakenesse, might lay down our Peacockes taple, and haue a regard to God him selfe, as to the fountayne of all good thinges. But the reprobate do fall in temptations, and that alwayes from one euill to a worse, that their iniquitye, vnryghteousnesse and wickednesse might be manifested, which before lay hyd in their harts, and whilest they laye hyd, they myght easely appeare vnto men, good men. But God will haue those thinges brought to lyght, that hys iudgementes and condemnation vpon them may appeare, as in very dede they are most iust. And certainely after this manner were the Israelites tempted in the desert, as many as were reprobate.

For what cause ỹ reprobate are tempted.

If temptations turne to good for the godly, why do they praye againſt them, when as they pray in the Lordes prayer, Lead vs not into temptation: Wherunto I answere, that we may not pray against ỹ first kinde of temptatiō, wherin we get the victorye, except peraduenture for as muche as we are full of imfyrmitye whilest in that battayle we ouercome the enemye, we also our selues are in some part wounded. For godly men desyre that all fallynges, though they be neuer so litle, may be driuen from them. Howbeit we may not praye to be rid of these battayles altogether, wherin we ouercome: Yea holy men haue sometimes desyred to haue the same graunted vnto them. For Dauid sayd: Proue me God, burne my raynes and my hart, Iames also sayth that such temptations pertayne to our felicitye when he writeth. Blessed is the man which suffereth temptatiō, &c. So farre is it absent, that it should seme to be prayed againſt. But those are to be prayed againſt wherin godly men slippe and are ouercome, although at length they turne to them to good: bycause that in euery falling, both God is offended and also his law violated, which we must by al meanes abhorre and detest. For although we persuade our selues, that therby some good thinges will come: yet must we alwayes remember, that the same happeneth not by ỹ deserte of sinne, but by the goodnesse of god. And it is a constant rule that sinnes are not to be wyshed for, though we might get neuer so muche good thereby. The thyrd kynde of temptation wherby men fall into destruction, must altogether be prayed againſt, although they which be godly in dede, and the electe of god, are not affeard of ỹ kinde of temptation, For as much as they stand not in doubt of their saluation. But the godly must alwayes loke for this, when they are afflicted by the goodnesse of god, that it would please him to mitigate the temptations, and geue thē strength to beare them, for as much as he hath promysed by his Apostle so to do. For it is written to the Corinthians: God is faythfull, whiche will not suffer you to be tempted aboue your power, but will with the temptation make a way out, But whether god doth stirre vp men to sinnes by temptation, shal be afterward declared. But now to the history.

Whether we may pray againſt temptations.

Temptations wherein we, ouercome are not of them selues to be prayed againſt

What kinde of temptation we must pray againſt.

What the godly must wayte for when they are tempted to aduersitye.

20 And they gaue Hebron vnto Chaleb, as Moyses sayd: and he expelled thence the three sonnes of Enak.

21 And the children of Beniamin dyd not caste oute the Iebusites that inhabited Ierusalem: Wherefore the Iebusites dwelled with the children of Beniamin in Ierusalem, vnto thys day.

Thys ſentence is therefore repeated, becauſe now the warres of the tribe of Iudah are declared, of which warres, Chaleb without doubt was the captayne. Wherefore here is declared what he obteyned. Namely thoſe thynges whiche God would haue done (as he had ſpoken by Moyſes) as it is written in ỹ fyrſte chap. of Deut. and xiii. chap. of Num. and xiii. and xvi. chap. of Ioſuah. But that which is written after it how that the childzen of Beniamin dyd not caſte out the Iebuſites that inhabited Ieruſalem, but dwelled together with them, perteyneth to thoſe things, which the other tribes had to do with the Chananites, and it beginneth with Beniamin for thys cauſe, becauſe that tribe was next to Iudah, yea and that which is now written of Beniamin, is declared of the tribe of Iudah in the booke of Ioſuah toward the ende of the xv. chap. And I thynke that that was therfore done, becauſe the citye of Ieruſalem was in the limite of both the tribes, and was inhabited together both of them of Iudah, and alſo of the Beniamites. Yea and ſome affyrme that ỹ part of the citye where the temple ſtoode belonged to the tribe of Beniamin, and to that purpoſe do they wreſt that, which Iacob the Patriarch ſayd on his death bed, when he bleſſed hys ſonne Beniamin: Beniamin is a rauenyng wolfe, early taking hys pray, in the morning, and deuiding the ſpoyles at euen: thynkyng thys oracle to belong to the morning and euenyng ſacrifices of the Temple. But howe truly they ſo doe, I will not nowe reaſon. But yet they are not ſo farre oute of the waye, as Auguſtine, whiche drewe the ſaying of the Patriarche to Paule the Apoſtle, becauſe he was of the tribe of Beniamin.

The citie of Ieruſalem was cõmon to Beniamin & Iudah

A fayned tale of the Hebrues.

I am not ignorannt, how the Hebrues write, that the Iebuſites were not caſt out for thys cauſe, becauſe that Iudas and Beniamin would kepe the couenaunt, which (as it is written in the xxi. chapter of Gen.) was made betwene Abraham and Abimilech kyng of the Gerarites, where the moſte holy Patriarche ſware, that he ſhoulde not moleſt neyther the ſame Abimilech, neyther hys childzen, nor yet hys childzens childzen, wherefore ſeing he and hys poſteritye inhabited Ieruſalem, and hys childzens childzen liued euen to thys tyme, they ſaye it was not lawfull for the Hebrues, for becauſe of theyr othe geuen, to caſte them oute. But after warde vnder Dauid, the tyme of the couenaunte was oute, becauſe then were the childzens childzen of Abimilech worne out. And for that cauſe Dauid dyd caſte out the Iebuſites oute of the citye of Ieruſalem, as it is written in the latter booke of Samuel the v. chapter. But theſe are but fables, yea if we looke in the foreſayde booke of Samuell we ſhall fynde, that the ſtrong fenced Caſtle of that citye was the cauſe that the Iebuſites were not caſte oute before. For Dauid to ỹ end he would obtayne ỹ caſtle, promiſed a noble reward to him that coulde conquere it, namely that he woulde make hym Captayne of the whole hoſte of Iſrael: whiche office Ioab obtayned, becauſe he fyrſte of all Conquered the Caſtle. There were two cauſes why they of Iudah and ỹ Beniamites dyd not caſte oute the Iebuſites out of the citye. One was becauſe they obeyed not the worde of God as they ſhould haue done: wherfore they are muche to bee blamed. The other cauſe was, becauſe by the prouidence of God, and hys moſte wyſe diſpenſation, the whole victorye of theſe nations was reſerued for Dauid and Salomon. For ſo God abuſeth the fynnes of men, that they hynder not but ſet forwarde hys Counſelles, ſpecially for the aduaunceyng of hys electe. But to retourne to the Hebrues howe ſhoulde they knowe that the poſteritye of Abimilech dwelled in Ieruſalem. The Scripture teſtifyeth no ſuche thyng. Neyther can they tel whether Abimilech & his ſtocke belonged to the Iebuſites. Wherfore let vs leaue their fayned opinion vnto theſelues, & let vs follow this ſentence nowe alledged, as the truer. But this is not to bee ouerſkipped, that Ieruſalem was ſometymes called Iebus. For as muche as the xix. chapter of this boke teſtifyeth the ſame, & alſo the fyrſt booke of Paralipomenon in the xi. chap.

Two cauſes why the Iebuſites were not expelled oute of Ieruſalem.

Ieruſalem was in the olde time called Iebus.

The

The summe is, the Iebusites possessed the castle, whiche being well fensed, & so as much as God had iustly with drawen his helpe for the Hebrewes, they could not be dryuen out of it, but Beniamin and the tribe of Iudah obtayned the Citie in the meane time. Vnto whiche citie Saul and Dauid went after they had gotten the victory against the Philistians, and Dauid himselfe brought thether the head of Goliah whom he had slayne. Peraduenture that citie semed mete for that triumphe, bicause it was cõmon to the tribe of Iudah and Beniamin, vnto which tribes Dauid and Saul belonged. For as Dauid was of the tribe of Iudah, so was Saul a Beniamite.

Why Saul & Dauid triumphed in Ierusalem.

And the Iebusites dwelled in Ierusalem, vnto this day. That is euen to the time of Samuel who is thought to haue written this booke. For after warde came Dauid, when he ruled ouer all Israel and expelled the Iebusites from thence, as it is sayd.

22 In like maner they that were of the house of Ioseph went vp to Bethel, and the Lord was with them.

23 And the house of Ioseph caused Bethel to be searched (whiche before tyme was called Luz.)

24 And ỹ spyes saw a man come out of the citie, and they said vnto hym: shewe vs, we pray thee, the way into the citie, and we will shew thee mercy.

25 And when he had shewed thẽ the waye into the citie: they smote it with the edge of the sworde. But let the man and all his household go free.

26 And the man went into the lande of the Hethites, and built a citie, and called the name thereof Luz: whiche is the name thereof vnto this day.

After the tribes of Iudah and Beniamin is also declared in a certaine order what the other tribes did. The house of Ioseph cõprehendeth with it Ephraim & Manasses. First therfore is declared what those tribes ioyned together did, afterward shalbe shewed of eche of their doings particularly. This is chiefly set first, that God was with them, to make vs to vnderstand that this enterprise had good successe, bycause God wrought with them. The name of the citie (but afterward) was called Bethel, that is, the house of God, bycause Iacob when he had there sene God and his aungels ascending and descending vpon a ladder (as it is written in the 28. chap. of Gen:) so named it. But in the olde tyme it was called Luz, whiche worde signifieth in Hebrewe a Walnutte, or an Almond or els a Filberd Nut, bycause peraduenture that place was set with Wallnut trees, Filberd trees, Almond trees, and the like kynde of trees. They are very muche deceaued, whiche thought this citie to haue ben Ierusalem, for Ierusalem was taken long before, neither was it euer called Luz or Bethel. And besides that this citie pertayned to the house of Ioseph, but Ierusalem longed to the lott of Beniamin and Iudah. But that whiche the Hebrues tell concernyng the gate of this citie, is not worthy to be rehearsed. For what is more childishe than to saye, that the way of entraũce into the citie was thorough a caue, at the mouth wher of was a nut tree, a tree I say great and hollowe, wherby they went down into the caue whsthe would entre into the citie, and for that cause it was called Luz. They should haue spoken somewhat more likely, if they had sayd, there had ben a gate in some secrete part or side of the walles, the commyng whereunto should haue ben by certaine turnings, and circuites so that straungers should not easly haue found out the way vnto the same. D. Kimhi writeth that there were many gardynes there.

Luz is not Ierusalem.

A forged tale of the Iewes.

Dauid Kimhi.

If I should speake my fantasie herin, I thincke that the spyes of the Israelites

did

did not aſke him which came out of ꝯ citie for the doze or gate therof, but whiche was the weaker part of the city or leſſe fenced, that therby they might the eaſier take it. Now is rehearſed in the ſcripture the third eſpiall. For the firſt is wzitten in the 13. chap. of the booke of Num: An other happened vnder Ioſuah, when thoſe two ſearched the citie of Iericho, whom Rahab the harlot kept with great fidelitie, and this is the third whiche we haue now in hand. Although I am not ignozaunt how Ioſeph in the boke of Gen: layd to his bzethzens charge that they were eſpies. But the office or wozke of ſpyes is (as Chriſoſtome ſayeth expounding thoſe wozdes of Paul in the ſecond chap: of the Epiſtle to the Galathians, ꝯ there were falſe bzethzen entred to eſpye out our libertie) to know the doynges of the aduerſaries, that they ꝯ theirs may haue the eaſier entraunce to conquere or repulſe them. Now we vnderſtand that it is an action, and we ſe to what end it is ozdayned. Moreouer it commeth from enemies and from the mynde of an aduerſarye, but it is done prſtily and craftely. As it is lawfull to fight with enemyes by violence and weapons, when warre is luſtily taken in hand: ſo is it iuſt and lawfull to vſe the arte and ſubtelty of eſpecials.

The third eſpiall mencioned in the ſcripture

What in ꝯ office of ſpyes.

The end of eſpiall.

Wherfore Ierome vpon the 27. chap. of Ezechiel ſayeth, that eſpiall, is an indifferent thing, namely whiche a man may vſe both well and euill. Moſes and Ioſua vſed it wel, and alſo the houſe of Ioſeph. Alſo be that the warre be vniuſt, the eſpiall alſo ſeruing thereunto muſt nedes be vniuſt. Wherefore the bzethzen of Ioſeph, when he ſayd vnto them, by the health of Pharao, ye be ſpyes, did put that away from them as an iniury or a rebuke. But the puniſhment of ſpyes is, if they be taken, all one with the puniſhment, wherwith enemyes are puniſhed when they fall into the handes of their enemyes. For it ſkilleth not whether a man fight with weapons, or by ſubtilty and craft. Wherfore they muſt be of a valiaunt courage, which for the common prfit aduenture their lyfe in playeng the ſpyes. For it is not euery mãs office to be a good ſpye. Ioſephus wziteth that the ſpyes whiche were ſent by Ioſua, were Geometricians, bycauſe they ought well and clearly to knowe the ſituation of the lande of Chanaan. And Homer made Vliſſes and Dyomedes ſpyes, whiche otherwiſe were noble men. Paul the Apoſtle in the Epiſtle to the Galath. The place before mentioned the ſecõd chap. excellently referred the wozke of eſpiall to contentions of Religion, where he wziteth that there were παρεισακτοι, that is, that there were certain incommers being falſe bzethzen, whiche παρεισηλθον, that is, came in. κατασκοπῆσαι, that is to eſpye out our liberty as though he ſhould ſaye, they ſubtilely ſought ꝯ ſearched out our opinion, to reſiſt it, and made ſearch with great diligence whether they that were with vs kept vncircumciſiõ, and that was to eſpye out the libertie of the Churche, namely that by it, they might ouerthzowe Chriſtians.

The puniſhement of ſpyes.

Spyes muſte be valiaunt.

Ioſephus.

Homerus.

And the ſpyes ſaw a man come out of the citie. For what cauſe he wẽt forth the hiſtozy declareth not: but there may be many cauſes ymagined, either for that he went to ſeke ſomewhat to ſerue him for his houſhold, or els bycauſe he would flye out of the citie being beſieged, or finally, that he alſo might ſpye out what was done by his aduerſaries.

And they ſayd vnto him: ſhewe vs, we pray thee, the waye into the citie, They ſpeake fayze vnto ꝯ man, ꝯ they pray hym, ꝯ matter is not done by violẽce, but they go aboute by frendly wozdes to allure him to betray the Citie.

Whether the ſpyes of ꝯ Chananites coulde promiſe ſafely.

And we will ſhewe thee mercy. Seing ꝯ ſpyes had not the chief gouernment in the publicque wealth, how durſt they promiſe ſafety vnto this man, eſpecially if they had no peculiar commaundement to do it. Thou wilt ſay peraduenture, they did truſt that the Senate of the publicque wealth and Captaynes of the warre would ratifye that whiche they had promiſed. But the ſuperiour power can not confirme that whiche is done by the ſubiectes, vnleſſe it be alſo lawfull for the ſame power both to prompte and alſo to perfozme that whiche they

they did. And God had prohibited by expresse wordes that the Chananites & those proscripte people should haue their liues graunted thē. Peraduēture they had before their eies ỹ exāple of Rahab the harlot, whose lyfe in the time of Iosua was not onely spared, but also she was receaued with all that belonged vnto her, and had in honor of the Hebrues. And therby they iudged that it was in their power, to promise mercy and safety vnto this man. And as touchyng the commaundement of God they thought gods lawes not to be so rigorous, but they might be mitigated with some equitie, as they remembred was done with the Gabaonites, who were neuer the lesse Heuites or Hemorrites. Thou wilt say peraduenture: They were so saued, that they were brought into bondage. And necessitie of bondage is a certain kynde of ciuile death: wherfore in that the life of the body was graunted them, the commaundement of the Lord seemeth not to be violated, for they were killed after a sorte. The question is not dissolued by this reason. For God prescribed by law that the Chananites should be put to death, he referred not that to a ciuile death, but to a naturall death: for otherwise Saul might haue excused him selfe, bycause he killed not Agag the king of Amalek with an outwarde death. For he might haue sayd that he had alreadye killed hym ciuilly.

The lawes made by god against the Chananites might be mitigated.

Bondage is a ciuilie death.

But bycause we are fallen into talke of the Gabaonites, I thincke it good to say thus much of them. First that God did ratifye that othe whiche the Israelites performed vnto them, for as muche as he ayded the host of the Hebrues in deliuryng their citie from the other Chananites. But if so be that they had violated the curse, whiche was set forth of God, he would not then haue done it. For, bycause of the sinne of Achan, who had by stealth saued somwhat of that whiche was cursed in Iericho, he did not helpe his people, but suffred them folwly to be slayne, when they fought against the citie Hay. Besides this it is writtē in the latter booke of Samuel that God plagued the Israelites thre yeares continually with most grieuous famine, bycause the Gabaonites were contrary to the othe slayne & of Saul miserably dispersed. Wherfore (according to their request) they had seauen of Sauls posteritie deliuered them to be hanged. These are most certayne signes that God ratified the couenaunt which was made with the Gabaonites, although the Hebrues did grieuously sinne bycause they asked not counsell of God. Augustine sayth vpon the 1. chap. of the Iudges, when he interpreteth that place where it is written, that God promised Iosua that he would be with him in the defence of the citie Gabaon. For he sayd, be not afeard: for I will deliuer them (namely the Chananites whiche besieged that citie) into thine handes, if this league (sayth he) nowe made with the Gabaonites had displeased God, then would he haue commaunded Iosua, not to take in hand that expedition, but rather to haue broken the couenaunt made with that nation. But contrarily he encouraged hym, and of his owne accord, not called vpon, promised to aide him in the fight, as it may appeare by the history.

Of the Gabaonites.

God ratified the othe performed to the Gabaonites.

Augustine.

But why he did allow the league so made, there may be two reasons geuen for it. One (which is there mentioned) bycause they had bounde it with an othe. And if the Israelites should haue violated that, their neighbours would haue coūted them as irreligious and vngodly, and their God should haue ben mocked and contemned. Wherfore lest the name of God and the fame of the Israelites should haue ben euill spoken of, it was ratified, although it was vnwysely and without prayse performed. The other cause is, bycause the Gabaonites did nowe beleue in the true God, and were redy to embrase his religion and worshipping. Whiche may easely be gathered by two argumētes. For they sayd (as it is written in the 11. chap. of the booke of Iosua) that they came in the name of the Lord beyng therfore moued therunto, bycause they had heard what thynges God had done for that peoples sake both in Egypt, and also in the deserte, and lykewise about Iordane. This is a tokē, that they nowe beleued the God of the Israelites.

Why God allowed ỹ league made with the Gabaonites.

The Gabaonites were turned to the true God.

More

Moreouer the same appeareth in that they were appoynted by the Hebrues to cary and to prepare wood and also to draw water for the sacrifices whiche were done vnto the true God. Therfore they were made labourers and seruauntes of the tabernacle, and of the tribe of Leui, wherof they were called Nathinites.

Nathinites.

And that ỹ lawes whiche were made of God agaynst the seauen nations which inhabited the land of Chanaan were by this equitie to be interpreted and mitigated that if they returned to ỹ true God, & would make peace with the Iewes, they should not be destroyed, it manifestly appeareth by that whiche is written in the xi. chapter of the booke of Iosua, namely howe those nations were therfore destroyed, bycause none of them (the Gabaonites only excepted) made peace with the Israelites. For God, to the end he would extinguish them, had hardened their hartes, and therfore they most obstinatly fought agaynst the Israelites.

Why god hardned the hartes of the Chananites.

But the cause why God so hardned their harts was, bycause their sinnes were ful. Wherfore they beleued not as did the Gabaonites, neither adioyned they thẽ selues vnto the Israelites. And for that cause they continually resistyng them, fought so vnluckely, that at length they were cleane destroyed. But if so be that they had made peace with the Iewes, and not despised their godlynesse and religion, they should haue had the same geuen them whiche the Gabaonites had. But in that they did not so, their former sinnes were the hinderaunce therof, for God for those sinnes tooke away his spirite and grace from their hartes, that at the last they might suffer most iust punishment for their wickednesse. This is the equitie and mitigations of those lawes against the Chananites.

Why the Gabaonites were brought into bondage.

But there ariseth a doubt, why the punishement of bondage was imposed to the Gabaonites, if they nowe became so good and faithfull. Whereunto is aunswered, that they therfore fell into bondage, bycause they vsed fraude and guile. For God would for this cause haue them so punished, lest he should seme to allowe disceate and euill artes.

Whether the Luzite repẽted Ierome.

Now resteth to enquire what this betrayer of Luz did, whether he beleued and embraced the true worshippyng of God. But of the holy scriptures we can gather nothing of this thing. Peraduenture it may seme to some, that he abode still in his vngodlynesse, bycause he went alwaye from thence, neither abode he with the Iewes. But this is but a weake reason. For Iethro also departed from Moyses, whõ he came to se in the desert, although (as I thincke) he left his sonne with Moyses. Neither would Christ haue all those continually with him whom he healed, and whiche beleued in him: yea he sayd to one of thẽ, who would haue dwelled with hym, returne to thine owne and shew vnto them what hath happened vnto the. &c.

¶ Of Prodition or treason.

This place admonisheth vs somewhat to intreate of Prodition or treason, and it is demaunded, whether it be at any tyme lawfull: or whether it be alwayes forbidden? Ierome de optimo genere interpretãdi to Pammachius sayth, that princes in dede do admitte treason, but they condẽne the traytours, wherunto agreeth the sayeng of Antigonus the kyng, whiche is, I loue traytors so lõg as they are in betrayeng, but whẽ they haue betrayed I hate thẽ. Plutarch rehearseth the same of Rhimotalcus kyng of the Thracians, who fell frõ Anthony to Augustus, and after his victorye, boasted of the same among his cuppes, and that so insolently and aboue measure, that Augustus turnyng hym to his frend, said this sentence of him, I allowe the treason, but I prayse not the trayter. Which sentence thoughe it semeth allowable and iust at the first sight, yet ought it not to be counted either true or wise. For if wise men will allowe and prayse any action, they must also prayse and allowe the author therof. Neither doth any man that lawfully vnto others, whiche he would not suffer hym selfe. And there is nõ man whiche would be content to be betrayed hymselfe or

Ierome

Antigonus.

Plutarche.

Augustus.

any

any of his. Furthermore one Lasthenes when he had betrayed his countrey Olinthus to the Macedonians, & thought that for the same he should haue ben highly honored of them, it happened farre otherwise vnto him. For he was called of the souldiers a traytor euery where through out the campe. Wherfore he grieuously complayned of the same matter to Philip the king, who made him answere, That his Macedonians were verye rude & rusticall people which knew not how to cal things by any other name, than by their owne & proper name. They call (sayth he) a bote, a bote. This was as if he should haue answered, Seeing y art such a one, thou oughtest not to be called by any other name: Asconius Pædianus in secundam verrinam sayth, that to betray is worse then to besiege. For the enemyes (sayth he) besiege, & it ought not to be counted a vyce in them. But they betray which should seme frendes, and ought to be such in deede towardes vs. And therfore when they departe from their office of friendship, they synne farre more grieuously than do the other. Lasthenes. Philip of Macedonia. Asconius Pædianus. Ierome also in the place before alledged De optimo genere interpretandi ad Pammachiū, sheweth how Theodosius the Emperour put to death Hesychius the consull, bicause he opened the letters of the patriarche Gamaliel, neither was that any meruayle, bycause with the Romanes it was death, to open the secretes of any man, as it is written in y digestes De re militari, in the law Omne, & in the third law & in the Codice de cōmerciis & mercatoribus. And in the digestes, Ad legē Iuliani maiestatis in the law 1. 2. 3. he y geueth ouer munitions committed to his charge, falleth into the daunger of treason. Ierome. Theodosius & Emperour.

The example also of Camillus is worthy to be noted, who commaūded the schoolemaister of the children of the Phalisciens to be with stripes brought home of his disciples into his countrey, bicause he would haue betrayed them. The Philitiō likewise of Pirrhus, which promised vnto the Romanes that for their sakes he would kill his kyng, was by them detected vnto the king, that he might the diligētlier beware of him. Wherby peace followed betwene Pirrhus and the Romanes. Esay in the xvi. chap. doth therfore vehemently rebuke the Moabites, bycause they had so cruelly intreated the Israelites when they were oppressed of their enemyes, and admonisheth them, not to betray the Jewes flyeng vnto thē in their tyme of succor. And Paul writeth in the latter Epistle to Tymothe, that in the latter tymes there should be men corrupted with most grieuous and mischieuous dedes, among whiche he reckeneth traytors also. Camillus. The Philition of Pirrhus. Besides this the citizens are sworne vnto the Magistrates, to defend the citte or publique wealth whē nede shall require. And thoughe they were not sworne, yet the natural and common lawes requireth the same of them: whiche thing the members of all liuing thinges do testifie, whiche do willingly and most readily endanger them selues for the bodye, and for the nobler partes therof, I meane the hed or harte. Which selfe thing the citizens are by the lawes of nature bound to do for their countrey, if it be in dāger. Wherfore if they should betray it, they can not be excused, but that they sinne most grieuously. The members of al liuing thigs do endāger thē selues for the nobler partes.

But it were good before we go any farther, to define what proditiō is. To betray semeth in Latine (as much as nedeth to this præsēt purpose) to signifie thre things, namely to bewraye, to decease & deliuer vp. Prodition therfore is an actiō, wherby by guile, bewrayeng or deliuering vp, our neighbours or their goods are hurt, and that especially of those, which ought rather to defend the same. What is to betraye.

But there be many kindes of prodition. For they do betraye, which do by subtile guile detecte the faultes of their brethren. Augustine. confesseth this kynde of proditiō in his 2. quæstiō first, chap. Si peccauerit, where he sayth reprehend thy brother secretly, of whose sinne y hast priuate knowlenge: for if y shalt do it before al men, y shalt not then be a corrector of sinne, but a betrayer. Also he which circumuenteth an other, & bringeth him into dāger, he betrayeth him. Wherfore Ierome (as it is written 24. question the 3. chap. Transferunt:) sayth that the same belongeth principally vnto false Prophetes & euill pastors, which by their euill Many kyndes of prodition. Augustine. Ierome.

doctrine and examples destroye the thinge committed to their charge, whome they ought to defend. They are numbred amonges them, which deliuer castels and munitions vnto their enemies. Wherefore it is written at large in question the .5. chap. De forma. They are also counted betrayers, which do detecte & open secretes committed vnto them, especially such as are of great waight, & lying in danger the life, estimation or goods of their brethren. And this kinde is noted in the title. De penitentia, distinct. 4. chap. Sacerdotes. Finally Chrisostome vpon Matthew the .25. homely, as is alledged in the decrees in question the third, and chap. Nolite timere, saieth, only they are vnlyke to betraye the truthe, whiche in the place of it speake vntrue, but they also which do not freely professe the same. Wherefore there are reckoned many wayes or kyndes of prodition. But we will not speake of them all nowe presently, but onely will touche those kyndes which make for our purpose.

Chrisostome.

One man some tymes is both a betrayer and a spye.

Howbeit I thincke it good, this to be added, that some iudge that prodition & espiall do not much differ one from another, and that it maye sometymes come to passe, that one man may be both a betrayer & a spye. For if any Citizen be corrupted with money by the enemyes, the same is both a betrayer of his countrey, & is also in the meane tyme a domesticall spye. But this semeth not to be vtterly spoken, because the nature of these thinges (as it appeareth by their definitions) doth very much differ, although sometimes they cleaue both in one man. So y^t the same man, may be both a betrayer & a spye. Euen as musike & Grammer differ much one from an other, & yet it sometimes happeneth y^t one man is both a Grāmarian & a Musitian. Neuerthelesse ye difference (which I haue before mentioned) is for ye most part obserued, although not alwayes, namely y^t espiall couertly deuiseth, and prodition of them which be vnarmed vs, whom we trust as friendes.

Whether prodition be at any tyme lawful. Augustine.

But to the end we may the playnlyer knowe, concerning prodition, whether it be at any tyme lawfull, I thincke it best to call to memory those two, vses which Augustine writeth against the letters of Petiliane, ye second booke and .10. chap. We may not (sayth he) beare the complaynts of such as suffre, but seke out the mynde of them which are the doers: By this the mind of God wrote against the Donatistes, which accused our men as betrayers & persecutors. And to them he answereth y^t Paul also deliuered vp some to Sathā, whose saluatiō neuertheles semed to be committed to his charge: but for all that, because he did it of a good mynde, namely to teache them not to blaspheme, and that their spirit might be saued in the daye of the Lorde, he could not be accused either of treason, or els of deliuering vp, because (as it is before sayd). The complaintes of them which suffre are not to be heard, but we must seke out the mind of the doers. Wherefore when warre or controuersy shall happen betwene any, of which the one part is knowen to haue a iust & good cause, if the other part which defendeth the worser cause, & therfore doth vniustly, will by no meanes be brought to any good & reasonable conditions, surely good men which peraduenture are founde on the same syde, ought in such sort to helpe & to defend the other part as they may aduaunce iustice. And if it be nede, they ought to fall from the vniust to iust men. Neither can their prodition be condemned iustly as ill, although before they were neuer so much friendes & very nighe vnto those, which worke vniustly.

What prodition is good.

What cause ye Israelites had against ye Chananites.

Epiphanius.

Now must we speake somewhat of the Israelites cause against the Chananites which may be considered of vs two maner of wayes, namely either by common lawe and ordinary lawes of nature, or elles by fayth, and by the worde of GOD. Concerning the naturall or common lawe Epiphanius writeth that the lande of Palestine pertayned in very dede to the children of Sem, by occasion whereof Melchisedek reygned there, which was either Sem hym selfe, or elles one of his children. But the Chananites which came of Cham, passyng ouer the boundes of Egypte and Affrica, which were appoynted vnto them, dyd caste out of Palestine the sonnes of Sem. And therefore the Hebrues, which were the posteritie of Sem, when they required to be restored to their Fathers

landes,

landes, semed to do it iustly, and rightfully. Wherefore (as he sayeth) GOD did both restore vnto the Israelites the countreys whiche belonged vnto their auncestors, and also punished the Chananites for their wickednesse, and this he did all with one and the selfe same worke. Howbeit I can not easely agree to Epiphanius opinion, for there was past prescription of very long time, for at the least there were fyue hundreth yeares. Wherefore it could not be sayde that the Chananites possessed that lande vniustly. If we should go by this reason now in our tyme, then should there be none in a manner counted a lawfull prince and iuste possessor, when as their auncestor came to the possession of those prouinces and kingdomes by violence, dryuyng out both the kings and the inhabitors that were in them before. Wherfore the Israelites semed not to haue any iust causes by mans lawe, by whiche they might make clayme vnto the land of *Palestine* as to their owne, neither alledged they at any tyme any such reason. And yet for al that they had good ryght therunto for as much as god testified as wel by words as by wonderfull workes, that it was his wil that the Hebrues should haue the possession of those regions, to whom (as *Dauid* hath wel said) both the earth and the fulnesse thereof belongeth. Neither could the Chananites murmure agaynst the iudgement of God, for as much as they were iustly cut of from their ryght, for their sundry and manifold wicked Actes. Wherfore none could in this cause iustly defend the Chananites if they wil cleaue to the true God, and beleue his wordes. Wherby it followeth that this Luzite which betrayed hys citizens dyd it either of faith, as did Rahab in Iericho, or els by some humane bargayne. For the kepers or spyes sayd vnto him, VVe will shewe thee mercy. If he were stricken with feare, howe could that (as they say) happen vnto a constant man (for he was after a forte a prisoner, and was fallen into the handes of hys enemyes) then was he brought to it by humane conuention, and then did he folwly, for it is not lawfull for any man, to make any frithy couenauntes agaynste hys countrey. Neyther can he be excused bycause of feare, for nothyng is to be done agaynste iustice and conscience, althoughe what feare so euer he should be stryken with, but if he were stirred vp vnto it by fayth, and for that he sawe hys citezens obstinately to resiste the worde of God and his workes, then he did well, neither can hys treason be either disallowed or elles condemned. For no lawes, no vowes, no couenauntes or bondes, thoughe they be neuer so strayte, can bynd any man to fight agaynst or to resiste the worde of God: whiche worde all men must earnestly labour to haue done and fulfilled. For this sentence abydeth and shall perpetually abyde: That we must obey God more than men. Neither can any man (as Christe sayeth) serue two maisters, specially if they commaunde contrary thinges. Moreouer the Magistrate is to be ayded in rooting out of vice and naughtynesse, and to hym without doubte is lawfull priuely to send men, to make enquiry, and to detecte wicked Actes, that the offendors may be punished, and (as God hath commaunded) that euill maye be taken awaye from the worlde. Yea and it is also lawfull for hym to offer rewardes to men confederated together for some ill purpose, to allure them to open and detecte the conspiracye, bycause that assuredly pertayneth to treason. Howbeit hereby is neuer either to be dissembled, or to be prayed, or any wicked Acte to be committed that lawfull kynde of treason shoulde haue good successe. Wherefore Augustine in hys latter booke of Retractions testifieth, that he wrote hys booke de Mendatio chiefly for hys cause, bycause some, to the ende they would detecte the *Priscillianistes*, fayned them selues to be followers of the same heresye, for that the same Priscillianistes when they were accused, affirmed with greate stoutenesse, that they were farre from any suche doctrine. But for all that afterwarde they disclosed them selues vnto those, whome (beyng deceaued by theyr dissimulation) they thought they myght well haue trusted. But Augustine in the same booke De mendatio, teacheth that by this dissimulation of the

It is not lawfull for any mã to make any frithy couenãtes against hys countrey.

Feare must not cause vs to do any thyng against iustice.

It is lawfull for the magistrate priuely to send inquisitors.

It is lawfull for them to offer rewardes to conspirators to open theyr conspiracye. Augustine.

Of the Priscillianistes.

Catholickes, very many euils & daungers chaunced. For there they commende Priſcillianus, they vnthankfully praiſe his boke which is entituled Libra, they allowed the hereſy, pronouncing many things which could not be ſpoken without blaſphemie. Moreouer ỳ which they did was dangerous: for if they which after this ſort diſſẽbling were of any authoritie or eſtimation, the heretikes might by their commendation be confirmed in their opinion, & thoſe ſpecially with whom they did ſo diſſemble. For thoſe peraduenture were Priſcillianiſtes before (although not very firme & conſtant) which after they heard their hereſy to be prayſed of a graue man, did then ſticke more & more in their errour. Furthermore in thus diſſembling, and beyng conuerſaunte with the Priſcillianiſtes, the diſſembler alſo might eaſely fall into danger, that he him ſelfe at length might become of a Catholicke, a Priſcillianiſte. And finally the heretikes them ſelues by the diſſimulation of our men, might eaſely gather, that they did very well, in hyding, diſſembling and denyeng their doynges. But that betrayeng is ſometymes lawfull in a iuſt cauſe, and ſuch a cauſe as is without the dangers aboue mentioned, not onely the reaſons whiche we haue before alledged do declare, but we may alſo proue it by very many examples written here and there in the ſcriptures. The Gabaonites betrayed the reſt of the Chananites, when they fell from them to the Hebrues. Rahab alſo betrayed her publicque wealth or kyng, in receauyng, hydyng, and ſendyng awaye them whiche were deadly enemyes vnto it: who is layed neuertheleſſe in the Epiſtle to the Hebrues to haue done theſe things by faith. Iahel alſo the wife of Aher the Kenite betrayed Siſara, for ſhe by a meruelous craft ſlewe him whom ſhe had called into her and cloſely bidden: as it ſhalbe afterward declared in his place in this hyſtory of the Iudges. Yea and Ionathas the ſonne of Saul betrayed vnto Dauid the will and counſels of his father, as it is written in the firſt booke of Samuel. Beſides all theſe Huſay the Arachite betrayed Abſolon the ſonne of Dauid, when he withſtandyng the counſell of Achitophel did thruſt in his owne counſell whiche was farre worſe, and ſhewed all things vnto Dauid. I might bring in a great many more examples. But I thinke theſe are ſufficient for the ware reader.

The Gabaonites.
Rahab.
Iahel.
Ionathas.
Huſay the Arachite.

Certain cautions are to be added to lawfull prodition.

Now reſteth only to declare certain cautions or prouiſoes, wherewith lawfull treaſon is to be decked and adorned, and not to be condemned. The firſt is, that he which betrayeth be by a certain faith aſſured that the cauſe is iuſt which he aduaunceth: whiche can not be done, excepte that he haue ſure proofe of the goodneſſe therof by the worde of God. Neither do I at this preſent argue, whether the ſame worde be reuealed vnto him in harte, or whether it be opened vnto him in the holy ſcriptures. Then muſt he take hede, that being now well aſſured of the righteouſneſſe and honeſty, whereunto he is inclined, he be only prouoked therunto with the loue therof, and not with the hope of rewarde or gayne, or for feare of any miſfortune, whiche he deſireth to eſcape, or to ſatiſfy his hatred and enemities deceaued. For ſo ſhould he ſeke his owne, and not iuſtice, neither the obedience of hys fayth, and of the will of God. Furthermore it is very neceſſary that a man be not driuen to that but then when all other kynde of remedyes wante. For Rahab ſo did: for except ſhe had then ſo kept the Hebrew ſpyes, they had bene by mans reaſon vndone, neither was there then any other waye to ſaue them. And certainly it oftentymes chanceth, that all other ways & meanes being tryed, the worſe parte will not be brought to ſoberneſſe, ſo that there is no other remedy, but onely by prodition. And I would therefore haue theſe cautions diligently obſerued, becauſe that men are to muche prone to proditions, and that ſuch as are both filthy and wicked. Wherfore we muſt take hede that by the exãple of good men they flatter not thẽ ſelues as though they were innocent. Moreouer Paul hath admoniſhed vs not only to auoyde that which is euill it ſelfe, but alſo ỳ ſhew therof. Howbeit we muſt vnderſtand this doctrine of his in ſuch ſort as we may accompliſhe it. For it is lawfull ſometymes to cõmitte a

The firſt cautiõ.

The ſecõd cautiõ.

The third cautiõ.

The fourth cautiõ.

thing

thing whiche is euill to see to, but not euill in very dede: whilest yet there is hope that the thing may be straight way made playn, so that ỳ which at the first sight semed euill, may manifestly be knowen to be good. So the Apostle hym selfe circumcised Timothe, and shaued his hed, whiche of them selues and in very dede were not euil, although they semed to haue had a certayn shewe of euill vnto certayn of the Ethnickes which were cõuerted, & wer not yet wel strẽgthned. Finally periury or lyeng are not to be mingled w̃ those proditions whiche may be allowable. For as much as it is manifest by the Apostolical rule, ỳ euils are not to be cõmitted, wherby good things may follow. I know there be some which go about to defẽd those kynd of lyes which are called officious or honest. But Augustine doth not allow that. Whose reasons they which are desirous to know, let thẽ read his boke Ad Consentiũ. I assuredly agree vnto his opinion. For though there were no other reason, yet me thincketh this were sufficient, bycause the lyer bringeth himself out of credite, wherby nothing ỳ he afterward speaketh cã scarcely be beleued, for they which heare it wil suspect it alwaies as a lye. And besides this ỳ scripture doth euery where detest lyes. And we are cõmaũded (as Peter saith) to speake as it wer the wordes of god. And these wordes are pure, neither must we graũt ỳ there is any lye foũd in thẽ, as Augustine hath very wel writtẽ vnto Ierome. And though we read ỳ the sainctes did somtimes lye, yet we must either not excuse thẽ, seing they were mẽ, or els we must thinke ỳ it was done by the wil of god. For then ỳ actiõ, which of his own nature, appeareth to be vicious, ceaseth not to be sinne, when it is manifest ỳ god hath cõmaũded the same. And after this sorte Abrahã is excused, in that he would haue killed his sonne. The Israelites also are defended, whiche when they departed, tooke away with them, those things which they had borowed of the Egyptiãs.

The fifth exception.

Honest and officious lyes are not to be alowed.

Augustine.

What is to be answered cõcernyng ỳ lyes of the sainctes.

These cautiõs at this present offer thẽ selues vnto me, wherby may be adorned this kind of proditiõ, which may be allowed or defended, whiche otherwise is a thing to be cursed & detested, as it is manifest ỳ the prodition of Iudah was. Neither cã the reasons which I haue alledged in ỳ begynning, any thing hinder but ỳ some prodition may be approued. We declared first by ỳ authoritie of Ierome, Antigonus, augustus, & Philip of Macedonia ỳ traitors haue ben accustomed to be euil spokẽ of. I answere ỳ therfore ỳ happened, bicause proditiõs for ỳ most part lacke these cautiõs before declared. For they which are traytors haue not for the most part a respect to ỳ whiche is iust & honest, neither are they sure of ỳ will of god, neither haue they any sure prooke ỳ the cause is right which they follow, but are only brought to betray for hatred, & for their own cõmodity, & for feare & wicked affectes. And they might also oftẽtimes haue defẽded iustice by other wayes & meanes. Besides this they are not afeard therin to make lyes, & to cõmit manifest sinnes. Furthermore I repete ỳ agayn which I sayd before, ỳ it was euill said of thẽ in pronoũcing ỳ they loued ỳ treasõ, & hated ỳ traitors: seing either semeth either equally to be allowed, or els equally to be cõdẽned. And to be brief, ỳ testimonies which wer brought cã only take place in naughty & dãnable treasõs. And to such as cõsider of thẽ selues, ỳ they would not thẽ selues nor theirs to be betrayed, & therfore will not ỳ any kind of prodition should be coũted good, we must answere as S. Augustine sayth. That the complaynte of such as suffer are not to be heard, but we must seke out the mynd of the doers.

He answereth to the reasons put in the beginning.

To the first.

Secondly we declared by the oppinion of Appianus, that prodition was farre worser than besiegyng, bycause thys namely besiegyng is done by ennemyes, but the other by friendes. We wyll easely graunte to that: for if a naughtye and vniuste prodition be conferred also with an vniuste besiegyng, than shall prodition be iudged farre worser, for as muche as it commeth from friendes, of whom we looke neither to be hurt, nor yet to receaue any damage. But euen as some besiegyng is found iust, what inconuenience shall it be then, or not agreeyng with the truth, if some prodition also be found iust? The cõparison therfore

To the second.

As some besiegyng is iust, so also is some prodition good

of Appianus, is so to be vnderstōd, that either of the things compared together be euill. For as the Grāmarians say, the comparatiue degree alwayes requireth the positiue degree, wherin the comparison is made. And in that Theodosius the Emperor (as Ierome testifieth) did put to death a betrayer, it is no meruayle, when as the Romane lawes so ordayned in the digestes, & in the Codice as it is before sheiwed & they determine so of ỳ prodition, wherby places of munitiō are deliuered vp to the enemies, & likewise for treason. And assuredly that prodition which is euill, ought to be coūted for a most grieuous crime. For if therby come any losse of name or fame, then is it against the cōmaūdement of god, which cōmaundeth. Thou shalt not beare false witnesse. But if it bring losse of good and possessions, then is ỳ cōmaundement broken which is ordained against theft. Finally if it be ỳ cause of losse of body & life, it violateth ỳ precept, wherin god hath cōmaunded, Thou shalt not kill. And there is no doubt, but ỳ of proditions such murthers oftentimes happen: for the inhabiters of cities which are betrayed, are wont to be slayne of their enemies. Wherfore when ỳ warre is vniuſt, the wicked betrayer is guilty of the murther whiche therof followeth. And therfore if lawes or princes haue ordayned death for this wicked crime, I thincke it is not vniustly done: but ỳ letteth not, but that there may be good proditions founde. Who doubteth but that thieues should be hanged, when as neuertheleſſe it is lawfull in iuſte warre to take spoyles from the enemies.

Euill prodicio is to be coūted amonge moſte grieuous crimes.

Naughty prodi tions are iuſtly punyſhed with death.

To the thirde. The Romanes (as it was afterward declared) toke vēgeaūce of ỳ scholemaſter of the chilozen of the Phaliſciās, & they betrayed vnto Pirrhus, his phiſitiō which would haue betrayed him. These things are true in dede, but I may eaſily answere ỳ the Romanes had here a regard to two things. Firſt ỳ these (namely the scholemaſter & the Phiſitiā) had not in ỳ which they did, a regarde to iuſtice, but were only ſtirred vp thervnto by couetouſneſſe or hatred. Wherfore they ſemed to haue deſerued not a reward but a punishmēt. Furthermore ỳ Romanes had a wōderful great deſire of glory, which they called valiāctneſſe of mind. And being ſtirred vp with ỳ, they thought ỳ victory in a maner vnworthy, whiche they got not by force, but after this ſort, which ſemed to be very cowardly. And it is poſſible, that they thought to wynne thoſe againſt whom they warred, and rather by benefites, or at the leſt way no leſſe by benefites than by force.

To the fourth. The Edomites and Moabites did vniuſtly betraye the Iewes.

Iſai (as it was ſayd) admoniſhed ỳ Moabites in ỳ name of God, ỳ they ſhould not betray them whiche did flye vnto them, bycauſe they ſemed to do that of enuie and malice, and not that they were deſirous to ſet forward the will of God. For God had not commaūded the Moabites to afflicte the Iſraelites. Wherfore when the Hebrues were betrayed of the Moabites or of the *Edomites*, that could not be done but of cruelte, for as much as the lawes of neighbourhod & kynred were violated. And that *Paul* ſpake vnto Timothe of a wicked prodition, it is more manifeſt, than I ſhall nede now to declare.

To the fyft. Laſtly were obiected othes & lawes of nature wherw̄ citizens are bound to defend their countrey. Of which I anſwere, ỳ all theſe are ſo farre forth to be obſerued, as long as the othes and promiſes be not againſt the worde of god and good lawes. Whiche thing if it be afterward knowē, thē are they of no force, yea they are thē vtterly voyde. To theſe I adde, ỳ it manifeſtly appeareth by ỳ cautions now alledged, ỳ we muſt neither for ſweare nor lye, wherby a laudable & good prodiō ſhould ſucceede. Wherfore they which ſweare vnto their magiſtrates, & promiſe to defēd the citie, cā not be excuſed, when their minde is to betraye & to deceaue. This haue the Antichriſts done in ỳ counſel holden at Conſtantia. For ỳ they might the eaſlier allure thither John Huſſe, & Ierome of Praga, they promiſed him ſafety by publique fayth. And therefore they can not defend their prodition (admitte it were nothyng els) as iuſt and honeſt. But they were without doubt receaūers and wicked betrayers in ſweareyng & promyſing that by their letters whiche they would not performe.

The prodition of the Counſel holden at Conſtantia.

But

But now we must returne to the history. It is not certain (as it is sayd) whether this Luzite had faith, or whether he were an infidel. If he had faith, his proposition is to be commended, otherwise it is to be discommended. But if he beleued not, neither cleaued vnto the true God, why did the Israelites let hym go? For sooth because he of his own will went into banishment. Neither seemed this to be against the counsel of God. For God would therefore haue those people out of, least they dwelling together with the Hebrues should haue geuen them an occasion of falling and offence. Wherefore when they departed, and those wylful banishment, that came to passe, which God would haue to be done. But thou wilt say: By this meanes might al those nations haue bene sent away, neither ought they to haue ben slain as god had cõmaũded. What might haue ben done I nede not to answer, for as much as that is demaunded which coulde not be done. For so manye and so great were the synnes of those nations, that they vtterly deserued death. Wherfore god taking away his spirite from them, dyd so harden their hartes, that they endeuoured not them selues to depart, but rather to resist the Israelites as much as in them lay. They made many battailes therfore, in which as god had ordained, and as they had deserued, they came to vtter destruction, although a very few of them were saued in departing, or els in embracing the true religion.

Howe the Luzite might be suffered of the Israelits to go in safety.

Why the Chananites departed not, & gaue place to the Israelites.

And they smote the cyty wyth the edge of the swoorde. This is not to be ascribed to cruelty, but rather to obedience and religion towarde the true god: for so was it his wil to be done, and so had he commaunded.

But they let the man and his housholdgo free. Howe they coulde discerne this mans family from the rest it is not written. But it is most lykely that either he entred with the Israelites into the city, or els he shewed vnto them his house, by some token, wherby they might leaue it safe and vntouched according to their purpose. Rahab certainly in Iericho hong a purple corde in the windowe of her house, to auoid the misery and sacking of the souldiours.

And the man went into the land of the Hithites, Kimhi writeth that these Hithites were none of those seauen nations, which were commaunded to be destroyed in the land of Chanaan. But he declareth not what these Hithites wer. And these are the names of those nations, which should haue bene destroyed of the Israelites. The Chananites, the Iebusites, Hemorrhites, Gergesites, Pherelites, Hithites, and Hiuites. These are the nations which god commaunded to be weeded out of the land promised vnto the Israelites. But this is to bee noted by the way, that there is a difference betwene these woordes Kethim and Chethim, for that which is written by Kaph signifieth, as they interprete, the Italians, or such as dwel in Flandes, or the Macedonians: and that woorde is found in Esay, Ieremy, and in the booke of Num: where the prophecies of Balaam are mentioned. But that woord which is written with this letter Cheth, signifieth either one of the seauen nations of the country of the Chananites, or els those to whom it is sayd that this Luzite went.

And he buile a City, and called the name of it Luz. So men that wer banished out of their countrey wer wont to do, that being moued with the loue of their country, to cal the places which they did build, either by the name of their country which they left, or els to builde them as neare as they coulde in some like the other. So it is said that Aeneas dyd in Italy buyld Troy, & the city of the Pisites was in the same country built by the Græcians. Like wise the Israelites leauing the land of Palestine, decked vp a city graunted vnto them in Egipt, like vnto Ierusalem, building a temple there, ordaining also Priestes and sacrifices, as they had before in Ierusalem. In which doing they synned most haynously, although neuertheless they were moued therevnto by the loue of their countrye which they had forsaken.

The maner of banished me in buildyng or adourning of cities.

Vnto thys day. The tyme of Samuel is by those woordes noted, who is thought to be the writer of this history. And by this sentence the Hebrues do gather, that that City and the name therof, endured to the time of Samuel.

27 But Manasses did not expel Beth-Sean, with her townes, and Thaanach with her townes, the Inhabiters of Dor with her townes, the inhabiters of Jibleam with her townes, nether the inhabiters of Megiddo with her townes. And the Chananites began to dwell in the land.

28 And it came to passe, that as sone as Israel was waxed mighty, they put the Chananites to tributes, and expelled them not.

29 In lyke maner Ephraim expelled not the Chananites that dwelt in Gazer, and therefore the Chananites dwelt styll in Gazer among them.

30 Neither dyd Zebulon expel the inhabiters of Kitron, neyther the inhabiters of Nahalol, wherfore the Chananites dwelt among them, and became tributaries vnto them.

31 Aser also dyd not cast oute the inhabiters of Acho, and the inhabiters of Zidon, & of Achlab, Achzib, Helbab, Aphik, and Rehob.

32 And the Aserites dwelt among the Chananites the inhabiters of the land: for they did not driue them out.

33 Neither did Nephtalim driue out the inhabiters of Beth-Semes, nor the inhabiters of Bethanath: but dwelt amõgest the Chananites the inhabiters of the land: and the inhabiters of Beth-Semes, and Beth-Anath became tributaries vnto them.

The synnes of the Israelites.

In this place the holy history setteth foorth the synne of the Israelites, in that they did not cast out and destroye those peoples, as God had commaunded them, but made them tributaries vnto them. Before the other tribes Manasses is reckoned: and the names of his Cities, which are here mentioned, ar rehearsed in the booke of Iosuah, the. 17. chap. where almost these selfe same woordes ar rehersed, namely how Manasses although he did not conquer them, did for all that make them tributaries vnto him. But that is not so to be vnderstãd, as though this sinne were then committed: for as long as Iosuah lyued, the people dyd not so openly fal, yea rather the people did their duty diligently all Iosuas time, and al the time of the Elders, which had seene Moses, and had liued together with Iosua, as we shal heare straight way in this booke: but these thinges are spoken in that place by προλήψιν that is, by anticipation.

And the hebrewe phrase is to be noted, namelye: And Benethiah, that is, her daughters. For it signifieth litle suburbes, townes and villages, whyche when they are compared with greater cities, do seme to be daughters of those Cities. The same kinde of speaking is vsed also in other languages. For we call often times the principal Cities Matrices, that is, chiefe Cities, and the Grecians call them μητροπόλεις and μητροκώμους. Beth-San was a City in the tribe of Manasses, which was afterward called Scythopolis, of which city both Ptholomey and also Ierome haue made mencion. Thaanach is reckoned to be. x. myles distant frõ Cesaria, in the way to Ptolemais.

Cities called Matrices and μητροπόλεις. Scythopolis.

But the Chananites began to dwell in the land. This hebrewe woorde Ioel, which the latine interpretour translateth presumpsit, and we haue turned it cœpit, that is, began, signifieth also to wyll, to be at rest, and to sweare. The sence seemeth to bee this, that the Chananites, seyng they were not rooted out,

wonly

would haue gladlye bene content to haue tarryed in those places, where before they dwelled, and that peraduenture with a bond and an othe, but in such sorte that they would haue giuen a certayne tribute vnto the Israelites, which nowe had preuailed. But they of Manasses, bicause they could not rast those out, were punished for their smal faith. For if they had perfectly beleued, euen as God was with them in the conquering of Luz and other Cities, so would he also haue ayded them, in casting them out: but bicause their fayth was so diminished, God withdrew his ayde from them, but in the meane tyme hee referred this punishment (as I haue before said) to profitable endes, & meete for his prouidence. And they although they could not vpon the sodayne expell their enemies, yet ought they not to cease of from making warre against them, neither was it lawful for them to make any couenaunt or league with them.

And it appeareth that they required tribute of these nations, and bargained with them without anye lawfull cause: for thus speaketh the scripture. And it came to passe that as soone as Israel waxed mighty, they put the Chananites to tribute. Wherefore they preuayled against them, and they wer stronger than those nations: and therefore they can not be excused, in that they most filthilye made couenauntes with them. For they seemed to be entised thereunto by couetousnes of money and seruitude of those nations.

What the doubling of a word signifieth with the Hebrewes.

And in expellyng dyd not expell them. Thys doublyng of woordes in the hebrew expresseth a perfect and absolute action, and this signifieth as muche as if it should haue bene said: And they vsed them, and some of them they expelled, but they did not vtterlye destroye them, as God had commaunded. But what can we answer of Salomon, which (in the first booke of kings the. 9. chap. and in the. 8. chap. of Paralip.) is written to haue brought vnder tribute the rest of the Amorrites, Hethites. &c. I beleue verely that the rest of those nations embraced the religion of the true God. For Dauid, who was otherwyse a most noble king and valiaunt Captaine, and who possessed his kingdome perfectly, suffered them not to worship ydols in his dominions. And if Salomon dyd afterward lay a greater burthen on them, than hee did on the Israelites, hee can not lawfully be blamed: for he did so also with the Gabaonites. For it is meete that the Israelites should be handled more gentlye of their King, than straungers. Neither should Salomon be excused, if he did that for to muche greedye desire of money, or if he did bargaine with them for money, that they keeping still their idolatrous and false worshipping, might liue vnpunished in his kingdome.

Salomon also brought these nations vnder tribute.

Ephraim also expelled not the Chananites. It is not declared that this tribe did put their enemies to tribute: which I thinke neuertheles they dyd, whē as it was declared before that Manasses did so, and we shall heare straightway that the tribe of Zebulon did the same. For it is not verye lykelye that those Ephraites wer better than their felowes. As touching the city Gazer, Ierome saith that it was. 4. myles distant from Nicopolis, which is Emaus: and is called by an other name Gazer. Kitron also in the tribe of Zebulon and Nahalol were compelled to pay tribute, that they might haue Chananites to be their citizens. The city Acho was afterward called Ptolemais. Achzib also was called afterwarde Dispa, being. 12. miles distant from Acho in the way toward Tire. Likewise the tribe of Nephtalim brought the Chananites vnder tribute.

Ptolemais. Dispa.

Of Masse.

Whence the woorde Masse is thought to be derived.

Bicause in these places there is often mention made of this hebrew woorde Masse, which signifieth tribute, of which woord is derived Mishah, whyche of some is taken for tribute, which was wont to be payde of euerye person: And some of the Popes hirelinges thynche that their Masse had hys name from thence, therefore peraduenture it shall not bee vnprofitable somewhat to write of it. That woord is red in Deut. the. 16. chap. whē God commaunded that seauen

seauen weekes should be reckoned after Easter, and then should be kept the feast of Pentecoste. Thou shalt appeare (saith he) before the Lord, and shalt geue Misiah Nethobath Iedecha, that is, a free oblation of thine owne hand. And that oblation was so called as an yearely tribute, which neuertheles was willing and without constraint. Howbeit, other (and peraduenture more truly) do interpretate that word to signify sufficient, namely that ther should be geuen as much as should be inough and sufficient: for in the. 15. chap. of that booke, where the Lord commaunded the Israelites to open their handes vnto the poore, & to lend him that which might be sufficient, that hebrew word *Dai* the Chaldey Paraphrast enterpreteth Misshah. In which place I take it that there is a regard to be had as wel of the power tye of the poore, as of the abilitye of the geuer. For that was commaunded to be obserued in voluntary oblations, namely that so much should be geuen, as the ability of the geuers could beare, and as much as seemed mete for the worshipping of God. From hence do these our Papistes think their Masse to be derived, as though it were a tribute, and a willing oblation, which might be offered euery where vnto God in the church, for the quicke & the dead.

Certeyne Hebrew wordes are obserued in the latin church

But I thynke not so. I know right wel, that the church hath borowed certayne words of the hebrues, as Sathan, Osianna, Zebaoth, Halleluia, Pasah, or Pascha, and such other mo. But we must marke, that those woordes came not vnto the Latine Church, but by the Greeke Church: for as muche as those woordes are found in the new Testament, as it is written first in Greeke, & also in the translation of the old Testament, as it was turned by the. lxx. Wherefore wee haue no hebrew woordes derived to our Church, which the Greeke Churche had not first. But if we shal diligently peruse ouer the bookes of the Greeke fathers, we shal neuer find this woord Missa which is Masse, vsed of thē. Wherefore I thynk that this woord of Missa is not derived from the Hebrues.

The hebrew words cam not vnto the latine church but by the Greeke churche.

λειτουργιά.

The Greeke church called the holy supper λειτουργιάν, which woorke signifieth a common & publike woorke. Neither is that woord proper to holy things: yea it is also applyed vnto prophane actions which ar publike. And who knoweth not that the administration of the supper of the Lord is a thing pertaynyng to Christian people: For as many as be present, ought to be partakers thereof, and to communicate together. And least I should ouerskyp thys, the etimologie of this woord bringeth no smal argument against priuate Masses. Besides this that woord pertaineth not only, to the Lords supper, but also it is attributed to other holy functions, wherefore it is written in the actes of the Apostels the. 13. chap. λειτουργούντων αὐτῶν, whych some haue tourned, whilest they did sacrifice, whē as rather they should haue said, whilest they serued or wrought publikely, namely in a holy thing which they did without doubt in preaching of the Gospel. This holy function namely the Lordes supper had other names among the Latines. For it was somtimes called the Communion, sometimes the supper of the Lord, other somtimes the Sacrament of the body of Christ, or the breaking of bread. And our fathers haue often tymes called it as the Greeke fathers dyd dreadful misteries and συναξίμ. I will not speake of, how they vsed to cal it oftē times by the name of a sacrifice, not therfore (as our aduersaries do foolishlye imagine) bicause that there the body & blood of Christ is offered vnto God for a sacrifice for the quicke & the dead. Although the fathers abhorred not from that kinde of speche, whereby they sayde that the body and blood of Christ was offered vnto God. But what they vnderstoode by those words, if they be diligently red, they do manifestly expounde, namelye that then were thankes geuen vnto god, which had deliuered vp his sonne vnto the death & the crosse for our sakes.

An argument against priuate masses.

Names of the holy supper among the Latynes.

Howe the fathers called the supper a sacrifice.

By those names did the most auncient fathers call the Lordes supper. But they made neuer mencion of the Masse. For if thou shalt reade Ireneus, Tertulian, Ciprian, Hilary, and their like, thou shalt neuer finde that woord in them in that signification. Augustine maketh mēcion twice of it, namely in his sermon

The most auncient fathers vsed not the name of Masse.

Augustine.

de tem-

de tempore. 237. where he maketh mencion of the Masse of those that were to be instructed before baptisme. In the same place he exhorteth men to forgeue iniuries agaynst another. For (saith he) we must come to the Masse of those that are to be instructed, where we shall praye together, as our trespasses, as well to forgeue our trespassers. And in the same sermon de tempore, 91. these woordes: In ipsa missa, which doe go before Masse, some are in doubte whether those sermons were of Augustines writing or no, but to me they seme to be the style and sentence of Augustine. And as I coniecture, I thinke that this name Masse began almost to be vsed at that time, howbeit but seldome, and not often. For if it had been the woord in vse, Augustine (especially who framed his writing vnto the vulgare people) would oftener haue made mencion of it.

Whether the name of Masse began to be vsed.

They alledge Ignatius in his Epistle ad Smyrnenses. But that place maketh very much against the Papistes, for it maketh as much for them, as where Ignatius forbyd Masses should be in no wyse haue, vnlesse the Bishop were present, wyth such great warnesse did he auoyde abhorre priuate communions. For he would haue all men to reuerence & honor the Bishops. These thinges haue I added for mennes instruction vnto the aduersaries, that it was the very booke of Ignatius, & that it maketh against the woord Masse, which yet we do not compel them to graunt. For it is Apocryphas, and that as their own Gratian testifieth. Moreouer, those Epistles were written in Greeke, and therefore I am assured, that he which turned them into latin, did put this woord Masse for εὐχαριστία. For there it is written in Greeke, σπουδάζετε οὖν μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· and straight way after that, ἑνὸς γὰρ θυσιαστηρίου ἐστὶν ἑνὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ποτηρίου εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ· μία θυσία· εἷς ἐπίσκοπος· &c. This is the Greeke sentence of Ignatius, wherein as apeareth ther is no mencion made of this woord Masse.

Ignatius an argumēt against priuate Masses.

The epistles of Ignatius are Apocriphas.

Leo also is cited in his 9. Epistle to Dioscurus, where I confesse that that fat hen made mencion of Masse, but yet in such sorte, that in the same place he is wonderfully against priuate Masses. For he was demaunded, seing that the temple was not so large, that it could not contayne the whole people, which came while holy thinges were administred, what the rest of the multitude should do, which remained without and could not be present. Leo answered, that when that part of the people is gone forth which was before present at the halye celebration, ther others might succede and repeate againe those holye thinges. If so be that priuate masses had been then in vse, what needed of that matter to haue asked counsell of Leo the bishop of Rome? Surely this question is a manifest token that Masse was not vsed to be had but once.

Leo, In argumēt against priuate Masses.

They were wont also to bring Iohannes Cassianus, who lyued in the tyme of Honorius, and was driuen out of the Churche of Ierusalem by heretickes, from whence he came to Massilia, and was a Monke by profession. For her maketh mencion of Masse in his 3. booke, 7. and 8. chap. but he wresteth the signification of that woord farre other wise than to the holy Communion. For by Masse he vnderstandeth perfection, fasting, and absolution. Wherefore he saith: præsolemne congregationis missam. Let him tarye the ende or fulnes of the congregation. What is, that the multitude and congregation maye be absolued and fulfylled. And by and by after, Contenti somno, quis missa vigiliarum vsque ad lucem extenditur. What is, being content with the sleepe which is permitted them frō the end of the vigiles vnto day light, wherby this woord Missa he vnderstandeth that time of the watch wherin the vigiles were ended. For then was it lawfull for the Monkes to slepe vntil day light. Neither must I ouerslip, that ther is mēcion made manifestly made of Masses in the exposition of the 31. chap. of the Prouerbes of Salomon, which exposition is ascribed to Ierome. But that booke without controuersy is none of Ieromes writing. For Gregory is there alledged, who liued long after Augustine and Ierome. Bruno Amerbachius in his epistle which he set before the booke, saith that he saw in an old booke, that that interpretatiō was

Iohannes Cassianus.

The exposition of ỹ Prouerbes is falsely ascribed to Ierome.

was entituled to Beda. And if it wer so, then it is no marualle, if her made mencion of Palles, for then in the time of Beda the priest, many abuses had crept into the church. I do therfore admonish you of that, because in that place that counterfait Ieronie affirmeth that the soules of such as are dead, are holpe by the celebrations of Palles deliuered out of Purgatory. Ieronie was not so bold to speake

Many abuses in the church in the time of Beda.

From whence thys word Masse cõmeth.

Now resteth to declare from whence the name of Masse, which vndoubtedly is a latin word, semeth to be derined. The old fathers, if a man will diligently marke their writtinges, did put this word remissa, which is to say remedies, for this word remissio, which is also to say remedies. Tertullianus in his 4. booke against Marcion, the. 249. syde. We haue spoken (saith he) de remissa peccatorum, that is of the remission of synnes. Ciprian de bono patientiæ, saith: Qui remissam peccatorum erat daturus, lauatro regenerationis tingi non est dedignatus: he which he came to geue remission of synnes, disdained not to be washed with the lauare of regeneration. The same man writeth in the. 4. epistle of his. 13. booke. Qui blasphemat spiritum sanctum remissam peccatorum non habet, that is, he which blasphemeth the holye Ghost, hath not remission of sinnes. Wherefore seing at length of remissio they haue said remissa, they may be counted also in steede of missio to haue vsed this word missa. Therfore that which was done in the Church post missionem Cathecumenorum, that is after the sending away of the Cathecumenites, they called Missa, that is Masse. Κατηχεῖν (to declare that also by the way) is to teache & to instruct, especially by voice, and not by writting: wherevnto they wer called κατηχούμενοι which wer not yet washed with the lauacre of regeneration, but wer instructed of their faith. Tertullian called them Audientes or Auditores, that is, hearers. But Augustine called them Competentes, that is petitioners, or requesters (that is of baptisme.) For before they should be baptised at Easter, they signified their names. 40. dates before, in which space they wer instructed, & not onely their faith, but also their life and manors wer examined of the Maisters of the church. But in the holy assembling when the holy scriptures wer red, & the sermon done, the Deacon cryed: Ite hinc ad Catechumenos, that is: Get you hence vnto the Catechumeni, that is: Get you hence vnto the Catechumenites go forth, & the Grecians said ἔξω τοὺς ἀγίους, that is, holye thinges for holy ones: as it is gathered out of the seruice booke of the elders. Also out of Cyrillus vpon Iohn the. vii. boke & .l. chap: yea in Gregories time (as he testifieth him self in his second booke & .23. chap. of his dialogues) it was said: if any man cõmunicate not, let him geue place. And that maner maye appeare to be very like vnto a certaine custome of the Ethnikes: For in a certayne place of their seruice of God (as Festus declareth) the Sargeant said: Exesto hostis victus, mulier, virgo, that is, let the ouercome enemy, the woman & the maide go forth, for in that kinde of seruice it was forbidden that those kinde of persons should be present. And Apuleius in his. 2. booke saith, that the Priest did vse when he offered sacrifices, to say thus: Si quis adest, that is, who shal abide here? To whom was answered: καλοὶ, κἀγαθοί, As though it should haue bene said: honest & good men, when as they which wer polluted & vnworthy wer gon. So was it done in our church: for after that saying aforesaid of the Deacon, κατηχούμενοι, ἐκπεσόντες, fallers away, & such as wer put to repentance went their way. Of these orders Dionisius made mencion. They wer called ἐκπεσόντες, which wer vexed with euyll spirits. Peraduenture they wer excõmunicated, for those at that time, I meane in the primatiue church, wer deliuered vp to Sathan.

Cathecumenites,

The Cathecumenites & not cõmunicantes wer sent out by the Deacon.

Cyrillus.

Gregory.

Festus.

A maner of the Ethnikes in a certaine seruice of theirs.

Apuleius.

Ἐκπεσόντες.

Therfore (as it now appeareth, by that which we haue said) the Latin church called the celebration of the sacrament of the holy supper Missam, as it wer missionem, that is a sending away. For Ambrosius also said in a certain place, missas facere. And surely this sentence semeth much more probable vnto me, than both theirs which thinke that name to be derived of this hebrew word Masse. But now that we haue entreated of the name of Masse, we will also set forth the partes thereof, as they were had among the elders. The Grecians seeme to haue

Missa as it wer Missio. Ambrose.

Partes of the Masse.

haue begon their λειτουργιαν, that is, the exercise of the Lords supper at κύριε ἐλέησον, that is, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, As though before al they would implore forgeuenes of their sinnes. Which phrase the latin church hath borowed of the, which some attribute to Gregory. But whylest the people gathered together, and before they were assembled, they song a peece of some Psalme, or some part of the scripture, and that song they called Introitus, that is an entraunce, bicause that at that time the people might enter in. And they make Celestine author of that. After κύριε ἐλέησον, the people being in a maner glad, for the obtaining of pardon for their synnes, to geue thankes vnto God, did syng this hymne Gloria in altissimis, that is: Glory to God on high, which they wil haue to be the inuention of Telesphorus. Then had they Collectes, which are ascribed vnto Gelasius. Moreouer, certain lessons were rehearsed out of the holye scriptures, either out of the old testament, or els out of the Actes, or Epistles of the Apostles. Whiche lessons being done, there was to be rehearsed some part of the Euangelicall hystory. But when the Reader had red vnto the church the fyrst lessons, the deacon stoode vp in a high place, or pulpit, namely to be sene, and to be vnderstande of al men, wher he distinctly pronounced that which was to be redde out of the Gospell. But whylest hee went and ascended vp the stayres, the people vsed to syng fiue verses of Psalmes, which communely they called Graduales, that is, stayre songes. They added also vnto them, Halleluiah, that is, prayse the Lord, as it were clapping of hands with ioyous cry, for the glad tidinges of the gospell. Whiche betweene whom Halleluiah, semeth to be taken out of the Churche of Ierusalem; wherof there is mention made also in the Apocalipse, and in the tytle of certayne Psalmes. When the Deacon had red the Gospell, the Bylhop, or the Paslor of the Churche added thereunto an interpretation and exhortation wherin vices were reproued, and deliberation taken of such as wer to be excommunicated. Which thinges being thus finished, the Cathecumenites and others which would not communicate, were sent awaye. But in our tyme, bycause there are found very fewe or none Cathecumenites, and they whych do not communicate doo stande mingled with the rest, yea almost none communicate except it be the Sacrificer alone. The Papistes haue differred that Missio, that is, that sending awaye, to the ende of their abhominations. For then they vse to say with a loude voyce, Ite, Missa est, That is: Go your way, now is the departure.

But in the olde tyme, those thinges being finished, whyche wee haue rehearsed, they which ought to be partakers of the holy Supper, syng the Simbole of the fayth, that they might diligently instruct one an other in the principal heades of religion, wherein they consented. For in Symboles is compyzehended the summe of fayth, whyche compyzed desygn or summe, if a man wyll diligently reade the olde Fathers, he shal finde to be called Traditio Ecclesiæ, that is the tradition of the Churche, which is both taken out of the holy Scriptures, and also necessarye to be beleued for saluation. And sometimes Tertullian hath geth it agaynst the heretickes which denyed the holy Scriptures. The Symbole holden at Nice made a full and perfecte Symbole, but not the fyrst, for as muche as there were certaine Symboles before, as we may know euen of Tertullian hym selfe. Then whyle they soong the Creedes or Symboles, such as were present offered of their goodes: Suche thynges as they thought good. The offering serued for three maner of vses, for parte of it was spent on certayne moderate banquets, whiche the Christians vsed at that tyme verye religiously celebrate among them selues, and they were commonly called ἀγάπαι, that is charitable banquets. Part of that which remained was distributed vnto the poore. And finally some of the bread & wyne was layd vp for the vse of the holye Supper. And that thys oblation of thinges was then added, it woo thinges doo taste. fyrst certayne verses which were soong by the people, whilest the offering

xὑριε ἐλέησον.

Introitus.

Gloria in excelsis

Collectes.

The Epistle.

The Gospel.

The graduale.

Halleluiah.

A Sermon.

The Papistes haue transposed the sendyng awaye of the people.

Ite Missa est.

The Symbole of the fayth.

The Symbole is called the tradition of the Church.

Tertulian.

The counsel of Nice.

Three vses of oblation.

Charitable banquetes.

Offertory.

Collectes.

was in doing, which was therfore called of the Offertorium, that is an offring. The same is also knowen by those collectes which are redde in that part of the Masse. Yea, and Iustinus the most auncient Martyr hath made mencion of the same oblation in his Apologie or defence, and Ciprian also, and some of the old Fathers. After these thinges, when they came to administer the holye Supper, they sayde Sursum corda, that is: Lyft vp your hartes, as the Ethnickes vsed to cry in their holy thinges, Hoc age, that is, do this. And surely the Christians said so verye aptlye, and in conuenient time, thereby to admonishe them selues, to thinke at that time vpon no carnal nor earthly thing, but wholy to lyft vp their myndes vnto heauen, where Christ is to be sought, and not in earth, as though he were included in the breade or wyne. After that they gaue thankes, when they sayd: We gene thankes O Lorde holye father, almightye, and euerlasting God, through Christ our Lorde, &c. These thinges are moste auncient, and are found very often in old ecclesiasticall writers. Yea and that mystery of the bodie and bloud of Christ was called εὐχαριστία, that is, geuing of thankes, bycause all the accomplishing therof dependeth vpon thankes geuing. And when the people had sayd: Through our Lorde Christe, he went to the proper wordes of the Supper. Which being rehearsed, there was said the Lordes prayer. But Xystus before the rehersall of it, would haue the people to sing Sanctus Sanctus, &c. that is, holy, holy, &c. And that there might be better occasion geuen to come to that song, certaine prefaces were put before. And to these they peeced their Canon, which one Scolasticus (as Gregory mencioneth in his Regster) made: whiche in deede the same Gregory alloweth not; bycause he would put in thinges of his owne, and neglected the Lordes prayer. The kysse of peace, is sayd to be the inuention of Leo the seconde. Which seemeth not so to me, for as muche as that maner was in the Churche, euen in the tyme of the Apostles, that Christians should entertayne one another with the kysse of peace. Yea and Paule in his Epistles hath made mencion of that kynd of saluation. And Iustine also the martyr in his second Apology hath mencioned of this kysse. The song of Agnus dei, that is the Lambe of God, is said to haue beene brought in by one Innocentius. And when all these thinges were finished, they came to the distribution of the Sacrament. Which whilest it was in doing, or when it was finished, they song a song of thanks geuing, which they called Post Communionem, that is, an after Communion. And all these thinges beyng finished and ended, the Minister sent away the people, blessing them with a lucky blessing.

Sursum corda.

Hoc age.

Gratias agimus tibi.

From whence is had the name εὐχαριστία.

Proper wordes of the Supper

The Lordes Prayer.

Sanctus.

Prefaces.

Canon

Kisse of peace.

Agnus dei.

Distribution of the sacrament.

Post cõmunion Prayers at the end.

All these thinges, although they led awaye the Christian people from that first simplicity of dyeng the Lordes Supper, very manye thinges beyng added as it seemed good vnto sundrye men: neuertheles after a sorte they might be borne withall, neyther can they iustly be accused either of superstition, or els of Idolatry. Howbeit they were not alyke in all Churches, neyther were they obserued after one maner. For yet in the Churche of Millaine it is otherwyse vsed after the institution of Ambrose. But afterward the Romane Antichristes corrupted all thynges, as I shall declare in an other place.

Diuers formes alike in all churches.

The churche of Millayne.

And that by the olde institution were obserued thole thinges which I haue mencioned, I could easely prooue by moste auncient writers. Tertullian in his Apologye sayth: We assemble and gather together, that we praying might embrace one another, as though we would make a violence vnto God without prayers. This violence is acceptable vnto God. We pray also for Emperours, & for their ministers & powers, for the state of the worlde, for the quietnes of things, & the tarying of the end. These thinges declare the fewnes of the writers. And for the rehearsing of the Scriptures, hee addeth: We assemble together to the rehearsall of the holy scriptures, if the quality of the present time doth compel vs, either to foresee any thing, or diligently to acknowledge any faults, we do assuredly feede our fayth with holye wordes, lyfte vppe our hope, wee fyxe oure confidence,

Tertulian.

and

and yet we continually repeate diſciplins, by inculcating the preceptes of God. Ther are alſo exhortations, caſtigations, and ſharpe iudgementes of God, for there was iudgement with great waight. &c. Theſe are the thinges whych wer done in the holy aſſembly. Wherunto thoſe thinges are alſo to be added, which the ſame author ſaith in an other place, namelye that the Lordes Supper was wont to be receaued at the handes of the chiefe Miniſters. &c. We may by theſe woordes perceaue the principal partes of the Maſſe which we haue made mencion of.

Iuſtine the Martyr in his ſecond Apologie maketh mencion that the Chriſtians aſſembled together on the Sonday, but he writeth nothing of other feaſt daies. There he ſaith was reherſed the holy ſcriptures, whereunto the Biſhop dyd afterward adioyne his exhortation. Which being finiſhed (ſaith he) we ryſe and pray. He addeth afterward: The bread and drinke is brought to the biſhop, ouer which he geueth thankes as earneſtly as he can: to whom all men anſwer, Amen. Theſe two woordes declare that they wer not careleſly to be paſſed ouer. Firſt thankes were not geuen rathlye, but with as muche earneſt as might be, that is, with a ſingular affection. Moreouer, it is manifeſt that all theſe thynges were ſpoken with a loud voyce, ſeing al the people anſwered, Amen. Afterward (ſaith he) is diſtributed the Lordes ſupper, then is the common geuing of thankes, and the offering of almes. Iuſtine martyr

Dionyſius in Hierarchia Eccleſiaſtica maketh mencion almoſt of theſe ſame things, namely of the reading of the ſcriptures, ſinging of Pſalmes, Cõmunió, and other thinges, which wer to long now to rehearſe. But (which is muche to be marualled of) he maketh no mencion of the offering of the body of Chriſt. Yet we muſt not thinke that he was that Areopagite, of whom the Acres of the Apoſtles haue mencioned. But whatſoeuer he was, it is not to be doubted, as farre as I can iudge, but that he was an old writer. But why I can not thincke that he was an Areopagite, theſe are the reaſons that leade me thereunto. Firſt, becauſe the kinde of writing whych he vſeth, eſpecially of the names of God, and de Hierarchia celeſti, containeth in it rather the doctrine of vayne Philoſophye, than the pure doctrine of Chriſtian religiõ, and vtterly wanteth edefying: moreouer theſe bookes ar in a maner voyd of teſtimonies of the holy ſcriptures. Furthermore in his Hierarchia Eccleſiaſtica hee maketh Monkes as a myddle order betwene a Clarke and the Lay men. When as in the Apoſtles time, that kynde of life was not yet in the Churche. Beſides this, the auncienter Fathers neuer made mencion of theſe bookes: which is a good argument, that theſe writinges wer none of that Martyrs doing. Gregory the Romane was the firſt of all writers that made any mencion of him, who in one of his Homelies mencioneth of his writinges. But let vs leaue him and come to Auguſtine. Dionyſius. The woorkes of Dionyſius ar not hys whych was the Areopagite. Monkes were not in the churche in the Apoſtles tyme. Auguſtine.

That father in his. 59. epiſtle to Paulinus, when he diſſolueth the. 9. queſtion, expoundeth the. 4. woords which ar written in the. 1. epiſtle to Timo. the. 2. chap. And theſe are the woordes: δέησις, προσευχὴ, ἐντεύξις, and εὐχαριστία. And he affirmeth δέησις, to go before the celebration of the ſacramẽt: but προσευχὴ he maketh prayers, which are ſaid in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, wher after a ſorte we bow our ſelues vnto Chriſt, and he thincketh ἔντευξις to bee petitions and requeſtes, with which the Miniſter of the Church prayeth for good thinges vnto the people ſtanding by. And finally εὐχαριστία he affirmeth to be the cõmon geuing of thankes. I could to theſe bring a great many more monuments of old writers, but that I thinke theſe are ſufficient at this preſent. A place to Timothe expounded. 1. Tim. 2.

But now to returne to the name of Miſſa, I ſee ther haue bene ſome whych haue thought it to haue ben deriued of the word Miſſio, that is ſending, becauſe thoſe thinges which wer offered of the faithfull, were ſayde to be ſent, and they thyncke that this hebrewe woorde Miſſath gaue the occaſion to that name, becauſe in Penticoſte the Iewes vſed to ſend gyftes. But why I doo not thyncke Note an other kind of miſſion

the name of Missa to be derined of the hebrewe woorde, I haue before declared. And nowe I adde this, that if Missa were so named of the oblation of thinges, which wer geuen of the godly, then do the Papistes abuse that name, who haue no regard at al to the almes of godly men, but onely to the oblation of the bodye and blood of Christe, which they commonlye boast, and that impudently, that they doo offer it vnto God the father for the quicke and the dead. But of these thinges I thinke I haue spoken inough and inough.

34 And the Amorites draue the childre of Dan vnto the mountain, for they suffered them not to come downe into the valley.
35 And the Amorites began to dwel in the mount Heresch in Aialem, and in Saalbim: and the hande of Joseph preuailed, so that they became tributaries.
36 And the coast of the Amorites was from the going vp of the Scorpions, and from Petra and vpward.

They of the tribe of Dan distrusting the mercy and fauour of God, wer driue by the Chananites or Amorhites, into the hilly places, wher they were scarse able to abide. For their enemies began to vsurpe the mountaine of Heresch, which was appointed to their lot: but the house of Ioseph aided them, and so preuailed, that they made the Amorhites tributaries. And how farre the borders of the Amorhites extended, is briefly touched. For they reached vnto the going vppe of Scorpions, which is a place in the South borders of the tribe of Iudah, not farre from the dead sea, almost euen to Petra, which citie is the Metropolitan or chiefe citie of Arabia, from which it is called Arabia Petrea. Strabo describeth it, that it was situated in a plaine ground, compassed in with high rockes, from the bottomes whereof flowed most plentifull fountaynes, when as the whole region which lieth by it, was altogether dry and a desert.

The borders of the Amorites wer very large

Petra. Strabo.

Whether it be lawfull for Christias to dwel with infidels.

BVt seing the Israelites fel, because they dwelled together with vngodli nations, and did rather exact tributes of them, than vtterly wede them out, according to the cõmaundemẽt of God. I thinke it good to entreate whether it be lawful for godly men to be conuersant and to dwell together with the vngodly.

Reasons which proue that.

And assuredly ther are many reasons, whereby that maye seme to bee lawfull. The first reaso 2. Reason. First, because Christ despised not the feastes of Publicanes, Pharisels, and Sinners. Secondly, Paul to the Corinthians the first epistle, geueth not libertye to a faithful wife, to depart frõ an infidele, so that he be content to lyue & dwel together w̃ her. Moreouer, the same Apostle writeth, that if any infidele byd you to a feast, and ye will go with them, then eate suche thinges as are set before you. 3. Reason. 4. Reason. By these his woordes therefore he maketh it free. Furthermore, the same Apostle in the same epistle, saith that he had admonished the Corinthians to auoyde whoremongers, rauenours, euyl speakers, and suche lyke: but not al (sayth he) for so must you go out of the world, but if any be called a brother. &c. Wherefore we are not forbydden to auoyde the fellowship of al the vngodly. Besides these 5. Reason. Abraham was called out of Chaldey, and commaunded to dwell as a straunger among nations, which were farre from true religion. Wherefore hee dwelt in the land of Chanaan and Egipt, which places were altogether geuen to idolatry. 6. Reason. Yea, and Lot seperated him selfe from the fellowshyppe and familye of his kinsman Abraham, and went and dwelt in Sodome. Naaman also the Syrian returned to his idolatries. Christe also retayned not with him al those whom hee had healed of diseases, but sent them agayne, sometymes to their owne, to declare there, what had happened vnto them. 7. Reason. Finally by ciuyl lawes certaine heretickes haue had places appointed vnto them, as the Nouatians had in the citye 8. Reason, 9. Reason,

of

of Cõſtantinople, and at this day the Iewes haue euery where leaue to dwell among the Chriſtians.

This queſtiõ ſurely as it is weighty, ſo hath it alſo very many doubtes. Wherfore we muſt fyrſt make a diſtinction, what may be lawfull to Magiſtrates, and what to priuate men. Then muſt we vnderſtand that the conuerſation with infidels hath two conſiderations: one is, wherby men are driuen by compulſion to Idolatrous and vnpure worſhipping of God, & an other, whereby they remaine at libertye. Then we muſt marke, ẏ they which liue together with the vngodly as touching religion, are ſometyme learned and ſtrong, and ſometimes they are both weake and alſo vnlearned. Wherfore I thynke it good to be iudged as touching priuate men, that if they be learned, and haue with theyr learning adioyned conſtancie, ſo that they be not compelled to cõmunicate with vngodly rites, may lawfully haue to do and be conuerſaunt with men that are infidels, prouided that there be certayne cautions added.

A diſtinction.

In other diſtinction.

The third diſtinction.

The learned & ſtrong may be conuerſaunt with Infidels.

The fyrſt caution is, that they do it with thys minde, to teach thoſe which are without godlyneſſe, and to bring them to the ſincere and pure religiõ. And therfore whileſt they are conuerſaunt among thẽ, they ought not to ceaſe: but ought alwayes to go about that purpoſe, for which they dwell in thoſe places. And that theyr inſtruction and doctrine may be fruitful, they muſt take diligent hede, that they be courteyſe, gentle and bounteous towarde thoſe, whom they thynke to ioyne vnto Chriſt. For vnleſſe they be fully perſuaded, that they which do admonyſhe them and inſtructe them do loue them, & haue them in price, the thing, which they haue taken in hand ſhal haue but euill ſucceſſe.

The fyrſt Caution.

Furthermore they muſt take hede, that they liue holily, iuſtly and honeſtly, for if the infidels ſhould be offended with theyr maners, their miniſterye would vterly be vnprofitable: for as much as it nothing auayleth to build with one hand and to deſtroye the ſame with the other hand.

The ſecond Caution.

Moreouer this muſt of al is to be ſene vnto, ẏ vnder the pretence of gentleneſſe or frendſhip they myngle not themſelues with vngodly vſages no though they were perſuaded, that they could that way allure thẽ the eaſier vnto Chriſt. For the rule of the Apoſtle muſt abyde vnſhaken, which is that euil thinges are not to be committed, wherby good thyngs may happen.

The third Caution.

They muſt beware alſo, ẏ in being conuerſaunt with thẽ, they ſeke not theyr own cauſe or commodity. For ſome there are found, which although they make a pretence that they are deſirous to haue the Goſpel ſpred abroad. Yet neuertheleſſe in very dede follow & ſeke for their owne pleaſures, & gayne or aduantage. Wherfore if there be no hope (which neuertheleſſe can ſeldome iuſtly happen) of the health of ſuch infidels, we muſt no longer haue to do with them, but ſo much as eyther our neceſſitie or theirs requireth: that is, if peraduenture they ſhoulde be very ſore ſicke, and could not be holpen no other waye but by our helpe: or if we our ſelues ſhuld not be able to get things neceſſary for our liuing any other where but among them. It ſhall be lawfull alſo to be conuerſaunte with them, as much as naturall and ciuile neceſſityes requyre, as if they were our princes, fathers, wiues or maiſters & ſuch like. Now reſteth to cõfyrme this ſentence, either by teſtimonies of ẏ holy ſcriptures or els by examples. Chriſt aſſuredly did ſo, who for this cauſe was cõuerſant wt̃ publicanes, ſinners, phariſees, & ſcribes to inſtruct thẽ of ſaluation, & to conuert thẽ frõ ſinnes to vertues, and godlineſſe, Wherfore Ierome on ẏ 9. chap. of Mathew hath thys ſaying: Chriſt in dede went to the feaſtes of ſinners, but to that end ẏ he myght haue occaſion to teache thẽ & to recõpence theyr biddings with ſpirituall meates: neyther are there any other things in the rehearſal therof ſpoken, but ſuch as Chriſt himſelfe ſpake or dyd, and what was the power of his doctrine, &c. Thys ſame manner dyd the Prophets in the old tyme vſe, when they were conuerſaunt wt̃ an Idolatrous people

The fourth Caution.

Proues out of the holy ſcriptures. Math. 9.

Ieroms.

And in lyke sorte dyd the Apostles, when they were sent by Christ, to go abroad among the Ethnikes. Neyther dyd Paul disdayne when he came to Athens, to bewe the temples of the Idols, and there curiously & subtilly to loke vpon ẏ titles and inscriptions of the altares, wherby he learned that inscription Ignoto Deo, that is, To the vnknowen god, and therof he tooke matter to make an excellent Sermon there, that he might after a sort reproue the men of Athens out of there owne proper tables. I thynke these thynges are sufficiente to confyrme the sentence before alledged. But before I goe from thys matter, I thoughte it good to admonyshe you of thys, that the same cautions being added, it is lawful for godly mẽ to be conuersaunt with such as are excõmunicate, namely to bring them into the way, so that they communicate not with them in their faulte, or haue to do with them for affection sake.

How we maye be conuersaunt with excommunicates.

The weake & vnlearned ought not to haue to do with infidelles.

But let vs go forward, and declare what is to be iudged of the weake and vnlearned men. They, although they are not cõpelled to pollute themselues with Idolatrous customes, yet ought they not to dwell together with Infidels. For being vnlearned, they haue no pretence of teaching. For if they should go about to enstruct others, they should by their vnskilfulnesse easly cause ẏ true doctrine of Christ to be had in derision. And surely the ignorance of such men is earnestly to be reproued: forasmuche as among Christians, there is none so very an Ideot founde, but that he is beunde to be able to rendre a reason of his fayth and in a sorte able to enstructe straungers. And certaynely all men moughte quickely do that, if they would suffer themselues to be instructed euen meanely in the Cathechisme. Neuertheless such as are infected with thys ignorannce ought to seperate themselues from hauyng familiar fellowship with Infidelles as much as nede of the body and ineuitable necessities will suffer.

The ignorance of Christias as touching fayth is to bee reproued.

But what shall we saye of Scholemaisters? they are oftentymes enemyes to pietye which yet are appoynted to teach good artes and Philosophye. I say that it is daungerous to vse them, for as muche as they doe instille oftentymes peruerse thynges into the myndes of the hearers, and when as the Scholliers are wonte to haue a meruelous opinion of a learned Scholemaster it easely afterward commeth to passe, that they beginne to reuerence them, and that exceedingly. Wherfore when they see that they are eloquente and very well learned both in the liberall artes, and also in Philosophy, they can scarce persuade themselues, that those Scholemasters can erre or myserablye be deceaued in the true religion. For on the contrarye part we see that Origene the Adamantiue, being besydes the religion of Christ, wherin he was instructed, wonderfully indued also with good artes and Philosophy, dyd in teaching disciplines of the Ethnikes bring very many of hys hearers to Christ. We know also that Augustine, when he willingly gaue eare vnto Ambrose for hys eloquence sake, was turned from a Manichite to a Catholyke. So, yea and that more easlye (for as muche as we are more prone to euill then to good) it may oftentymes happen that they which are weake and vnlearned in religion, may as touching vngodlynesse very much increase vnder vngodly Scholemaisters. And vndoubtedly by thys meanes fell Julianus the Apostata from Christ, in takyng Libanius, Iamblicus, and Maximus to be hys Scholemaisters. Wherfore for as much as suche Scholemaisters can not be had without greate daunger, my iudgement is that we should altogether leaue them.

We maye not haue to do with vngodly scholemaisters.

Godly scholemaisters do easely aduance religion.

Origene.

Augustine.

Thou wilt say peraduenture ẏ Paul the Apostle in his first Epistle to ẏ Cor. hath not written these cautions or exceptions of the weake and vnlearned ones, when as he plainly writeth: If any that is an infidel shal cal you, & ye wil go, &c. By these words he semeth to testifye, ẏ al that is referred to our wil. Wherunto I answere, ẏ the Apostle did not permit ẏ to be free to euery wil, but to a wil ẏ is rightly & wel instructed. For if a mã should go to these feastes, to be dronke to pamper his belly or gorge, or to solace himself wᵗ filthy talke without doubt he

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can not be excused wᵗ the permissiō of Paule, but is earnestly to be reproued, for his vnhoneſt wil and wicked purpoſe. Likewiſe if a mā being cōuerſaūt with infidels ſhould doubt of his own conſtancie, & ſhould ſee ẏ he could nothyng profite them, among whō he dwelleth, vndoubtedly ẏ man can not go thither with a ſound conſcience, or an vpryght will. And if he ſhould go, he ſhould not directe ẏ which he doth, to to glory of god (as he is cōmaūded.) Furthermore although Paule hath not in the ſame place by expreſſe wordes put thys caution alledged, yet it followeth not therby, that the ſame is not to be added: foraſmuch as it is both by firme reaſon manifeſt, & alſo proued by other places of ẏ holy ſcripture, ẏ that is in no caſe lawful. And ẏ ſelf ſame Apoſtle ſayth in the ſame Epiſtle the vii. chap. that he doth well, which ſurely purpoſeth in his hart, ẏ he wil kepe his virgin: Howbeit he addeth this condition, ſo ẏ he haue no nede, and that he hath power ouer his own wil. For if he ſhould otherwyſe appoynt thē his daughter ſhould, or had nede, then vndoubtedly he ſhould not do well. Wherby it appeareth ẏ to the goodneſſe & vprightneſſe of ẏ worke, it is not ſufficient to ſee that ẏ worke it ſelf of his nature be not euill, or repugnant to ẏ word of god. But more ouer thys is required, ẏ we attempt the ſame with an vpryghte, perfecte & whole mynde. Wherfore euery one ẏ is vnlearned & weake, ought to ſeperate himſelf frō the fellowſhip or familiaritie of ẏ vnfaythfull, as much as naturall & ciuile neceſſity ſuffreth. For ſeing ẏ he perceaueth that therby will come ſome danger to his ſoule, he can not with a good minde & ſound counſel be conuerſaunt with thē. Howbeit he may do ſuch duties vnto them as are cōmaunded in the law of God, leaſt he be made guiltye of ẏ ſentence of Paul, where he ſayth: whoſoeuer hath not a care of hys, & eſpecially of hys houſhold, he hath denyed the fayth, & is worſe than an Infidell. Yea and the ſame Apoſtle hath commaunded, that ſeruauntes of neceſſitye ſhould obey their Maiſters.

To the goodneſſe of an action it is not ſufficient that itbe not of his own nature euill.

Now reſteth to ſhewe reaſons & teſtimonyes of the holy ſcriptures, for ẏ dyſalowing of this conuerſation. Fyrſt our Sauiour feared not to ſay in Mathew the 5. and 18. chap. If thy hand, foote or eye be an offence, or let vnto thee, cut him of, and caſt him from thee, And theſe (as the wyſer interpreters do declare) ſpake he not of the members of the body, but referred thē vnto thoſe, which are our familiars, & moſt nygh of kynred vnto vs. They al are to be ſeperated frō oure cōpany, although they ſeme profitable and cōmodious, when they eyther ſeperate vs frō God, which is the euerlaſtyng ſaluation, or do put lets and hynderāces, wherby we are called frō hym. Chryſoſtome in a maner intreating the ſelf ſame argument ſayth in the 56. Homely vpon John: If we cut of a rotten membre frō the body, leaſt it ſhould corrupt the other partes of the body, which vndoubtedly we do not, becauſe we deſpyſe that membrr. For who at any tyme hated hys owne fleſhe: How much more ſhould we do the ſame in thoſe which are wickedly ioyned vnto vs, not that we ſhould deſpyſe them, but that we ſhould prouide that our ſaluation be not there indaungered, where we ſee ẏ we can nothing at al profite them. Wherfore in thys caſe, it is muche vnprofitable to deſire, or to ſeke for familiaritie or concord. To this alſo doth ẏ law of Chriſt tend which he gaue in the 18. of Mathew, ẏ they which are in a manner paſt hope of ſaluatiō, & wil not heare their brethren iuſtly admoniſhing thē, yea and alſo deſpiſe ẏ voyce of the church correcting them, let them be counted as Ethnikes and publicanes. Which thing Paule alſo hath taught, who in the fyrſt of the Corrinthians the v. chap. commaunded the inceſtuous perſon to be excōmunicated, that a litle leuen ſhould not pollute the whole dough of the ſainctes.

Teſtimonies of the holy ſcriptures for ẏ ſentence alledged.

Chryſoſtome.

Moreouer the ſame Apoſtle taught, and ẏ in the ſame Epiſtle the 15. chap. out of a verſe of Menander ẏ Poet, ẏ euil cōmunications corrupt good maners. And therby he ſhewed, ẏ the ryght fayth of ẏ reſurrection, was greuouſly weakened among ẏ Corinthians, which were newly come vnto Chriſt, and ẏ for that cauſe becauſe they had lightly geuē credite vnto ẏ arguments & prophane reaſons of

Philosophers or rather heretikes. It is not possible to be thought, how ỹ bewitching of wicked wordes corrupteth the tẽder fayth of the weake ones. Wherfore prolitably and conueniently were the Corrinthians admonished, & with thẽ all such as are weake ar erhorted, to abstayne frõ ỹ fellowship of infidels. The phi-

The cõsels of phisitions to auoyde contagiousnesse.

sitions also do counsell, ỹ when a contagious disease shal infect either a familye or the nert familie vnto it, ỹ such as yet are of perfect health goe not vnto them which are sicke. For ỹ in the bodyes & temperatures of men there is a certayne agrement, wherby an affection easly issueth frõ those which ar sicke to thẽ which

συμπαθια

are whole and sound, the poyson wherof, though it be not byandby felt, of those which take not hede vnto themselues, yet for al ỹ within a litle whyle after it deadly corrupteth. Wherfore seing we are bidden so diligently to beware of the diseases of the bodye, muche more ought we to prouide agaynste the vices of the mynde that we no way prouoke them vnto vs.

Our nature is on euery side subiect to corruption.

Furthermore our nature is so framed, by reason of our naturall or originall sinne, ỹ we are on euery side subiect to corruption, as both ỹ holy scriptures, and also very many experiences do daily teach vs, so that it is not to be doubted, but ỹ we should easly sucke in the poyson of other mens sinnes, if we houlde not wt great diligence auoyde them. And those synnes as they do without any labour cleaue vnto vs before we beware, so being once concesued, they can not be plucked from vs but with great paynes. Wherfore Chrysostome in his 56. Homely

Chrysostome.

vpon John which I a litle before brought, semeth wisely to saye: If we coulde make thẽ the better, and not hurt our selues (he entreateth in ỹ place of infidelis and vngodly ones) we should do all things: but when we can do them no good, bycause they are past amendment, and that we may greuously hurt our selues, then are they vtterly to be cut of. And to confyrme hys sentence more strongly he bringeth in that which Paule writeth in the fyrst Epistle to the Corinth. the. v. chap. which is, Take away euil from among you. Which wordes of the Apostle can not be vnderstand of synne, forasmuche as the Greeke woorde is τὸν πονηρὸν, that is euil. By which kynde of speache a wicked man is signifyed. Wherfore I shall nothyng erre, if I a litle bend the wordes of the Apostle to the commoditie of the weake ones, saying: Take away your selues from among the euill ones. For if ye, being weake and vnskilfull, shall company with them, ye must nedes both see and heare very many thynges agaynst godlynesse & the religion which ye professe. And bicause ye are not able neyther to confute, nor to reproue them, ye shall seme to be called as witnesses of blasphemies and reproche of the truth. And peraduenture there shoulde remayne a styng in your myndes, wherewith your conscience should be vexed longer than ye thynke for. Let vs herken vnto the wyse mã, who hath wel and faithfully admonished, That he which toucheth pytche shal be fyled with it, and ỹ he which hath fellowship with a proude man,

The vices of other men are like vnto pitch.

wil proue like vnto him. Take vpon thee no greater burthen, than thou art able to beare, & ioyne not thy selfe vnto a mightier thã thou thy self art. Ecclesiasticus the. 13. chap. These things do two wayes serue for thys present matter. Fyrst in that the vices of other men are lykened vnto pytche, whiche sticketh wonderfull fast to the fyngers of them which touch it, and also to garments. Secondly are we faythfully admonyshed to haue a regarde to our own strength.

We must haue a regard to our own strength.

Let the examples of ỹ holy scriptures in any wise teach vs. The Israelits were

Examples of ỹ holy scriptures

70. yeres captiues in Babilon, & were so infected with ỹ conuersatiõ of vnfaythful natiõs, ỹ afterward whẽ they had leaue geuẽ thẽ fyrst of Cirus & thẽ of Darius ỹ most noble kings to returne home, very many of thẽ wold not returne, but being ouercome with ỹ cõmoditie of houses, fields & marchandises, they remained stil among ỹ Chaldians, Medes, & Persians: So cold became they in ỹ loue of godlinesse & study of religiõ. They were reproued in dede by Esdras, Nehemias, & Zachary, but they were litle ỹ better therby. And how much ỹ Hebrues wer corrup

Exodus. 32.

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ted by their long conuersation with ꝯ Egyptians, the things which were by ꝯ done in ꝯ wildernesse, do playnly testifie. For although they had yet before theyr eyes ꝯ singular benefites of God towards them, yet they fell frō hym to Idolatry, and bycause in Egypt they had sene an ore superstitiously worshipped, they therfore instigated Aaron, to make them a calfe to worship, Which beyng geuen thē with great reioysing they began to crye. These are thy gods O Israell, which brought the out of Egypt. Besides this, they iourneyng, thorough the wildernesse, when they came to the borders of the *Moabites*, and were conuersaunt with that nation more familiarly than was mete, they were brought to thys poynte, that they did not only commit filthy whoredome with the shameleſſe women of the *Moabites*, but also they offred sacrifice vnto the most filthy idole namely Baal-*Peor* and suffred them selues to be admitted to his most vnpure sacrifices. *Peter* the chief Apostle, when he had entred into the vngodly hawle of the chief Priest, and had there ben conuersaunt with the maydens and vngodly seruauntes, forswore his maister Iesus Christ our sauiour. For the which faulte afterward, when he departed, he wept most bitterly. *Esay* when he sawe God syt in the temple like a iudge, and angels standing about hym, which most purely celebrated prayses vnto him, although he semed not to himselfe to be guilty of his owne faulte, yet he cried out: Wo vnto me bycause I dwell in the middest of a people, ꝯ haue vncleane lippes. For ꝯ man of God felte, that he had gotten no small infection, by reason he had dwelled so long with an vncleane people.

Numeri. 25.

Matthew. 26.

Esay. 6.

Alexander of Macedonia.

Alexander that Macedonian, which by strength and most noble victories had subdued vnder him the most part of the earth, was so weakened and effeminated by the maners of the Persians, that thos se whom he ought to haue drawen to his owne maners and qualities, he him selfe toke their garments, weakenesse, hawtenesse and pryde, so farre was he from bringyng them to the institutions of the *Macedonians*. Wherfore he cā into great hatred of his souldiours. Neither is this to be passed ouer, that long conuersation of the godly with infidels (except there appeare some fruite of their cōuersion, and that the same be by all meanes sought for) doth breede a let or hinderaūce to their saluation. For when they perceaue that our men do liue so familiarly with them, they thinke that the superstitions and idolatries, wherwith they are infected are not so euill, and so much to be detested. And peraduenture they are brought to this poynte, that in perseuering in them, they dislike not but that they may attayne to saluation. For vnlesse it were so, they could not persuade them selues, that our men would dissemble it. Besides thes things, there are very many of our men, which by the example of this mingled conuersation do thinke that they also may do the same, which they se others to do. Wherby by the dede or exāple of certain, euill should spreade abrode more amply, and our fayth and godlynesse should be had in derision of the Ethnikes and Papistes. And that oftentymes cōmeth to passe, which we know to haue happened in the tyme of *Paul* (as it is written in the first Epistle to the Corinthians) that they which otherwise were faithful, by this conuersation do communicate with wicked and polluted rites. For by ouermuch familiarity with the Infidels, is by litell and litell made a steppe to followe theyr superstition and Idolatry. Wherefore not without a cause did the Apostle crye: Flye from Idolatry. I will not speake also, how that it is not possible, but that, where our men which are weake & without learning and knowledge, are conuersant with infidels, sometymes there may happē some talke of religion, wherin although they slippe not, yet when they can not ouerthrowe the Sophisticall and crafty argumentes of their aduersaries, brawling and strife sometymes ariseth & frō ꝯ they fall into hatred, cursing & reproches, which haue no edificatiō, but rather hinder it, so farre is it of to get a steppe to set forwarde. To this serueth ꝯ which *Paul* hath written in the secōd Epistle to ꝯ Corinthians: draw not ꝯ yoke wt vnbeleuers. For what fellowship hath righteousnesse wt vnrighteousnesse: What participatiō hath light with darckenesse, or what concorde betwen

Christ

Christ and Belial? what part hath the faithfull with the vnfaithfull? or what agreeth the temple of God with Idoles? These things are so manifest, that they nede not the light of interpretation: neither ought they to be vnderstand onely for contracting of matrimonyes, when as they extend farre and ouer all, & pertayne also vnto all kinde of conuersation with the vngodly, whiche we haue wt them for our owne cause. I know that the shadowes of the olde law are now by ỹ benefite of Christ remoued frō vs. Howbeit, it is not to be doubted but ỹ those things abide, of which the people of God was by them at that time admonished.

What was meante by the hemmes of the Hebrues.

Wherfore I demaunde, what God ment, when he commaunded the Iewes, to sowe hemmes to their garmētes which they ware? Undoubtedly this be mēt, that they beyng taught by that signe, might vnderstand ỹ they were seuered frō the Ethnikes, and that it was not lawfull for them to ioyne them selues with them, but as muche as necessitie should compell. God oftentymes forbad them that they should not returne into Egypt, and that they should not seke ayde of straunge nations. For he would haue cut of from his people all occasions of superstitions and Idolatry, yea and the place, whiche we are now in hande with, testifieth that the Israelites grieuously sinned, bycause they had brought these Idolatrous nations vnder tribute, and had made a league with them, and dwelled together in the same cities & fieldes with them. And assuredly to what euill it torned them vnto, the history it selfe declareth: for they brought not the Chananites to the true worshippyng of God, but they them selues rather forsakyng their God, became lyke Idolaters.

I speake not, how that the conuersation betwene the Hebrues and Samaritanes was so odious euen to the tyme of Christ, that the woman of Samaria (of whom Iohn mencioneth) sayd vnto Christ, that the Iewes were not wonte to be familiar with the Samaritanes. Moreouer it is not mete for Christians, to take away from them selues the boldenesse and liberty, freely to speake of Christ. Whiche they must nedes do, if they dwell among infidels. For if they dwellyng with infidels should familiarly haue free talke of Christ, either should they be laughed to scorne, or elles they should not be suffred. Undoubtedly the holy fathers in the old tyme, were both grieued and also mourned, when by any necessitie they were compelled to dwell from the people of God. *Dauid* therof is witnesse, who sighed when he was by reason of the vniust violence of Saul constrayned to lyue in deserte places. And it appeareth in the Psalmes, how grieuously he complayned and lamented that he was forced to dwell among straungers, & such as were farre frō god. Daniel & his fellowes mought haue had the fruition of the kinges table, and of most delicate meates, and yet they abhorred those commodities & pleasures, lest they should defyle thē selues with the delicate meates of the Ethnikes, and with the vncleane bankettes of the vnbeleuers. Moses also (as it is written in the xi. to the Hebrues) whē he mought haue ben counted the sonne of the daughter of *Pharao*, and therby haue attayned to great honor, he contemned all this, and went vnto his brethren, which were oppressed with miserable seruitude, in making bricke and tyles. They whiche follow not these examples, do manifestly declare, that they haue small mynde of the glorye of God, and that they will not redeme the same with their own losse or hinderāce, thoughe it wer neuer so smal or littel. Do we (sayth Paul to the Corinth. i.) prouoke God? Are we stranger than he? Wherfore they whiche are weake and vnlearned, whilest they take vpon them to dwell among infidels, they do without doubt tempte god, and in a maner prouoke him, as thoughe they would be stronger thā he. I could gather a great many more reasons for this sentēce: but these whiche I haue brought, shalbe sufficient at this tyme.

Iohn. 4.

It is not lawfull to dwell with infidelles when we are compelled to cōmunicate with theyr vngodly rites.

Now let vs come to those, whiche do so dwell among infidels that they are compelled to be present at their vnlawfull rites, whether those be learned or vnlearned, whether they be strong or weake, what they be, in this case, it maketh

no matter: For I comprehend them altogether. I say that none of them, such an habitation or continuance is to be suffred: but either they must flye from thence, or rather suffre death, than to commit Idolatry. Paul sayd (as I haue before declared) Flye from Idolatry. The lawe and Prophetes, the olde and new Testament are full of ordinaunces, commaundementes, lawes, admonitions, rebukes, wherby straunge worshipping is forbidden. Daniels fellowes chose rather to be cast into the fornace, than they would worship the ymage set vp by a moste mighty king. Machabes the mother with her children would rather dye, than she would against the lawes of God eate swynes flesshe. I could reckon an infinite number of Martyrs, which most constantly suffred death, rather than they would forsake theyr godlynesse, which they had professed, hauing this sayeng alwayes before their eyes, feare not them which can kill the body &c. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians affirmeth the same, bycause we are the temple of God, the members of Christ, and partakers of the table of the Lord, which table can haue nothyng common with the table of deuils. Daniel. 3. Machab. 7.

All these thinges are to be applied vnto our tymes, when in the tyme of Papistrie godly men, if they dwell with the vngodly are compelled to be at their Masses and most filthy seruices which of all thinges is not lawful vnto them. But some take these probations by me now alledged to be vnderstand of sacrifices done to Idoles, and not of the superstitions, which are now vsed in the tyme of Papistry. But they ought to remember that no outward worke is to be had for the true worshipping of God, vnlesse it be appointed by the worde of God: which if it be not, it can be nothing els but an inuention of man. For we can not without faith worship God and faith can haue no place, where ỹ word of God is withdrawen. Wherfore in humane actions, how goodly in shewe so euer they be, vnlesse god by his word do allow them, they can be no worshipping of him. Surely if we would honor men, we are wont chiefly to marke, in what thinges those men do delite in: and when we haue found that out, we thinke we haue bestowed our labour well, when we haue shewed vnto them those thinges wherin they were wont to reioyce and delyte. Why then do we not after ỹ same sorte with God, ꝙ serue him with that kynde of worshipping which he hath allowed by his oracles? Let vs heare him in Esay how that in the oblations, sacrifices, incenses, and offrynges which were brought into the temple without faith, he was rather wearyed than reioyced in them. He abhorreth and detesteth these kyndes of sacrifices as the Prophetes haue taught vs. Yet these thinges are spoken of those sacrifices which they by the word of God vsed, not for that cause only, bycause they were offred without faith: but what thinke we is to be iudged of the inuentions of men, e sayned worshippinges, which beyng beyond ỹ word of God cā not be done with faith: we may verely say that they pertayne vnto Idolatry. And that may be manifestly gathered hereby, bycause there is no true God which will be worshipped with these kyndes of thinges. Wherfore it followeth that the vngodly whilest they auoyde such rites vnto their holy seruices, they do not worship the true God, but him whom they haue sayned with themselues to delyte in these thinges. And for as much as in the whole nature of thinges there is no such, they worship the goode of their owne mynde, and therfore vainly and worthely they may be called Idolaters.

In outwarde worke can not be counted for ỹ worshipping of God, excepte it be grounded by hys worde.

A similitude.

There is no true god which delighteth in sayned worshyppynges.

But they say that those thinges which are sayd e done in the olde, had their beginning by the institution of Christ, although they were afterward vitiated thorough mens deuise. What helpeth them nothing, for as much as in these thinges we may not haue a regarde or consideration to their begynning but to their nature and forme. And we must diligētly marke whether they agree with the wordes of God. The brasen Serpent by the commaundement of God had his beginning, it was also endewed with miracles, for the Israelites were by looking vpon it deliuered from their venemous byting. The same Serpent neuer-

We must haue no regarde to the begynning of Ceremonies but whether they agree with the wordes of God.

The brasē Serpent.

theless

theselfe, when the Iewes worshipped him, and offered incense vnto it, the godly men detested it. So that the most holy king Ezechias brake him in peces, & therwithall vtterly put away the worshipping therof. We must not therfore haue a regard to the originall of a thing, but we must looke how it is vsed, whether it agree with the first institution. The Hebrues when they compelled Aaron, to make them a calfe to worship, had not that mynde to fall from the true GOD, when as they confessed that he brought thē out of Egypt. This was onely their entent, to worship him vnder some signe or visible forme, and they chose that forme wherby they had sene the Egiptians expresse their God by. So the Ethnikes testified that they worshipped one God, as the chief author of all thinges, which they fashioned vnto them selues by diuers and manifold shapes. For by Pallas they say was signified his wisedome: by Mars his power and mygbt. By Iupiter his iustice and goodnesse. Wherfore rites and ceremonyes are not to be esteemed by the counsell and will of men. No otherwise must we thinke to haue happened of Ieroboam the sonne of Nabat. For he would not (as he pretended) plucke away the people from worshipping of the true God, but bycause he was afeard of his kingdome, and sawe that it might easely happen, that if his men should often go vnto the temple of Ierusalem, they would fall from him, and returne vnto the familie of Dauid. He sayd therfore, that to worship the true God, they neded neither the tēple of Ierusalem, nor yet the arke of the couenaunt. For that God Iehouah, as he was signified vnto the Iewes by the wodden arke and tēple of Salomō, so also might he be expressed vnto ỹ Israelites by signes of golden calues, so that that worshipping which they should performe at Ierusalem, they might commodiously celebrate vnto Iehouah in Bethel & in Dan. This man therfore went about no other thing but made an outward worke, whiche he obtruded as a worshipping of GOD, and that vtterly without his worde, whiche wanting, all ỹ was done was mere superstition and Idolatry. Tyrannes therfore and princes, when they compell men to polluted rites, although they say they do them for a good intente (as they terme it) and how soeuer they pretend some certain beginning of sanctity, are not yet to be heard. Paul doth in this maner admonish the Ephesians. Communicate not with their vnfruiteful workes, but reproue them. He called them their workes, bycause they could not be called the workes of God, for so much as they very much disagreed from his worde.

What the Hebrues meante whē they made thē selues the golden calfe.

The maner of of ỹ Ethnikes in their Idolatry.

The counsel of Ieroboam.

What is to be done when superstitions are obtruded vnto vs.

But, what is then to be done, whē they are obtruded vnto vs? Surely we ought to reproue them, and with great libertie (when nede requireth) reprehend them. But that is dangerous (say they:) we shall lose our goods and dignities: we shalbe put to death. I graunt that, but none of vs hath vpon this condition receiued the religion of Christ, that bys lyfe, goodes and dignities, should remayne safe vnto bym selfe. Yea Christ hath by expresse worde testified vnto euery one of vs. Except ye renounce all that ye haue, and take vp your crosse, and follow me, ye can not be my disciples: and vnlesse you lose your soules ye can not possesse them. After this sorte must we frame our selues.

The answere of Ciprian.

Ciprian (as Augustine declareth) when he was led to execution, the president beyng desirous that he might escape, sayd vnto bym. Wold I geue thee space to deliberate, to chose whiche thou wilte, whether thou wilte thus miserably be slayne, or obey, and so let go free. The man of God answered, In a thing so holy, deliberation hath no place. They whiche are not afeard with this mynd, but are wonderfull carefull, lest their lyfe or goodes should perishe, those men do easely pollute the selues with Idoles and impure superstitions, and for the same cause do suffre most grieuous punishementes. First truely their conscience miserably afflicteth them. Secondly the light of the truth whiche before was kindled in their myndes, is by litle and litle extinguished. Thirdly very often tymes they exceadyngly delyte them selues in that dissimulation, so farre of are they, to repente them of it. Yea and they go about to persuade the same vnto

Their punishmentes which cōtaminate the selues with superstitions.

others,

others, and those which will not obeie admonitions, they begyn to hate, and lastly as muche as lyeth in them, they stirre vp agaynst them, the anger, force and might of Tyrannes and worldly princes. Such a most vnhappy end of many of them haue I my selfe seene.

And in this their dissimulation, thus they vse to defend them selues: we do not this (saye they) from our hearte: we so behaue our selues onely in bodye and outwarde gesture. But why do not they consider, outwarde actions to be a certayne shewe of confession: and euen as in the profession of fayth and Religion the tongue ought not to disagree from the hearte, so also what soeuer is outwardly done in deuyne ceremonyes, ought with the same profession to agree. Adde also thereunto thys sayeng of Paul, with the hearte we beleue vnto ryghteousnesse, with the mouth is confession made to saluation. Christe lykewyse sayde: Who soeuer shalbe ashamed of me before men, I will also be ashamed of hym before my Father. Furthermore I woulde haue those men to vnderstand, that that is not pure and true fayth, which bursteth not forth into actions agreeable vnto it. Moreouer our sauiour (who most earnestly sought the glorye of hys Father) when he had purged the Temple from Marchantes, sayde: The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp. But these our men shewe forth no followyng of that godlynesse and fayth, which they make to be closed in their heart.

Outwarde workes are certain shewes of confession.

It is no true fayth which bursteth not out into Acts.

Neither do they remember, that euen as the inwarde worshyppyng of God is founde to be it, whereby we iudge of him truely and honorably: so also the outwarde worshyppyng is, whereby we worshyppe him ryghtly and as he hath appointed. And that Idolatrye likewise is of two sortes, for one is, whereby we fayne vnto our selues in our hearte by euill doctrines such a GOD as we lyst our selues. An other is, whereby we transferre the outwarde worshyppyng not onely to creatures and Idoles, but we vitiate the same also with our owne inuentions and lyes.

An inwarde & outwarde worshipping.

Idolatry is of two sortes.

We retayne (say they) in our heart the right opinion. Graunt it be so, but ye abandone your bodyes to Idoles and to the deuill. And Paul affirmeth, that your body is the mēber of Christ, why do ye then take it and geue it to an harlotte? But Paul (saye they) wrote that of fornication. I knowe that. But the Prophetes in the meane tyme teache vs that Idolatrye is the greatest fornication of all. For Ieremy, Ezechiell, and other holy Prophetes so inueyghe against the Iewes and their Churche, that they saye the same Churche is lyke vnto an harlotte which vnder euery greene tree hath abandoned her selfe to Idoles and prophane worshippynges. Moreouer howe vayne the excuse of these men is, the oracle of GOD playnely declareth, whereby GOD aunswered thus vnto Elias the Prophete. I haue left me 7000. men, which haue not bowed their knees before Baal: he sayth not which thincke ryghtlye in their harte, and which in their myndes beleue vprightly, but on the contrary setteth forth a signe of outwarde worshyppyng, namely of bowyng the knee. And he which created the whole man is not content with the halfe of him, neither will he haue his creature parted with the deuill. To me (sayth God) to me onely I say shall euery knee bowe. Furthermore if this their reason had bene of any valew, the Corinthians might also by it haue excused their doing. For they might haue said vnto Paul, what, art thou so behement agaynst vs? We our selues know also, that an Idole is nothyng, and we kepe the right opinion in our heart, Let God be content with that. It is lawfull for vs in the meane tyme with the body and outwarde presence to serue our owne commoditie.

Idolatrye is the greatest of all fornicatiōs.

God hath created the whole man and wyll haue him whole

Furthermore they saye: These thynges we do nothyng at all vitiate, yea we would haue them vncorrupte and perfecte. Wherfore what synne soeuer is here committed, it ought not to be ascribed vnto vs. Whereunto I aunswere. That

Other mennes faultes are not layde to oure charge but that we communicate with them.

that is true in dede, that an other mans synne is imputed to no man, but yet whilest ye are present at prophane rites, that is blamed in you, and iustely imputed vnto you, in that you communicate with an other mans vngodynesse. The Apostle in hys firste Epistle to the Corinthians sayde: do ye not knowe that they whiche do eate of the sacrifice, are made also partakers of the Temple? What saye I than? That the Image is any thyng? or that it whiche is offred vnto Images is any thyng? Nay. But this I say: that the thynges which the Gentiles offre, they offre vnto deuilles. But I wouldo not that you shoulde be partakers of deuilles, ye can not drynke of the Cup of the Lorde, and of the Cup of the deuilles, ye can not be partakers of the Lordes table, and of the table of deuilles. &c. Wherefore, thoughe the corruption of the sacrifices is not to be imputed to the communicantes, yet for all that the communicatyng it selfe, from whiche they ought to haue kepte them selues, maketh them blameworthy. And vnlesse the thyng were so, why would not the holy Martyrs communicate with the rites of the Ethnikes? why did Paul so reproue the Corinthians? But here they returne agayne to this, to saye, That the Masse is not to be compared with the Idolatrye of the Ethnikes. For (saye they) thoughe it somewhat strayde from the institution of Christe, yet ought it not to be counted a prophane and an Idolatrous thyng. But I affirme it to be so muche peruerted, that almost it nothyng at all agreeth with the institution of Christ, yea it is most vtterly contrarye vnto it. Whiche is very easye for me to declare.

The Masse hath nothyng common with the institution of the Lord.

Firste the Supper of the Lorde, as it was instituted by Christe, was a common or publique worke: but now commeth forth the sacrificer aduorned with monstrous garmentes, and doth all thynges alone, the rest stand by & onely see and heare. Wherefore if Paul did iustly and worthily rebuke the Corinthians, which taryed not one for an other, & sayd that they could not eate ỹ Lordes Supper: how can they worthily call the (Papisticall) Masse, by the name of the Supper of the Lorde, whereas onely one sacrificer eateth and drinketh? Undoubtedly by no meanes. Wherefore let them rather call it by any other name, than the Supper of the Lord.

A contrarietye betwen the Supper of the Lord & the Masse.

Furthermore they saye, that they do there offre the sonne of GOD vnto the eternall Father. And that is by expresse wordes denyed in the Epistle to the Hebrues. For it teacheth that all thynges were fynished by the onely one oblation of Christe. Whiche beyng perfect, we maye not receiue the same agayne. They will offre vp Christ euery daye. The worde of GOD affirmeth, that it was to be offred but once. I confesse in dede, that the Fathers (as I haue before sayde) did sometymes in suche sorte speake as thoughe the body and blonde of Christe were either offred or sacrificed in the celebration of the Sacramentes. But they very oftentymes interpreted them selues, that those oblations or sacrifices, were onely thankes geuyng, or a memory and figure of that oblation and sacrifice, which Christ dyed vpon the crosse made.

How vnthe Supper the body & blonde of Christ is offred vnto God.

They affirme also, that the bread and wyne, are chaunged into the substaunce of the bodye and blonde of Christe, when as the holy Scripture doth teache vs farre otherwyse. Moreouer they lyfteyng vp the bread and wyne, do set forth to the people creatures to be worshypped in steade of GOD. For what is more filthy, than religiously to worshyppe a piece of bread, and a Cup of wyne? It is true in dede, that they are made partakers of the bodye and blonde of the Lorde, namely in hearte and mynde, whiche eate and drynke the signes of thankes geuyng, with syncere fayth, & as the Lorde hath instituted. But yf a man do onely beholde and worshyppe them, then are they nothyng vnto him, but a piece of breade and a Cup of wyne.

Moreouer the ministers of the Churche, when as their duety is to go about all that in them lyeth to lift vp the myndes of the people vnto heauen, that they

mought

mought not seke Christ in the worlde, nor looke for any carnall or earthly thing in the supper of the Lorde, they miserably holde the people geuyng head to the vilible signes. The Apostle in the first Epistle to the Corinthians commaunded that they should not vse a straunge tongue in holy assemblyes, bycause euery one must aunswere Amen. And bycause aboue all thinges the edifieng of the hearers is to be sought for. But in the Masse all thinges are done in the Latine tongue. And those wordes whiche should be to the great comfort of the standers by, when as to them the participation of the body & bloud of the Lorde is promised, those wordes do they speake softely, yea they mumble them vp so darkelye, that though a man vnderstande the Latine, yet can he not vnderstande those wordes. They do for this cause so softely mumble them vp, as thoughe the members of Christ were not worthy to heare them: when as neuertheles the Lorde hym selfe spake them openly, and the Greke Churche, euen to thys daye pronounceth them with a moste loude voyce. Yea and in the olde tyme, it was a custome vsed (as Ambrose and Augustine among other do testifye) that at those wordes the people aunswered Amen. But as I thincke, these men do therefore mumble vp those wordes, bycause they are affeard lest their lyes shoulde be founde out. For there they saye, Take ye and eate: and also, As often as ye shall do these thynges, ye shall do them in remembraunce of me. When as neuertheles they haue appoynted to eate and drinke it alone. And vndoubtedly very many other thynges speake they secretly and openly in the Masse, as thoughe many did communicate or should communicate, when as the sacrificer alone doth it in dede. A lye is euer filthy, but then most filthy of all, when it is admitted in holy thinges, and before the Lorde.

The Greke Churche.

Ambrose. Augustine.

The Papistes in the Masse make many lyes.

But what shall we saye of their applications? They affirme that they can as they lust them selues applye the sacrifices whiche they make vnto the quicke and the dead. But the Scripture teacheth that euery man is iustifyed by hys owne fayth, and that all men shall either dye or lyue in their owne ryghteousnesse or vnryghteousnesse: but they saye otherwyse, for they can as they saye, helpe both the quicke and the dead by their Masses. If they woulde attribute that vnto prayers, namely that they taught that by prayers they mought helpe the necessityes of others, it myght be borne with all. But when they affirme, that the worke it selfe, namely of the Masse, hath in it so muche power and vertue, that it can helpe all kynde of men, that maye by no meanes be suffred. Besides this Masses are very oftentymes celebrated in the honour of certayne Sainctes: whiche vndoubtedly is moste farre from the truthe: for as muche as Christe hath for thys purpose instituted hys Supper, that it shoulde be a memorie of hys death, and not of other Saynctes. I will not speake howe that it is moste commonly sene, that there is nothyng founde certaine of those Sainctes whome they there worshyppe: the lyues of them are Apocrypha, and very often also full of fables, and Poetes fayneynges. There are also in it, certayne, yea very many straunge rites, signes to be laughed at, gestures in a manner foolyshe, and garmentes not vsed: the significations of whiche thynges are vtterly vnknowen, not onelye of them whiche stande by, but euen the sacrificers them selues, if they shoulde be demaunded what they meant, they coulde not aunswere. Wherefore either they aunswere nothyng, or if they go aboute to saye any thyng, they bryng forth not one thyng, but thyngs moste disagreyng: whereby thou mayste easely gather that there is no truth in their wordes. Wherefore fayth can haue no place in these thinges whiche they do in their Masse, when as it onely there hath place, where the worde of God offreth it selfe vnto vs.

Euery man is iustified by his owne faith and lyueth & dyeth in hys owne righteousnesse.

By prayers we helpe other.

The lyues of many saunctes are Apocrypha and full of Fables.

Significatiõs of Ceremonies in the Masse are not knowē

And that they can not defend them selues from the detestable synne of Idolatry,

Images are worshipped in the masse,

latry, the ymages do testifye, vnto the whiche they turnyng them selues do celebrate their most vnpure seruices. For they can not be content in the Masses to looke vpon them, but they cense them, and kneele before them, and finally they do vnto them all kynde of worshippyng, whiche is to be done onely to God. And bycause (as I haue before mencioned) they dare affirme that the Masse hath affinitie (I can not tell what) with the institution of Christ: it shall not be from the purpose, and it is easy to be done, to declare, that (if we marke the tokens) the olde Ethnikes may with much more likelyhode excuse and defend their sacrifices, than these can defend the Masses. For the sacrifices of the gentiles did not differ from the maner of sacrificyng whiche the fathers had before the lawe, and whiche God allowed in his lawe, when as these men in their Masse differ from that supper whiche Christ prescribed, and as the Euāgelistes and the Apostle Paul haue deliuered. There on euery syde was inuocation of God, a temple, an alter, Sacrifices, Priestes, Killing, sheding of Blood, Salte, Wyne, Oyle, Meale, a holy banket, religious garmentes, washynges, fumigations, continuall fyer, singing, oracles and such lyke, whiche would be to long to rehearse. Let the Popishe sacrificers shewe as many thinges, if they can, in their Masse, whiche do agree with those thinges whiche Christ did in the supper. But if so be they can not, let them then thinke that their Masse doth no more agree with the godly celebration of the holy Supper, than do the rites of the Idolatrers agree with the legall sacrifices. Wherfore let them cease of so to kylle their littel daughter, and to preache that it ought to be counted the institution of Christ and of the Apostles. I will not speake of the yearely Obites, and Funerals of the dead whiche are oftentymes vsed there, of whiche thinges the Lord hath nothing commaunded. By it they stablishe Purgatory, wherof the holy scriptures write nothyng. That furthermore is most farre from pietie, bycause in their Masse they poure out prayers vnto sainctes, whiche are already departed out of this lyfe. Finally all the thynges whiche they there do, they make a market of them, sell, bargayne and set them out to most filthy gayne. Wherfore we must diligentlye take hede, that whilest we desyre to worshyp GOD and to haue hym mercifull vnto vs, we do not in hearyng of Masses exceadyngly prouoke hys anger agaynst vs.

Sacrifices of the Ethnikes are more agreable with sacrifices appointed by God, thā is ỳ Masse with the holy supper

In hearyng of Masses the anger of God is not pacified, but prouoked.

What is to be answerd to the exāple of Naaman the Syriā

These superstitious men go forwarde, and by the example of Naaman the Syrian will proue that it is permitted them, to be present at the most filthy Masses. Naaman prayed Elizeus the Prophet, that if he bowed his knee in ỳ tẽple of the Idoll Rimnon, when the kyng, whiche leaned his hand on his shoulder, should so do, he would implore for hym mercy and forgeuenesse of GOD. To whom Elizeus answered only, go in peace. These our men ought to consider with thẽ selues whether they onely haue sene and read this diuine history. I thinke not: For the holy Partyrs in the olde Churche were studious day and nyght in the holy Scriptures. Wherfore this history of Naaman was not hidden from them. And what cause was there then, that they would not followe such an example, and that with the losse of their lyfe? These auncient noble men and pillers of our fayth sawe that, whiche our aduersaryes recken not with them selues, namely that that Naaman whiche is set before vs, was newly conuerted vnto the true God, and was yet a weake souldiour, who was not also yet ready, to deny both hys owne and hym selfe for Gods cause, but desyred after a sorte to kepe hys olde place and dignitie with hys kynge. The whiche thyng to attayne vnto, he sawe that it myght easely come to passe that he should fal into ỳ sinne, whiche he declared vnto the holy Prophete. And when he knewe right well that the same agreed not with true godlynesse, he required the prayers and intercession of the man of GOD, whereby he fallyng of weakenesse, hys faulte myght be forgeuen hym. Otherwyse there is none whiche nedeth to aske

Naaman the Syrian knewe that his decde was culpable & naught.

pardon

pardon for that which he thynketh is lawfull for hym to doe. We make intercessions for sinnes, and not for thinges permitted vs. Wherefore thys place maketh much agaynst our aduersaries, and that that is sinne which they moste earnestly goe aboute to excuse, is manyfestly proued by thys history. I would to God they woulde diligentlye marke in that action, that which they? Naaman felte: And if they shoulde fall (as thys man feared that he shoulde fall) they wouldenot cloke it with a vayne defence, but woulde employe the mercye of God, and prayers of holy men, that that maye gentlye be forgeuen them, whiche they naughtely haue committed. Neyther did Elizeus (as they persuade themselues) geue Naaman the Syrian liberty to go vnto Idoles, he sayde onely: Go in peace. Which was also an accustomed kinde of salutation at ỹ time. Neither may we gather any other thing out of these words, then ỹ the Prophet promised to do that which he was requested to do. Namely, to pray vnto God for ỹ salnation of ỹ man. Fyrst to strengthen him ỹ he should not fal. Secondly that if he sinned, his fault might be forgeuen him.

Elizeus gaue not Naamã libertie to go vnto Idols.

They vse to obiecte also certayne woordes out of the Epistle of Ieremye the Prophet, which are written aboute the end of a litle booke entituled of Baruch. And these are the woordes. In Babilon ye shall see Gods of golde and Siluer borne vppon mens shoulders, to cause oute a fearefulnesse before the Heathen: Take heede ye followe not the Gentiles, when ye see the multitude of people worshipping behynde and before. But saye in your hartes. O Lorde it is thou that oughtest onely to be worshipped. &c. By these woordes do our Nicodemites thinke it to be sufficient, that they which are presente at Idolatrous worshippings, do say in their hartes: O Lord it is thou that oughtest onely to be worshipped. But they shoulde more attentyuely consider, that the Prophet (if he were a Prophet which spake these woordes: which I therefore speake, because the litle booke of Baruch is Apochryphus, and is not founde in the Hebrewe) gaue not the Iewes libertye to goe into the Temples of the Idols, and to bee there present at prophane and Idolatrous rites, and there to speake with the true God in themselues in their hart onely. But he speaketh of those Images which were caryed about the citye: for that was the manner among the Babilonians as the history of Daniell testifyeth, which maketh mencion that an image set vp by Nabuchadnezar was openly caried about, with great pompe, and with Musicall instrumentes and sundry songes. At the hearing whereof, al men were commaunded to worship the Image which they beheld, which the felowes of Daniel would not do. Of those images I say, it is writtẽ in ỹ Epistle and ỹ Godly are faythfully admonished that they should not, as the Ethnykes did, who were behinde and before thẽ, reuerence or worship those images. Yea rather in detesting their wicked worshipping they should say, or at the least way in their hart: O Lord it is thou only that oughtest to be worshipped. These metings comming by chaunce through the citie could not be auoyded, the Godly therefore were to be admonished, how in suche metinges they shoulde behaue them selues.

In answer to a place of Baruch

The boke of Baruch is Apochryphus.

Images amõg the Babilonians wer caried about the citye.

But with great importunitye, as they be shameleste, they yet go farther and demaund, how chaunce Daniell was not cast into the burning fornace with his fellowes, when as the punishment was a like appointed vnto thẽ, which would not worship ỹ image of Nabuchadnezar? Wherefore these mẽ fayne with thẽselues, that Daniell dyd make as though he worshipped it, and for that cause the Chaldeians medled not with him. And they saye also, that they may lawfullye do that which they thinke thys holy Prophet of God dyd. They consider not that they openly fal into a false kynde of reason, which commonly is called Non causa vt causa, which is, when that which is not a cause, is put for a cause. For there might be very many other causes, why Daniell was not then punyshed.

Why Daniell was not cast in to the fornace with his felowes.

Paralogismos.

peraduenture he mette not ẏ image which was caryed about, or if at any time he met it, the Chaldeians marked not what he dyd. Or being founde faultye in it and marked, he was not accused, bycause the kyng loued him exceedingly.

Daniel dissimuled not the worshipping of the image.

But we muste not beleue, that the man of god for feare of punyshment or death, would dissemble the worshippyng of the image agaynst the lawe and pietie: whē as it is afterwarde declared how for piety sake he was calle to ẏ Lyons. Wherefore forasmuche as there myghte be diuerse causes that he was not deliuered to be burnt in the fyre with his fellowes, Why do these men thē knaue vnto thē only one cause, and ẏ such a cause, as was vnworthy and ful of reproche to such a holy man, and specially seing in the holy scriptures, there is not so much as a suspition of so detestable an acte any way geuen vs.

Of Paule who tooke on hym a vowe & cleansed hymself after the manner of the Jewes.

They seeme to themselues to speake much to the purpose, and trimlye to defende theyr doing, when as they bryng that whiche is written in the Actes of the Apostles the xxi. Chapter where it is declared that Paul, by the Counsell of the Elders of the Churche of Ierusalem tooke vppon hym a vowe and foure other men with hym, and purifyed themselues after the maner of the Jewes. If the Apostle of God, saye they, woulde vse the ceremonyes of the lawe alreadye abolyshed, we maye also be suffred sometymes to admitte and to be present at rites and ceremonyes so long tyme receaued. But ẏ thys may the playnlyer be vnderstande, we muste knowe, that thys was the summe of the Preachyng of Paule.

The summe of the Preaching of Paule.

We thynke that a man is iustifyed by fayth without workes. As many as are vnder the law, the same are vnder the curse. The iuste man shall lyue by hys fayth. Wherefore the Apostle in that fyrst tyme of the Preachyng of the Gospel dyd not condemne the ceremonyes and obseruations of the lawe towarde the Hebrues, vnlesse they were retayned with that fayth and mynde as thoughe iustification shoulde come by them. And thys hys sentence hath he moste manyfestly set forth in hys Epystle to the Galathians, where he sayth: ye whiche are circumcised, haue fallen both from Christ and from grace. For Christ is made of none effecte vnto you, if ye shoulde be iustifyed by the lawe. As thoughe he woulde say. These thynges of Moyses do not alienate you from Christ, excepte ye exercyse them with thys mynde and purpose, that therby ye myght be iustifyed. Make alwaye thys opinion and the Apostle commended good workes, and as for ciuile and accustomed institutions, so that they were iuste and not Idolatrous, he suffred still in their owne place, neyther dyd he let but that the legall ceremonyes myghte bee still vsed. Wherefore he writeth. In the Lord there is neyther Jewe nor Greeke, nor seruaunte, nor free man. And that circumcision also and cuttyng of the foreskynne, are nothyng, but only the obseruyng of the commaundementes of God and a newe creature. Agayne he that is circumcised let hym not desire to haue hys foreskynne which is cut of: if thou be called when thy foreskin is cut of, be not then circumcised. Let euery man abide in that wherin he is called.

How far legall ceremonies were graunted or condemned in the primatiue church.

And that suche thynges as were ciuile and indifferent, myghte sometymes be obserued, and sometymes leste out, as serued for edification, the same Apostle declareth by that which he speaketh of hymselfe. I am made all thynges to all men, to win very many: to the Jewes I am made a Jewe, and to those which are without a lawe, I am as without a lawe. Neyther did he no lesse confyrme his sentence by examples, than by doctrine. For when he was requyred, that he woulde as the manner was circumcise Timothe, he graunted vnto it. But when they would haue compelled hym for the ouerthrowing of the Christian libertye, to circumcise Titus likewise, he declared that he woulde not geue place not for an houre: bicause sayth he false brethren are therefore entred in among vs to searche out our libertye. He obserued therefore the Mosaicall ceremonyes, when the same myghte be done without any ill purpose and hurte of the church.

Indifferent thynges may sometimes be kept & sometimes left.

And

And by this meanes he auoyded the offence of the Iewes, leaſt they ſhoulde be alienated from the Chriſtian religion which they had receaued. Neyther ought the Nicodemites to conferre the ceremonyes of the olde law, with the inuentions of men. For they were brought in by the woorde of God, but theſe were thruſt into the Church by the pollicye of the deuill and of deceatfull men. They were not forbidden byandby after the Aſcention of Chriſt into heauen, but might be ſo long obſerued, as the temple and publique wealthe of Iſrael remayned, and vntill the Goſpell of the Sonne of God were reuealed and Preached, and vntill the Church were well augmented both of the Iewes and alſo of the Gentilles.

The ceremonies of the law are not to be cõpared with the inuentions of men.

Howe long the old ceremonies were lawfull in the church.

Neyther was it mete (as Auguſtine Godlye and learnedlye writeth vnto Ierome) that thoſe ceremonyes, of the auncient Synagoge ſhould ſtrayghtwaye without honour be reiected. But Idolatrous and ſuperſtitious thinges alwaies were, are, and ſhall be prohibited. Wherefore for a tyme it was lawfull to obſerue them, ſo that by them were not ſought the true ryghteouſnelle. Wherfore Paule the Apoſtle, though thou ſhoulde looke vppon the actions themſelues, which by the law be obſerued, can not be iuſtelye reprehended, and much leſſe can he be blamed if thou conſider hys mynde, purpoſe, and (as they terme it) hys entent. But to the ſupporters of the Maſſe both theſe thynges wante. For all they defend a thyng, which is contrary to the woorde of God, and (as I haue declared) is wonderfully agaynſt it. Moreouer in that they diſſimulation, they ſtudye only for themſelues, namely to kepe ſtill they riches, degree, place, dignitye, and eſtimation, when as Paul for this cauſe only ſometimes obſerued the legall ceremonies, leaſt the Iewes ſhould fal from Chriſt and that he myght the better and eaſyer allure them to the Goſpel.

Auguſtine.

They that which by diſſimulatiõ do go vnto ỹ maſſe leke not God but their own.

They obiecte alſo, that by their diſſimulation they ſhoulde auoyde offences. For ſay they: If we ſhoulde be vtterly agaynſt Maſſes, we ſhoulde be counted wicked and vngodly men, and we ſhoulde be a great offence to our countrey. I beleue in deede, that theſe men do auoyde offences, but yet offences of the worſt they will not geue an offence, but it is vnto myghtie men, tirannes, and Antichriſtes, namely leaſt they ſhoulde prouoke their weapons, anger & madneſſe agaynſt them. But theſe are not thoſe offences which Chriſt taught to be auoyded, whẽ he ſayd of ỹ Scribes & Phariſees. Let them alone, they are blynd & leaders of the blynde. What offences therfore are to be auoyded? Thoſe namely which hinder the ſpreading abroade of the Goſpell of the ſonne of God, & which kepe backe men frõ comming to the pure doctrine, & which do call backe men already beleuing from Chriſtian religion which they haue receaued. Now let thẽ conſider I pray you, whether by their diſſimulation, they do not offende the ſuperſtitious and Idolatrers? Undoubtedly yes. For thoſe namely the ſuperſtitious and Idolatrers ſaye with themſelues: See thoſe men whiche knowe the truth of the Goſpell, and haue embraced it, doe come alſo vnto oure Maſſes. Surely if they were ſo vngodly, as they are ſayd to be, theſe men alſo woulde abhorre them. Wherfore being confirmed by theſe mens example, they oftentymes are ſetled to perſeuer in their purpoſe. Yea & the weaker brethren newly conuerted vnto the Goſpell, when they perceaue theſe learneder ſorte, and as it were the ringleaders to diſſemble, they dare alſo do the like, and they ſuſpecte that they were deceaued: and they which ought to haue gone farther in religion, do then go backeward.

Whether we ſhould go to maſſes to auoid offence.

What offences ar tobe auoided

The vngodly by that diſſimulation are more confyrmed.

The weake ones by ỹ diſſimulation goe backe frõ they purpoſe lately receaued.

But we muſt (ſay they) beare with the weake ones, and ſometymes to frame our ſelues vnto them. For we haue very many, whiche are not yet perſuaded ỹ the Maſſe is an euill thyng: and if they ſhoulde perceaue that we came not vnto it, they would not heare of other chiefe poyntes of religion. Wherfore we muſt beare ſomewhat with their weakneſſe, as Paule faythfully hath counſayled in his Epiſtle to the Romanes. We graunt that we muſt somewhat beare with

Somwhat is to be borne with the weake ones only in thinges indifferent.

such as be so weake, but with Paule we may not suffer that to be done but in things indifferent. But thinges which by themselues are euill, and by God forbidden we may for no mans fauor counsel to be done. For this is a most firme & sure rule (as I haue oftē before said) ý no man is permitted to cōmit euil things, ý therby good things might ensue. Yea we must not alwayes bear wt the weake ones in those indifferent things, but til such time as they be better & perfectlier taught. But when they once vnderstand ý thing, & do for all ý still sticke, their weakenesse is not to be norished. Moreouer we must not so much beare with thē that by our example, we shoulde hurt other mēbers of Christ, and that many.

The imbecillitie of the weake ones is not to be mainteyned.

Againe they obiect vnto vs: If we should do so, as ye would haue vs to doe, eyther we must flye, or els we shal strayght way be put to death. Which thing if it should happē, our churches should be vtterly forsakē, & there should be no more there to teach vs. Wherunto I answere, euery one of vs seeth that also. And ý more is, it is not bidden from God him self, whose cōmaundement neuertheles we must obey. Let vs commit the end vnto him, to whom the church belongeth: Let vs not doubt but that he wil louingly, & that in time prouide for his spouse. Christ said vnto Peter when he called him, and he tarryed, and demaunded what should become of John: If I will that he tary till I come, what is ý to thee? Follow thou me. We are taught therefore to follow the word of god, whether so euer it call vs, and let vs cōmit to the caller the care of other things, which seme to hinder vs. Furthermore this is not to be ouerpassed, that that doctrine oftentimes is of more value and more edifieth which is sealed by flight and by death, then that which is set forth only by words. Let vs not be afeard though one of vs fall or flye, But let vs hope that god in his place wil rayse vp very many mo. But if we contemne and long dissemble the light of the truth, and flambe of charitie whiche is kindled in the hartes of men, will by little and little be extinguished.

Whether we shoulde dissemble for the preseruation of the churches.

Doctrine which is sealed with flight and with death edifieth.

They bring examples of the Prophets, of Zachary, of Iohn Baptiste, and of Mary the Virgin, and of Ioseph, who in those corrupt & defiled times went vnto the cōmon seruices, and to the temple of ý Iewes. And therfore they thinke thei may also be permitted to do in like sort. But they ought to consider with themselues, that at that time there were many pernitious doctrines and euill opinions among the Scribes and Phariseyes. But yet the manner of sacrificyng was not chaunged, for the same beastes and oblations were stil offred which the law had cōmaunded: the same dates and ceremonies were obserued. Wherfore holy mē might vse thē, for as much as they had the word of god ioyned with thē. But as for the corrupt doctrines, opinions and manners of certaine priests, bishops and Scribes, were no let vnto holy men, especially seing they were pure and farre from them, and in all thinges: both iudged and also liued according to the word of god. And the corruptions of doctrine, and vices when opportunitye serued, they reprehended and sharpely reproued. This doth Augustine testifye as it is writtē in the. xxiii. Question the fourth Chap. Recedite, and in certaine other Chapters, also which are there writtē. Let the papists do so in these dayes with vs, let them so set forth the Lordes Supper and other rites as they are appointed by the woorde of god, and we will not refuse to vse them, so that they compell vs not to the confession of wicked opinions, and preache not heresyes vnto vs, but deliuer vnto vs the pure and vncorrupte woorde of God. If they them selues thincke euill, and if they liue lyklihye, we will bee sorye for them, we will admonyshe, rebuke, and accuse them, and put them if we maye from the holye administration, when as they are passe amendemente, although we abstayne not from the Sacramentes.

Whether in the corrupted church of the Iewes it were lawful to cōmunicate with the legal rites.

Augustine.

That vndoubtedly ý Lord ment when he said: The Scribes & Phariseis sit

on

on the chaire of Moyſes, and what they ſay, doo ye: but what they do, do ye not. It was lawful therfore for the bleſſed Virgin, after ſhe was deliuered of our ſauiour, to offer a paire of turtle Doues, or two yong Pigeons, bicauſe it was ſo commaunded in the law. Wherfore let them ſhew vnto vs that their Maſſe by them corrupted is commaunded by the woorde of God, and not forbidden, and then will we nothing contend with them in that matter.

The Virgin mari might after her deliuerī offer the oblations required by the lawe.

Laſt of al, when they ar confuted in theſe obiections, they come to this point, to ſay: Although it be ſinne to be preſent at Maſſe, yet it is but a light ſinne, and not to be ſo ſeuerely reproued by vs. But when they thus ſay, why doo they not remember, that al ſynnes haue their weight, not by the nature of the workers, which are prohibited, but by the woord of God, and the law whereby they were forbidden? Here hence do ſynnes get al their beautines and waight. Whereunto Iames the Apoſtle ſeemeth to haue had a reſpect, when as he ſaith in his ſeconde chapter. He which obſerueth the whole law, & offendeth in one of them, is made guilty of them all. Neither do I ſpeake ſo, as though I woulde haue all ſynnes by al meanes alyke, which thing Auguſtine in his. 29. Epiſtle to Ierome aptlye and manifeſtlye denieth. He confeſſeth in deede that the Philoſophers went about to proue it, when they affirme that al vertues are ſo knyt together, that he which hath one vertue, hath al, and he which wanteth one, doth want them all. For as much as prudence is not fearefull, neither vntemperate, nor yet vniuſt. Wherefore it hath al the other vertues with it. And againe Iuſtice, Strength, Temperance and the other vertues, ar not without wiſdome, and therfore they are al had being knit together. Theſe thinges (ſaith he) agree not with the holye ſcriptures. For there it is written: In manye thinges we al offende. And if we ſay we haue no ſynne, we deceaue our ſelues, and the truth is not in vs. Wherfore ſeing we ſynne in many things, we can not in ſynning haue vertue which is oppoſite vnto ſinne which we commit. And neuertheleſſe it often chaunceth that hee whiche faileth in one thing, maye be conſtant in other thinges. Peraduenture hee whiche is angrye, or eateth or drynketh exceſſiuelye, rendreth for all that to euerye man his owne, and is readye in Gods cauſe valiantlye to loſe his life, and therfore though he be somewhat angry or vntemperate, he may for al that be called iuſt, liberal and ſtrong. Moreouer the ſame father confuteth the ſimilitude of the Stoikes, wherin they ſay, that he is as wel drowned in water, ouer whoſe head the water is but an hand bredth, as he which hath the water tenne or twentye cubites ouer his head. This ſimilitude (ſaith hee) is not aptly brought. Wherefore wee muſt bring in an other more fyt to the purpoſe, namely a ſimilitude of light and darknes. Vndoubtedly the more a man departeth from darkenes, and commeth nearer to the light, hee beginneth then somewhat to ſee. Wherefore it commeth to paſſe, that although he be couered wyth darkenes, yet for al that after a ſort, he is somewhat partaker of the light. But he which is deſirous to know more of this thing, let him reade ouer that. 29. Epiſtle. And theſe thinges haue I to this end brought, to confirme that all ſynnes are not equal, as the Stoikes iudged.

From whenſe ſynnes haue their weighte.

A place of Iames expoūded.

Sinnes are not equal. Auguſtine.

How philoſophers proue ꝑ vertues are knit together.

Often tymes he whiche ſinneth in one is conſtante in an other.

A ſimilitude of the Stoikes.

Let vs returne therefore to the place of Iames, which I before brought. He which offendeth in one, is therfore made guylye of all, bicauſe the obſeruing of the law, is not to be receaued with an exception, ſo that we ſhoulde chuſe vnto vs any certaine part of it to keepe, and lay away and neglect an other part for a tyme as we wil and lyſt our ſelues. God hath ioyned together the commaundementes of the law. And it is not our part to ſeperat them as we lyſt. We muſt looke vpon the authority of the lawgeuer, which ought to be of force as well in one commaundement as in al. This interpretation Iames hym ſelfe ſeemeth to confirme, when he ſaith: He which ſaid: Thou ſhalt not commit adulterye, The ſame ſaith: Thou ſhalt not kyl: as though he would ſay: God is as muche reſiſted in breaking one of theſe commaundementes as in an other. But it maye be

The obſeruation of the law is not to be receaued with an exception.

Seing the cōmandemētes of the law are ioyned together, it is not our part to ſeperate thē,

proued

proued also by an other reason, that he which synneth in one, is guilty of al. For if as we should be driuen by temptation, lust or occasion, whereby we should be dyrred to any certain transgression of the law, so if by the same or lyke violence we wer driuen into any other transgression, we should as well breake the one as the other. Augustine also teacheth in the place now alledged, that the sentẽce of Iames is for an other cause true, bicause sinne which is committed is vndoubtedly contrary vnto charity, wherin the obseruation of the whole lawe dependeth. In sume, to this end haue I rehersed al these things, to declare that sinnes which are committed, are not for that cause to be diminished or extenuated, bycause they are counted light, for so much as the transgressions of the law ar not to be waighed onely by the waight and worthines of their actions, but rather by the strength of Gods word, and authority of the lawe of God, who hath forbidden to synne.

The ryght obseruing of ỹ sacramentes pertayne vnto the first table.

But least in this thing I should seeme to rough, I am cõtent that they haue some consideration, euen of the acte wherin the synne is committed. And surely, as touching that, I cannot see how to sinne against the sacramentes can be iudged a light fault, when as that kinde of sinne pertaineth to the first table, wherin vndoubtedly the worshipping of God is set forth. Which worshipping alone kept whole and sound, other thinges are easely corrected. And on the contrarye, that being corrupted and defiled, all other thinges whatsoeuer we doo, become most vnthankeful vnto God. Furthermore they thinke that the fault, wherof we entreate, maye therefore be extenuated, bicause they affirme that they slide not of minde and purpose, but onely by constraint. Whom if thou shouldest demaund, what maner of compulsory that is which they pretende? They cannot vndoubtedly geue any other answer, but bicause they would not incur the losse of their goodes, their fame and their lyfe. But these thinges make not but that the action is voluntarye. For as Aristotle hath taught in his Ethikes, when as shipmen in daunger do burie their goods in to the sea, to auoyde the daunger of shipwracke, they are said commonly to be compelled, when as in dede they willingly throw them in. For they take deliberation, and with knowledge they determine rather to lose their goodes than their life. And as they in that worke do wisely, so do our men for the loue of lyfe and body, & couetousnes of the goodes of this world, vnwisely choose the losse of eternall life, when as with a wycked dissimulation they go vnto detestable Masses. Wherefore the excuse which they bring, cannot be receaued as iust. The Corinthians also mought by this reason when they were reproued of Paule, haue defended them selues. If wee go vnto the feastes dedicated to idols, we go not thether of our own affection, as though we would allow such sacrifices, but by iust reasons we are compelled to go thether: For if we should flye from such feastes, we should be cõted seditious, euyl Citizens and without humanity: we should lose pleasant amities, and most profitable defences, and also peraduenture our riches and country. If thei had said these thinges to Paule, would he haue heard them? No trulye. For he was not ignorannt, but that they might haue said so, and yet for al that (as it is written in his Epistle) he vehementlye and most sharpelye reproued them. Aaron also might according to these mens opinion iustly and rightly haue defended himself in that he made a Calfe vnto the Israelites. For he mought haue said, I dyd it not from the hart, but I was compelled so to do: bicause the people, except I had obeyed them, would haue stoned me. In dede so he answered: but Moyses which knew right well that that necessitye or compulsion was not iust, but came of a naughty condition or ground, which neither Iustice would suffer to be receaued, nor God would by any meanes admyt, therfore dyd Moyses I say sharpely reproue him.

Aristotell. Shipmen suffer wyll wyth their willes, & not by cõstraint

Masse is a certain token wher by the faythful ar knowen frõ ỹ superstitious

They ought also to be most assured of this, that the Masse is a pledge, an earnest peny, a token and signe, whereby Papistes know theirs from others. For whe-

whether a man geue almes or not: whether he pray or not pray, whether he lyue chastly or vnpurely, and such like things they neglect, they onely haue a regarde to this, whither he come to Masse: which if they perceaue that he doo, by and by they count him for one of their owne. And againe to detest the Masse, and not to beare it, they take it for a most certaine signe of falling awaye from Antichrist. Wherfore we may commonly cal Masse a publike profession of Popery. Wyth what colour therefore, or with what countenaunce can they extenuate so great a crime? They ar grieuous euils (say they) which hang ouer vs: and we put our selues in most great daungers, vnlesse we communicate with the Papists in hearing of Masses. I confesse that: but let them remember that God also foresaw al these thinges, and declared that they should come to passe, who for al that wyll not suffer, that his lawes should be chaunged. Wherefore as touching these chaunces, let vs call our care vpon hym which hath cõmaunded these thinges, & is not ignorannt that these euils are ioyned with the obseruing of his cõmaundementes. The nature therfore and strength of troubles and daungers is not such, as beable to abrogate the lawes of God. They abide, yea and for euer shal abide, and therefore let vs not suffer to haue them broken by our daungers or miseries. And men are healthfully and rightlye counselled, not to part them selues betweene God and the deuil, to deliuer vnto God their affection or hart, and graunt vnto the deuil their body and outward partes.

Masse is a certaine profession of popery.

Persecutions abrogate not the lawes of God.

We maye not part our selues betwene God & the deuil.

For so much as by the partes of the distinction before put, we haue sufficiently spoken of priuate men as touching their dwelling together with Infidels, now wee oght to declare of Princes or Magistrates. And they are either principal, as they which depende of no other, neither haue anye power aboue them, or els they are inferiour powers, which lawfully as of right are subiect vnto Superiours: either bicause they are their Deputies or Ministers, that is, Magistrates or Vicaris, as they are commonly called. Let vs first therfore speake of suche as be absolute and more higher powers, aski̇ng whether they in their dominiõs may suffer the faithful to be conuersant with Infidels. I thinke it be lawful, so that ther be certain cautions or cautions put. For when the Romane Empire receiued the Christian religion, euery one which wer vnder that Empire beleued not by and by in Christ, who wer for al that suffered both to lyue, and also peaceably to dwel there. Yea in the tyme of Ambrosius, Symmachus who was wyth out Christ, did not abstaine to require of the Emperours that the rites of the Ethnikes might be restored, which he obtained not. And nowe when as kyngdomes and dominions haue admitted the preaching of the Gospell, ther are many stil suffered by which are wonderfully affected towarde the Pope and his ydolatries. Which cannot without great perturbation of things be seperated from them which are of the Gospel. Wherfore Princes are compelled to suffer suche considerations, neither is that to be ascribed a fault in them, so that they departe not from these fewe cautions. The first of those cautions is, that they constrayne the faithful to no vngodly worshippinges. For then should they not execute the offices of the ministers of God, but rather of the deuil and of Antichrist, by good workes they should be not a terrour vnto the euil, neither should they aduaunce the worde of God, but the tyranny of Sathan. Secondlye, let them beware, that they permit not vnto the Infidels wicked rites, and vngodly ceremonies in their dominions. Of this crime was Salomon guilty, not that he compelled the Iewes to worship Idoles, but for bicause to his wyues and Concubines which wer straungers, he permitted temples in Iewry, wherin they might worship Astartes and Chamos and other straunge Gods. But that God was grieuously angry with him, the holy history declareth. He was sharpe punished by the law of the like. That as he had deuided the holy worshipping in graunting part of it to God, and part vnto Idoles: so was his kingdome deuided, and part of it was graunted to his sonne, and part was geuen vnto Ieroboam the sonne

Of princes and magistrates how they ought to behaue them selues wyth infydels.

A distinctiõ of powers.

It is lawfull for princes to suffer the couersation of the faythfull with the vnfaythfull with certayne cautions.

The first caution.

2. Caution.

Salomon was for his sinne punished by the law of the lyke called Lex talionis.

of

of Nebath. But his fault ſpred abroad into his poſterity. For Achas, Manaſſes, and many other vngodly kinges had wicked and deteſtable worſhippinges at Ieruſalem. Wherfore they were by the Prophetes grieuouſlye and ſharpelye reproued. And vndoubtedly a Magiſtrate cannot but be blamed, when he nouriſheth idolatry, when as he beareth the ſworde to reuenge wicked actes. Wherefore he muſt either thinke that idolatry is no wicked acte, or that it is by the Magiſtrate and other to be auenged. Auguſtine often times excellentlye well entreateth of this place of Dauid: Be wiſe now therfore O ye kinges, be learned ye that are Iudges of the earth, ſerue the Lorde in feare. &c. He ſayth alſo, it is mete that kinges ſerue the Lorde. Neither entreated Dauid of them, in that reſpect that they are men: for ſo are they wyth other bounde to obſerue common lawes. Wherefore for ſo much as they are kinges, they are admoniſhed, namely to vſe the power and ſworde geuen them by God, to defend the verity of the true faith, and to put downe the vngodly, that the catholike truth and churche of the ſonne of God, as far as their dominions extend be not aſſaulted. Wherefore it is not lawful for Princes to graunt vnto the vngodly impure worſhippinges, yea it is their part, chiefely to vrge ſound doctrine, ceremonies and rites, which agree with the worde of God.

The magiſtrate ought to reuenge idolatrye.

Auguſtine.

Howe and in what ſort Kinges ought to ſerue God.

And yet for al that (to ſpeake a worde, or two of that by the waye) I doo not thinke that we ſhould to much contend, that rites and ceremonies may be al alike, and obſerued euery where, after one maner. But this is to be prouided for, that they be not againſt the worde of God, yea rather let them draw vnto it as much as may be, and as farre as they are able, let them ſet forth edification, and a decent order. For otherwiſe it ſkilleth not whether we receaue the ſacrament of the Lordes Supper, ſtanding, or ſitting, or kneeling, ſo that the inſtitution of the Lorde be kept, and occaſion of ſuperſtition be cut of. Neither is it any matter when the brethren communicate, whither ſome one place of the holye ſcriptures be red, or Pſalmes and thankeſgeuings be ſong of the people. Yea I think that this variety in rites much profiteth to bring in a true ſpirit of ceremonies, namely that al men may vnderſtande, that thoſe ceremonies which are not ſet forth in the holy ſcriptures, are not neceſſary vnto ſaluation, but may be chaunged for edification ſake as time ſhall ſerue. And Auguſtine to Ianuarius and to Caſſulanus was alſo of this opinion.

We maye not vrge to keepe the externall rites alyke euery where.

Diuerſity of ceremonies is profitable.

Auguſtine.

The thirde condition or caution that is to be added, is that Princes take heede that thoſe infidels whom they ſuffer in their dominions, be continually with diligence inſtructed. And not (as the maner commonlye is) neglect them in thoſe thinges which pertaine vnto godlines: otherwiſe the glory of God cannot be looked for, by their ſuffering, if without teaching they may be ſuffered continually to abide in their vngodly opinion. For in proceſſe of time they becom nothing the better, but farre worſe then they were before. Moreouer they muſt beware that by that mutual conuerſation they infect not the people committed to their charge with the ſcab of infidelity and errours. And finallye, when they are well inſtructed and taught, they muſt compel them to ſound and pure worſhippings, which are preſcribed by the holy ſcriptures. For the Magiſtrate maye not ſuffer his Citizens to liue without exerciſes of godlines. For the ende of ciuyll rule, is that the Citizens ſhould liue both vertuouſly & happely. And who ſeeth not but that godlines & the worſhipping of God is the chiefe of all vertues.

3. caution.

4. caution.

5. caution.

They muſt be cõpelled at the laſt to the ſame and pure outward worſhippinges of God.

But peraduenture ſome will ſay: If a Prince ſhoulde compell thoſe vnto the right vſe of the ſacramentes, which are not yet perſuaded of the truth, he ſhould driue them headlong into ſynne: ſo farre is it of from ſetting forward their ſaluation. For there they ſhould do againſt their conſcience: and what ſo euer they ſo do (euen as the Apoſtle witneſſeth) is ſynne. Wherefore I thyncke it good to make a diſtinction betweene that whiche is of or by it ſelfe, and that which is ad-

Whether a prince ought at the length to compell his ſubiectes to the right vſe of the ſacramentes.

aduenture and by hap, or (as they are wont to speake in Schooles) that which commeth per accidens, that is by chaunce. The Magistrate in this thing which we haue now in hande, setteth forth to his subiectes that thing which is of it selfe right, good and iust, but in that, synne therby commeth that happeneth nothing at al by his default, but rather by those mens incredulitye or misbeliefe, whereof he is not to be accused, when as he hath diligentlye laboured to haue his Citizens wel instructed. Neither the Papistes, which at this daye are suffered of Christian Magistrates are ignorant that wee ought to haue in vse the Sacramentes instituted by the Lord. Wherfore they cannot iustlye complaine of their Magistrates, if they wil haue them vprightlye, and in due order ministred vnto them.

Moreouer they which obiect these thinges vnto vs, must diligently marke this, that by the same waye wee maye cauill against God. For hee hath sette forth vnto menne his lawe whiche is most perfecte to bee kept of them. Shall we say vnto him, we are weake and of a corrupt and vitious nature, neither can we perfourme thy commaundementes, as thou commaundest: wherefore whether we do against that which thou hast commaunded, or whether we endeuour our selues to perfourme that which thou hast bydden, wee shall euer synne, bycause we shall fainte, neither can we obey as we should doo. Wherefore what soeuer we do we shall not auoide synne?

If anye manne brawlinglye should speake these thinges against God, myghte not hee by good ryghte aunswere? They bee iust and ryght which I haue sette forth vnto you to bee obserued. But in that ye are feable and weake, it oughte not to bee counted a fault in mee. For I haue excellentlye holpen your weakenes, whyche for your sakes haue geuen my Sonne vnto the death. If ye shall beleue onelye in hym, what so euer ye shall not accomplish in performing my preceptes, it shal not be imputed to you to euerlasting death.

So also may a good Prince aunswer: I require of you those thinges whych are written in the woord of God, and which are decent and do edefye. Wherefore if your opinion or conscience bee against it, that is not to bee ascribed vnto me, which haue diligently laboured that ye might not be ignorant of the truth and miserably perish. For I haue diligentlye sene vnto, that ye should be taught and instructed in the truth, & so wyll I styl go forward in exhorting, admonishing and commaunding you: but reade ye the holy Scriptures, heare your Teachers, and pray vnto God to open the eyes of your mynde. These thinges if the Prince shall say vnto those men which doo so cauil against him, I do not see by what right, or by what meanes he can be reprehended.

And I thynke thys is not to be omitted that Augustine sayde, that hee was once of that opinion, that nothing should be done by violence against heretiks, but onely they should be instructed by admonitions and doctrine. But hee confesseth that hee was admonished by certayne Bysshoppes of more experience, whych shewed hym of certayne Cities, whyche before were in a manner vtterlye destroyed by the errour of the Donatistes, and were by violence and lawes of the Emperours compelled to come vnto the Catholyque Churche, whyche Cities beyng thus at the length syncerely conuerted vnto the truthe, rendered thankes vnto GOD, neyther would they, if by anye meanes they mought haue retourned agayne to so pernicious opinions. Wherefore a godly Prince shall nothyng hurt suche men, yea he shall profyt them muche, if after he haue instructed them, he compell them to receaue the Sacramentes duelye, as they be deliuered by the woorde of God.

Augustine chaged his sentence for compellinge of heretikes.

But this is to bee vnderstande as touching his owne Citizens, hys natiue

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countrey men and Denizens, whiche enioye the ryght of the Citye or prouince. Otherwyse I do not thinke that he ought to vse any violence towarde straungers that passe to and fro, and whiche doo occupye the trade of Marchaundize, either inwarde or outwarde. Although also as touching those men, I thynke that he must diligently beware that they infect not the people with wycked doctrine. Wherefore I suppose that the steppes of the Israelites are to be followed, who made none a Iewe or a Proselite, neyther endewed any with the right of their people, except first he circumcised hymselfe, receaued the lawe of Moyses, and communicated with their sacrifices. And seing that that was so diligently obserued of them, there is no cause, why our Princes ought not to doo the lyke, namely to suffer none to be of their City, or as one of them, or a straunger to be made free, but first they shoulde constrayne hym to seruices and ceremonies agreing with the woorde of God.

An example of the Israelites which is to be obserued.

What is to be sayd of magistrates which are subiect to a superiour power & distinction.

But now let vs go on and speake of those Magistrates or Lordes whyche are subiect to a superiour power. These seeme after thys manner to be deuided, some to haue iurisdiction eyther proper, or by heritage, or els committed vnto them by Emperours, Kynges, and publique wealthes. Or els they are without iurisdiction and are counted noble onely for nobilitye of bloude, or for ryches heaped together.

And assuredly for so much as those latter sortes differ nothing almost from priuate menne, in myne opinion wee muste so iudge of them, as before I haue taught of priuate men. But the first which are Rulers of Prouinces, Cities and places, eyther by inheritaunce, or by office committed vnto them, they ought not otherwyse to doo in the thyng whereof we now entreate, than wee haue before prescribed for those which are mere and full Magistrates. For by the commaundement of the superiour Princes, it is not lawfull for them to compell the Subiectes whom they gouerne, vnto vngodly religion, neyther to permyt the same to those Infidels whych inhabite in their dominions. But if thou wilt say, we must obey the hygher power: I graunt that, but vsque ad aras, that is, as farre as religion suffereth. When they whych ouercame the Lacedemonians commaunded suche thynges as were against their lawes and institutions, they sayde: We woulde rather dye, yea, than ye shoulde commaunde vs thinges harder than death. Wherefore suche kynde of Magistrates must in all other thynges be subiect to the superiour power: but in those thynges whyche are agaynste the woorde of God, they muste not in anye sorte followe theyr affection.

An answeare of the Lacedemonians.

An example of the Machabites.

The Machabites when the Iewes then lyued vnder the Macedonians, Antiochus, Demetrius, and Alexander, who withdrewe the Iewes from the true woorshypping of God, would not be obedient vnto them. And when that that house of priesthoode was chiefest next to the kynges house, least the syncere and auncient religion should be destroyed, it fell from these kynges.

The bookes of the Machabites conteyne not soūd argumēts wherby the doctrin of the faithful cā be proued

Neyther in alledging these thynges count I not the bookes of the Machabites to be suche, from whence I woulde iudge any strong argumentes of doctrine maye be taken, but that I comme that storye true, as a storye whyche is not onelye contayned in theese bookes, but also hathe beene wrytten of other authours.

An example of Ezechias.

I wyll adde also the acte of Ezechias the kyng, who as it is wrytten in the seconde booke of Kynges the. xviii. Chapter, was bounde to the kyng of the Assirians. For as it is mencioned in the same booke the. xvi. chapter, Achas had yelded hym selfe vnto the kyng of the Assirians, to whom hee dydde not onelye paye tribute, but to please him with all, he chaunged the woorshyppyng of the true God. For he goyng to Damascus to meete the kyng, commaunded an

aultar

aultar to bee made at Ieruſalem, accordyng to the example whiche hee had there ſeene, and followed the religion and worſhyppynge of the Sirians. But Ezechias his ſonne beyng verye godlye, perceauing that thoſe thinges which his Father had done were againſt the worde of God, vtterly fel from the king of the Aſſirians, who then ruled ouer him as a ſuperiour power. But firſt he aſſayed to pacifye him with giftes and money: but when he ſaw that woulde take no place, he defended both his people and him ſelfe againſt him with al his power. We muſt take heede neuertheleſſe that in thoſe thinges wee beware of ſeditions, as much as may be, and we muſt moſt diligentlye prouide, that ſuche Magiſtrates vnder pretence of religion ſeeke not their own.

We muſt beware as muche as is poſſible of ſeditions.

Theſe thinges if they obſerue, and reſiſt their ſuperiour Magiſtrates, onely for godlyneſſe ſake, let them not ſuſpect, that they commit anye vniuſt thyng. Moreouer the holy Scriptures commaunde, that euery ſoule ſhoulde bee ſubiect to the higher powers. But that muſt be vnderſtande as muche as ſhall be lawfull by the worde of God. For in the ſame ſcriptures it is written: That a Magiſtrate is a feare not to good workers, but to euyll. Wherefore if the inferiours doo not ſet forward euell workes but good, they do not then reſiſte theyr powers. Wilt thou not feare the power, ſayth the apoſtle: do good and for that thou ſhalt be prayſed. Wherefore if they defend godlynes, they ſhall deſerue rather prayſe than blame. But if thou do euyll, feare the power: for he beareth not the ſweard in vayne: for he is the miniſter of God, and a reuenger to anger againſt him which doth euyll. Al theſe ſentences do confirme the courages of the inferiour powers, that they ſhould be nothing afearde of the ſuperiour power, when they in defending of religion obey it not.

But thou wilt ſay: by what lawe doo inferiour Princes reſiſt either the Emperour or Kynges, or elles publique wealthes, when as they defend the ſyncere religion and true faith? I anſwer by the law of the Emperour, or by the lawe of the king, or by the law of the publique wealth. For they are choſen of Emperours, Kinges, and publique wealthes, as helpers to rule, whereby Iuſtice may more and more flouriſhe. And therefore were they ordeyned according to the office committed vnto them, rightly, iuſtly, and godly to gouerne the publyke wealthe. Wherefore they doo according to their duty, when in cauſe of religion they reſiſt the higher power. Neither can that ſuperiour power iuſtly complain, if in that caſe the inferiour power fal from it.

The Emperour reſiſteth in the Code, that his mynde is not that any of hys decrees ſhoulde take place in iudgementes agaynſte right, but that they ought to bee made voyde and of no force, if that peraduenture they bee knowen to decline from Iuſtice. Wherefore Traian is not vnworthily commended, whych when he deliuered the ſweard and the gyrdle vnto the Lieuetenant of the Prefect, ſayd: If I rule iuſtlye, vſe it on my ſyde: but if I rule vniuſtlye, vſe it againſt me.

Iuſtinian.

A goodly ſentence of Traian.

Gregory a Biſhoppe of Rome can not bee excuſed, whyche knowing that the lawe made by Mauritius was vniuſt (for he had decreed that no manne being occupyed with buſynes of the publique wealthe, or appoynted for warre, ſhould be made a Clarke or a Monke) wrote in deede to the Emperour, that when hee had ſeene hys lawe, he was wonderfullye afrayde, and therefore deſyred him, either to remytte ſomewhat of the rigour thereof, or els vtterlye to alter it. Yea hee did he added, that he woulde (nowe that hee hadde done hys duty in admoniſhing him) becauſe of that obedience and ſeruice whych he oughte vnto him) publyſhe the lawe at Rome as he was commaunded. Vndoubtedlye thys act of Gregory cannot but be reproued, becauſe he ought not to haue obeied the ſuperiour power in that thing, whych he iudged to be vniuſte or wycked.

An errour of Gregory Biſhop of Rome.

When we do after this sorte write of these thinges, we do nothing at all open a way vnto seditions, but onely this is our care, that those things which belōg to God may be geuen, yea rather restored vnto God, and those thinges whyche pertaine vnto Cæsar, may be rendred to Cæsar. If the hygher power woulde require, either goodes or thinges of this worlde, for the vse of the publike wealth, my counsel is that they should be geuen, but not when those thinges are required to bee subuerted and destroyed, whiche belong to the worshipping of God.

Naboth is excused,

And vndoubtedly by this meanes we maye easelye excuse iust Naboth, whyche woulde not graunt vnto his King his vyneyarde. For hee dyd not that of couetousnes or of pryde, but bycause he sawe thereby the lawe of God to be violated, whereby it was ordayned, that landes and possessions among the people of Israel should remaine distributed by iust diuision. This law of god the king went about to violate, and to the performaunce thereof hee sought the consent of that man, which he with a good conscience could not performe.

Whether ỹ inferior powers ought in those cases to forsake their offices.

Some thinke that when superiour powers go aboute to driue the inferiour powers to wicked thinges, it were good and meete, that they whiche exercise the inferiour office should resigne and departe from their office. But I thynke not so, for this were to fall from his vocation, which ought not to be done, especially, when as we see that we must geue ouer to the vngodly, which eyther resyst or oppresse the kingdome of God. I iudge therfore that they ought to continew, vntyl they be by force cast out by the superiour powers, that they maye in keeping their office valiauntly defend the glory of God. But (alas) we see verye manye Dukes, Earles and Princes which if the Kyng or Emperour woulde take away frō thē their dominions, they would not leaue a stone vnmoued, to defende keepe their own. There would they with al their force resist the higher powers for this cause and vnder this title, bicause they would vniustly deprive them of their thinges. But when the kingdome of god, godlines, and pure religion are assayed of them, and these inferiour powers are required as Ministers to be at hand, and to helpe to ouerthrowe them, they dare not speake or resist any thing at all. Wherfore wee can thinke nothing els, but that they haue lytle regarde of the kingdome of Christ, and of true godlynes.

Answeare to ỹ argumētes put in ỹ beginning.

Now resteth to answer to those argumentes, which were put forth in the beginning by which seemed to be proued, that conuersation together wyth Infidels is lawfull. Christ was alledged who was conuersaunt with Pharisey, Synners, and Publicanes. But he was not onely strong and wyse, but also the chiefe of all wyse and strong men, and he could so profit the euyll, that the malice of others could nothing at al hurt him. Wherefore they which are constant and learned, may lawfully (as we haue taught) be conuersaunt with Infidels, to the end therby to profyt them to saluation.

To the first. Christ did well in being conuersant with the vngodly.

To the second. How farre the vnfaythfull mā or wyfe ought to bee borne with all.

Secondly was brought forth a place of Paule, who prohibited, that a faythfull husband or wyfe should not departe from an Infidell, so that he or she were content to dwell together. We declared also that natural and ciuyl necessities, especially suche as are instituted of god should be obserued. And yet for all that, that which is there sayde by the Apostle, must not be vnderstand so symply as it is pretended: bycause if an vnfaythfull husband should entise hys wyfe beyng a Christian vnto vngodlynes, or would not cease to blaspheme Christ, suche a matrimonye ought not to continue.

To the third. Why Paul cōmaūded not the infidelles but euyll bretheren to be auoyded.

Thirdly there was declared a sentence of the same Apostle to the Corrinthians, which is that all couetous persons, euyll speakers, dronkardes, and whoremongers are not to be auoyded, for otherwyse wee must go out of the worlde, but he sayd that those onely were to be eschewed which were counted bretheren. As touching this purpose of Paule, we must diligently marke, fyrst that he sawe ryght well, that the necessities of lyfe could not suffer, that all those which beleued

ned not at that time in Chriſt, ſhoulde be anoyded: for the greateſt parte of men at the beginning were farre from Chriſt, neyther coulde the infideles haue bene made better, if our men had ſeperated themſelues altogether from them. But by the ſentence of Paule the corrupte brethren were driuen both to griefe and ſhame, whileſt they ſawe that for their ſinnes they were eſchewed of thoſe, to whom before they had bene familiar and deere, and were ioyned vnto them as members of one body. Furthermore when this diſcipline floryſhed, the Churche was not euill ſpoken of for the ſinnes of the brethren, which woulde otherwyſe haue happened, if they had wincked at wicked actes. Therefore theſe ſentences are nothing agaynſt thoſe thinges, which we before determined. And much leſſe that which was alledged of Abraham how he iourneyed as a ſtraunger among Ethnikes and Idolatrers. Fyrſt bicauſe he did it by the calling of God. Secondly bicauſe he was of ſo greate conſtancye and wiſedome that he coulde be conuerſaunte with the vngodly without any hurte to hymſelfe, and to theyr greate profite. For whether ſo euer he went, he caried aboute with him the name of God and the worſhipping of him. We may aunſwere the ſame alſo of Loth: If he went vnto the fyue cities with a good mynde, namely to teache the Sodomites godlineſſe and the right waye. But if he wente thither being moued onely with the commoditie of the place, he dyd not well. And aſſuredly his going thyther had but ill ſucceſſe. For he was ledde awaye captyue, and Abraham was fayne to redeeme hym. And when afterwarde thoſe places were by the power of God burnte, he was compelled whether he would or no, to remoue from thence. I neede not to ſpeake muche at thys preſente of Naaman the Sirian, for I haue before entreated inoughe of hym. Moreouer I thinke it be manifeſte inough what was the cauſe, why ſome of them that were healed by Chriſte were ſente backe to theyr owne, namelye to preache and faythfully to declare vnto them, what had happened vnto themſelues.

To the fourth.

The peregrination of Abrahā among ỹ Ethnikes is defended.

To the fyfth. Of Loth.

Now reſteth ſomewhat to ſpeake peculiarly of Iewes and Heretikes. For theſe kynde of men are ſuffred almoſt in all cities, prouinces and kyngdomes to dwel together with Chriſtians. Why the Iewes ſhould be ſuffred. Auguſtine among other bringeth forth certayne reaſons. He in his. iiii. and. xviii. bookes de ciuitate Dei, and alſo vppon the. lviii. Pſalme, and in other places, writeth, that they ought therefore to be ſuffred, bicauſe they before other kynde of men had the promiſe of ſaluation, neither are they paſte all hope, when as daylye ſome of them, although but a fewe, retourne vnto Chriſt. Blindneſſe (ſayeth Paule to the Romanes) fell partly on Iſraell: as though he woulde ſay, not on al. Moreouer the ſame Apoſtle addeth, when the fulneſſe of the Gentiles is entred, then all Iſraell ſhall be ſaued. And leaſt thou ſhouldeſt peraduenture thinke, that theſe wordes are to bee vnderſtand allegorically, Paule writeth them as a miſerye, and to confyrme his ſentence he bringeth the Prophecye of Eſay the Prophet: namely that iniquitie ſhal be then taken away from Iacob.

Of the Iewes.

Auguſtine.

Furthermore they are now called enemyes vnto God, for our ſakes: but called frends, bycauſe of their fathers. The ſame Auguſtine in hys Queſtions vpon the Goſpell, the ſecond boke and xxviii. Queſtion (if that theſe bookes be of Auguſtine his writing) when he interpreteth the parable of the prodigal ſonne, he ſayeth that that ſonne ſignifyeth the Gentiles. For it is written, that he departed into a farre countrey, bycauſe the Ethnikes were ſo farre departed from God, that they openly worſhipped Idoles, and with open profeſſion. But the elder ſonne, by whome was ſhadowed the people of the Hebrewes, went not ſo farre. And although he were not in hys Fathers houſe, whiche is the Churche, he dwelled for all that in the fielde. For the Iewes are exerciſed in the holy Scriptures whiche they doe not ryghtlye vnderſtande, nor yet

with that spirituall sense wherein the Churche of Christe taketh them, but in an earthlye and carnall sense. Wherefore they are not vnapteiye sayde to bee in the fielde. Thys Elder sonne entreth not at the begynnyng into the house of hys Father, but in the latter dayes he shall also bee called and come.

The same Father also bringeth for thys sentence that which is written in the 58. Psalme, as he readeth it, Do not kil them least they forget thy law, but in thy power disperse them. The Sonne of God (sayth he) prayeth vnto the father, that that nation might not be destroyed, but might wander euery where throughout the worlde.

The Jewes receaued not the lawes and customes of the Romanes.

Other prouinces when they were ouercome of the Romanes, followed the lawes and rites of the Romanes, so that at the length they were made Romanes: but the Jewes, although they were ouercome by the Romanes yet woulde they neuer followe their lawes, rites and ceremonies, they yet obserue theyr owne as muche as they maye, and being dispersed they wander abroade. Neither haue they vtterly forgotten the lawe of GOD: not that they Godlye applye themselues to obserue it, but only reade it, and kepe certayne signes and institutions wherby they are discerned from other Nations. Moreouer it semeth that God hath put a signe vppon them as he dyd vppon Caine, bycause he had killed his brother Abell, namely that euery man shoulde not kill them.

The dispersing of the Jewes is profitable to Christians.

Neyther is thys theyr dispersion throughe oute the worlde vnprofitable to the Christians, bycause (as it is written to the Romanes) they are shewed vnto vs as broken bowes. And for so much as we were grafted in their place, when as we see that they were so miserably cut of, we acknowledge the grace of god toward vs, and by beholding of them we are taught to take heede that we also bee not likewyse cut of for infidelitie sake, for which selfe cause they are broken of. There is also an other commoditie, whiche commeth vnto vs by theyr dispersing, bycause our bookes are saued by them, I meane the holy Byble, whiche they euery where carye aboute with them and reade: And although, bycause they are blynded, they beleue not, yet they confesse that those writynges are moste true. They are in harte deadly enemyes agaynst vs, but by these bookes which they haue and reuerence, they are a testimonye to our religion. Wherefore I cannot inough meruaile at those, whiche doe so much hate the Jewes tongue, and Bibles in Hebrewe, that they desire to haue them destroyed and burnte, when as Augustine de doctrina Christiana thinketh that if we chaunce somtymes to doubt of the Greke or Latin translation, we must fly vnto the truth of the Hebrue, And Ierome in many places writeth the same.

1

2

Against those whiche burne the Bibles in Hebrewe

Augustine.

Whether the Hebrues haue corrupted the bokes of holy scriptures.

Ierome.

But they say that the holy bookes were vitiated and corrupted, by the Hebrues. To thys Ierome vpon Esaye the. vi. Chapter towarde the ende aunswereth thus. Eyther they dyd thys before the comming of Christ and preachyng of the Apostles, or els afterwarde. If a man will saye that it was done of them before, then seing Christ and his Apostles reprehended the moste grenous wicked actes of the Jewes, I marualle why they would speake nothing of that sacrilege, and so detestable a wicked acte. Undoubtedly they woulde haue reproued them for viciating and corrupting the Scriptures. But if thou wilt contend ẏ there were afterward faultes brought in by them, then will I say ẏ they ought chiefly to haue corrupted those places which do testifye of Christ and his religiõ, and which were alledged by the Lord himself, and of the Apostles in the newe Testament. But they remaine vncorrupt, and the same sentence remaineth stil in the Hebrue Bibles which they put. For they wer not so carefull for ẏ wordes. Wherefore it is not likely that they as touching other places haue corrupted the holy scriptures. Yea if a man diligently reade ouer their bookes, he shall finde in them

them a great many more testimonyes and those more plaine and manifest, than our common traslatiō hath. Do not they read in the second Psalme: Kysse ye the sonne, which ours haue translated, Take ye hold of discipline? Which wordes vndoubtedly are referred vnto Christ. But I meane not at this present to bring all such testimonies. It is sufficient if with Ierome I proue that ẏ bokes of holy Scriptures are not corrupted by the Hebrues, neither assuredly if they would they should haue missed of their purpose. For there are found many most auncient & handwritten bookes, which haue bene of a long time most diligently kept by Christians, which came neuer in their hands to corrupt.

But let vs retourne to treate of that commoditye which Augustine hath declared. There are very many (sayeth he) that would peraduenture thinke, that those things, which we declare of the auncient people, and of the Prophets are vayne and fayned of vs, vnlesse they saw ẏ Iewes yet remaining on liue, which with their bookes maintaine our sentence euē against their will. Wherfore although the Hebrues be blinded in hart, & are against vs as much as they maye, yet are they with their bokes most plaine witnesses of our fayth. And vndoubtedly of al testimonies, ẏ testimony is most of vaine, which is witnessed by our enemies. And god hath wonderfully prouided for this kinde of testimonies for his church, For we haue not only the bokes of the Hebrewes witnessing with vs, but also Verses of the Sibillas, which were borne in sundry conntreyes. Neither is it to be supposed that our elders fayned those Verses of themselues. For in the time of Lactantius, Eusebius of Cesaria, & Augustine, which alledged those Verses, the bokes of the Sibillas were rife in euery mans hand. Wherfore if our elders should haue adioyned vnto them any counterfayte Verses, the Ethnykes which were then many in number, and were full of eloquence, and deadly enemies to our religion, would haue reproued them as vaine and liars. What then remaineth, but that god would wonderfully defend his church euen by the testimonies of our aduersaries? Therfore ẏ Iewes are now suffred among Christians, partly for the promise sake, which they haue that saluation should be geuē to their kinred: partly bicause of the commodities, which I haue now rehearsed out of Augustine. Wherfore they are not only suffred but also thei haue Synagoges, wherin they openly read the bokes of the holy scriptures, and also cal vpon the god of their fathers. In which thing neuertheleſſe the diligence of ẏ Magistrates and bishops is much to be required, who ought to prouide that they do there no other thing, and by al meanes to beware that in their commō prayers, exhortations, and Sermons, they curse not nor blaspheme Christ our God. If the Magistrates and bishops haue not a care ouer these things, they can not but be most iustly accused. But it is not lawful to graunt vnto the Turkes any holy assemblies for that they haue not a peculiar promise of their saluation, neither would they there read either the old Testament or the newe, but only their most detestable boke called Alcoran.

3

The Hebrues & their bokes are most plaine witnesses of our fayth.

God will haue a church euen by the testimonies of his aduersaryes.

Verses of the Sibillas.

The Turkes ought not to haue any Synagoges graūted them.

Furthermore the Iewes muste be forbidden that they exercise not false bargayning and Usurye among Christians, therby to vexe and afflict the poore Christians before our face, which can not be done but with great horror. But our princes peraduenture of them a very great tribute and receaue at their handes a great pray by their handes by vsury and false bargayning. So farre are they of from prohibityng them from these euill artes. Furthermore (which is more hurtfull) they prouyde not to haue them taughte, when as they oughte to compell them, to come often to the holy Sermons of the Christians: otherwise, whilest they are so neglected and vnloked vnto, they ware euery day worse and worse, and more stubborne. So that either very little fruite or ells almoste none at al, can now be looked for by theyr dwelling among Christians.

The Iewes must be prohibited from false bargaining and vsurie.

Princes ought to care that the Iewes may be taught

It is also diligently to be sene vnto, that they corrupte not our men, in seducing

The hereſie of the Marranes.

them to their Jewiſhe religion. By reaſon this thing hath bene neglected, the hereſie of the Marranes hath much increaſed and that chiefly in Spaine. Moreouer it is mete, that they may by ſome apparail or certain ſigne be knowen from Chriſtians, leaſt a man vnawares ſhould be as familiarly conuerſaunt with thē as with Chriſtians. And as touching this kinde of infidelles theſe thynges are ſufficiente.

What hereſye is.

Now muſt we ſpeake of heretikes. The woorde αἱρετικος, is deriued of thys verbe αἱρεῖν, which is to elect or choose, For thoſe kinde of men chuſe vnto thēſelues ſome certaine opinions, which are againſt the holy Scriptures, and doe ſtubbornly defend the ſame. And the cauſes of this their choyſe, for the moſt part are either becauſe they are ignorannt of the holy Scriptures, or els if they know them they diſpiſe them, and being driuen by ſome couetouſneſſe they applye thēſelues to the inuention of ſome errors. Wherfore Auguſtine in his booke de vtilitate credendi writeth. An heretike is he which for the loue of gayne or rule, eyther bringeth vp, or els followeth new opinions. The definition therfore of hereſie is a choyſe and ſtubborne defending of opinions, which are againſt the holy Scriptures, either by reaſon of ignorance or els contempt of them, to the end the eaſlier to obtaine their own pleaſures and cōmodities. The choyſe and ſtubburne defending is in this definition in ſtead of the forme. But the opinions diſagreing with the holy ſcriptures ſerue for the matter. Pride and couetouſneſſe make hereſie. And the obteining of dignities, gayne and pleaſures are appoynted as endes of thys ſo great a miſchiefe. By this definition it is manifeſte inough (as I thynke) who be heretikes, I minde not at this preſente to ſpeake of the kindes & ſortes of hereſies. I ſhall as I truſt haue better occaſiō, & a place more mete to ſpeake therof. This wil I ſay briefly, as touching this queſtiō, we muſt haue none otherwiſe to do with heretikes, than with infidels and Jewes. And I ſuppoſe that theſe things are ſufficient as touching this queſtion, whiche hath bene hitherto diſcuſſed, I woulde God ſo perfectly, as with many woordes. Wherfore I will returne vnto the hiſtorye.

Auguſtine.

The definition of hereſye.

The ſecond Chapiter.

1 AND the Angel of the Lord aſcended from Gilgal to Bochim and ſayd: I made you to go out of Egipte, and haue brought you vnto the Lande whiche I ſware vnto your Fathers: And I ſayde, I wil not breake mine appoyntmente that I made with you.

TWo things haue hitherto bene ſet forth vnto vs. Firſt the noble victories which the Iſraelits obteined as long as they obeyed the woord of God. Secondly the tranſgreſſion, wherby contrarye to ỹ commaundementes of God, they both ſaued and alſo made tributaries vnto themſelues thoſe nations, whom they ought vtterly to haue deſtroyed. But nowe is ſet forth vnto vs, how God of his goodneſſe by hys Legate reprehended the Iſraelites for the wicked acte whiche they had committed, and that not without fruite. For whē they heard the woord of God, they repented.

The principall poyntes of the Sermon.

Firſt the meſſenger of God maketh mencion of the benefites which god had beſtowed on his people. Secondly he vpbraydeth thē of their wicked actes, wher with they being ingrate requited ſo great giftes. Laſtely are ſet forth the threatninges and puniſhementes wherewith God woulde puniſhe them except they repented.

But

But before we come to entreate of the oration of this legate, it were good to declare what he was. The Hebrew worde Melach, and also the Greke worde ἄγγελος, are doubtfull, and sometymes they signifie a nature without a body, I meane spirites the ministres of God, and other sometymes they signifie a messanger, what soeuer he be. There are examples of these in many places of the scriptures, which should be superfluous now to declare. Some supposed ỹ some certayne spirite was sent from God, whiche appeared vnto the people in a visible forme, and reproued them as he was commaunded: And they persuade them selues that he was first sene in Gilgal, and there commaunded the people, to ascend from thence to a place, whiche was afterward called Bochim of weapyng. The Hebrew word Melach is not agaynst this interpretation: and that maketh with it also, bycause he speaketh as God. I haue made you (sayth he) to ascend out of Egypt. With whiche selfe same kinde of speache the Aungell in Genesis spake to Abraham, and in Exodus to Moses. Where it is also written, that God put his name in him. But it semed vnto the auncient fathers, that that aungell which in the olde Testament appeared & spake in the name of God, was Christ the sonne of God. For it is writtē in Iohn, No man hath sene God at any tyme: the sonne which in the bosome of the father he hath declared him. These wordes declare vnto vs that what soeuer thinges are sayd to haue ben spoken by God in the olde Testament, the same were made open by Christ. But other suppose that this messanger or legate was a minister of the Churche, ỹ is either a Priest or a Prophet, whose office was, to reprehend the sinnes of the people. Amonge the Hebrew Rabines, Leui the sonne of Gerson doth therfore thinke this to be very likely, bycause it is not conuenient, that an aungell should openly speake to so great a multitude. But his reason is very weake. for seing God whē he gaue the lawe spake in the mount Sina to the whole multitude of the Hebrues, what should let, but that he could teache an angell to do the same. But this is of some what more strength, bycause it is declared in the history, that this messanger ascended from Gilgal to Bochim. For if he were an angell, it semeth that it should rather haue ben sayd, that he discended from heauen, & not ascended from Gilgal to Bochim. And surely it appeareth a fayned thing, ỹ they fayne that he first appeared in Gilgal, and then called the people together to Bochim. For he mought haue in Gilgal expressed vnto the people those thinges whiche he afterward declared in Bochim. Wherfore the Hebrues affirme that this Prophet or Priest receaued in Gilgal the spirite and inspiration of God, wherewith he was stirred vp and appoynted to the assembly of the people, whiche then for certaine causes were assembled in Bochim, there to expresse the commaundementes of God to the people, yea they say that that Prophet was Phineas the Priest the nephew of Aaron, I meane the sonne of Eleazar for he was a very seuere man, and most zelous of godlynesse and righteousnesse. In the booke of Numb: it is mencioned how he slew Zamri a prince of the family of Simeon namely for this, bycause he cōmitted open fornicatiō with a Madianitishe harlot. And the father of ỹ harlot was a prince among the Madianites. And God manifestly allowed the zeale of Phineas. For he promised him the priesthode of his nation, with an euerlasting couenaunt: and ceassed from destroyeng the people, being mitigated with his noble acte. Phineas therfore was not onely godly, but also of a stoute and valiaunte courage. He feared not for gods cause to entre into grieuous hatreds, and to put himselfe to present daunger. Wherfore Dauid in the 106. Psalme rehearsing this history commendeth him after this sorte: Phineas stode vp and reuenged, and the plague ceassed, and it was cōted vnto him for righteousnesse from generation to generation for euer. Wherfore that acte whiche by his owne nature mought haue semed cruell and horrible, did not onely please God, and was of him allowed for a iust acte: but he also deliuered the people from a most grieuous plague, wherewith they were then vexed. The counte of the yeares if they

It is doubtful what legate was.

The aungell speaketh in the person of God.

That aungell whiche spake vnto ỹ fathers is thought to haue ben christ

Leui the sonne of Gerson.

Praise of Phineas the priest

be

be rightly counted is not agaynſt this opinion now alleged. Yea and it is found in this ſelfe ſame boke, that he was on lyue, when warre was made agaynſt the tribe of Beniamin to reuenge the wicked acte perpetrated in Gabaa. Rabbi Salomoh also declareth, that the booke which is entituled Sedar Olam, teſtifieth the ſame. Likewiſe *Dauid Kimhi* & the old Hebrues ſeme to encline to this opinion. But what ſoeuer he was, I thinke it ſkilleth not much. This ought to be moſt certain and ſure, that the thinges declared by him were the wordes of God.

R. Salomoh.

Kimhi.

Where Gilgal lyeth.

Gilgal, is a citie lyeng in the playne of *Iordane*, not farre from the citie of Iericho. And it had that name hereof, bycauſe there *Ioſuah* by the commaundemẽt of the Lord prouided that the people of *Iſrael*, whiche had wandred vncircumciſed thorough the wilderneſſe, celebrated a ſolẽpne circumciſion. And when they had ſo done, God aunſwered, ẏ he had remoued from thẽ the reproche of Egypt. For Gal ſignifieth in Hebrew to turne away and to remoue. Moreouer in that place, but not at that tyme, but long before, was ẏ tabernacle, & the Arke of the couenaunt. Namely in the tyme of Ioſuah when the people paſſed ouer *Iordane*. And by that meanes that place was counted religious. Wherfore Saul the firſt king of the Hebrues was annoynted in Gilgal. But Bochim was ſo called of thẽ whiche wept as we ſhall ſtrayght waye heare. And it is called ſo now by the figure Prolepſis, bycauſe it was not yet named by that name. And as it appeareth by ẏ hiſtory they goyng from Gilgal aſcended to Bochim. Furthermore we muſt note that the legate ſpeaketh not in hys owne name, but in the name of God & yet he vſeth not thoſe kinde of phraſes which the other Prophetes did, namely Thus ſaith the Lord. &c. The word of the Lord came vnto me. &c. And in rehearſing the benefites beſtowed on the people. Firſt of all he maketh mencion of the deliuery of their fathers out of Egypte, bycauſe that had newly happened vnto the Hebrues. And God, to the end the knowledge of him ſhould not be blotted out, vſeth to put men in mynde of thoſe benefites that he hath beſtowed on thẽ, and will haue thẽ to be as certain wordes, expreſſing his nature and goodneſſe vnto vs. And he alwayes begynneth his rehearſall at thinges that are lateſt done, and of them he claymeth vnto him ſelfe titles or names attributed vnto him, by whiche he would be both called vpon and alſo knowen, for at the beginning God was called vpon by that that he created heauen and earth, and afterward by that that he was the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and *Iacob*. After that as a deliuerer out of Egypte. Then as a deliuerer out of the captiuitie of Babilon. But laſtly as the father of our Lord *Ieſus* Chriſt. But now of the benefite lately beſtowed on them, he calleth him ſelfe the deliuerer out of Egypte. Afterward he adioyneth an other benefite. And I haue brought you into the lande whiche I ſware vnto your fathers. It was not ſufficiẽt ẏ they wer deliuered out of Egypt, but they had ample & noble places aſſigned vnto them. Thirdly he ſaith, This haue I geuẽ you. That I would haue my couenant made with you to haue cõtinued for euer, if it mought haue ben by your obediẽce But ye haue not ſuffred it. Theſe benefites whiche in this place are rehearſed are playne and manifeſt ynough. But as touching the laſt, namely of the couenaunt, two thinges are to be conſidered in it, Firſt whiche is alſo the chiefe of all good thinges, is the redemption whiche ſhould be made by Chriſt. Neither could this be hindered by any ſinnes of mẽ. For God is faithful (as Paul teſtifieth to ẏ Romanes) neither departeth he from his truth, for our euill deſertes. The ſecond is, the ſucceſſe of outwarde good thinges and ciuill ornamentes. Whiche kinde of couenaunte or promeſſe, bycauſe it was conditionally it myght therefore ſometymes be altered, and vndoubtedly of this doth our preacher at this preſent ſpeake. And what conditions God required of the Iſraelites, here he declareth in this ſermon.

The benefites of God are like wordes which teſtifie of hys nature & goodneſſe.

God taketh ſurnames by hys benefites.

God beginneth the rehearſall of benefites laſt geuen.

Two principal thynges to be conſidered in the couenaunt.

2 And ye alſo ſhall make no couenaunte with the inhabiters of this

of this lande, but shal breake downe their altares: Neuertheleſſe ye haue not obeyed my voyce, why haue ye this done?
3 Wherefore I haue also determined, I will not cast them out before your face, but they shalbe as prickes in your sydes, and their Gods shalbe a snare vnto you.

What god prescribed the Israelites in the couenaunt.

God by couenaunt had prescribed two thynges in especiall, first that they should make no league with the Chananites: secondly that they should plucke downe their altares and temples. These are euery where written in the law especially in *Exodus* the 13. and 20. In the booke of Numb: 33. *In Deut.* 7.

Now after these conditions required of God is set forth the transgression of the Israelites. But ye (sayth he) haue not hearkened vnto my voyce. The Iewes were not yet fallen so farre that they committed Idolatry, they are onely reproued for violating the couenaunt, because they had saued the Idoles and altares of the Chananites. The wonderfull goodnesse of God surely is shewed by these wordes: VVhy haue ye this done? He demaũdeth the cause as being ready to heare their excuse, if they could bring any that were iust and lawfull. And by this meanes also the grieuousnesse of the sinne is amplified, as being so grieuous ẏ it could by coulour be defended. And vndoubtedlye thus it is. Gods cause agaynste vs is so good, that he is not afeard in Iudgement to reason with synners, as the Prophetes Esay and Micheas haue playnely taught. The preacher goeth forwarde, and sheweth what punishement they shoulde haue for thys faulte.

A vehemente maner of amplifieng of synne.

God is not afeard in iudgement to contend with synners.

For so much as ye haue not stande by your couenaunt, I wyll also go from my promises. I will not expell the Chananites out of this region as I had promised: if so be that I do not expell them, ye are so weake and feble that by your owne power, ye can not cast them out. They shal remayne therfore as ye would haue it, but yet to your great discõmodity. For they shalbe as prickes in your sides, namely as thornes, wherewith ye shalbe oftentymes sharply pricked. The Hebrew worde is Letsdim. And in dede Tsad signifieth a side. Although some thinke that worde to be derined of this verbe Tsud, whiche is to hunte or to fishe and bycause the hookes of fishermen are very sharpe, therfore the worde is by a certaine Metaphore transferred to signifie thornes. And after the same sorte we might say they signified nettes, vsing the same Metaphore whiche we may derine of hunters. But the firste reason of the interpretation, to signifye sides, I se is both simple & also more allowed by the commentaryes of the Hebrues.

And their Idoles shalbe a snare vnto you. Namely wherewith ye shalbe taken, and when ye shalbe geuen to their Idolatry, ye shalbe punished with most grieuous punishementes and discommodities. Augustine in his 13. quesiõ vpon this booke hath noted, that God threatneth after his accustomed maner, ẏ at the length it shall come to passe, that he will punishe synnes by synnes. For ẏ Israelites in not obeyeng the commaundement of God committed synne: and he agayne threatneth that Idoles shalbe a stumblyng blocke vnto them, namely that they should worship them, wherfore afterwarde they should be grieuously punished. By whiche wordes he declareth that the firste transgression shoulde be punished and chastised with the wicked crime of Idolatry, as *Paul* testifieth to the *Romanes*, that the Idolatry of the Ethnikes was punished with most filthy lustes. But ẏ punishement of the Israelites (as it is here set forth) hath without doubt a great emphasys. For what can there happen more grieuous, than to be among thornes, and continually to fall among them? Vndoubtedly hereof followe woundes almost thorowghe out al the partes of the body, and new paynes, and those vehement succede one an other. And as thornes if they sticke in the flesshe do sharpely pricke, so to dwell among enemyes, and to haue them ioy-

Augustine.

nyng

ned together with vs, can not be but very full of troubles.

The punishement whiche God here threateneth, is no new punishement, for al that is here written, was forespoken in the boke of Iosua the 23. chap. Namely that it should come to passe, that if they obeyed not the preceptes of the law of God, God would not then perfourme to destroy those natiõs before them: yea, he sayth, they shalbe vnto you a snare, a stumblyng stocke, a whip for your sides, and thornes to your eyes, vntill ye be destroyed out of this good lande, whiche the Lord your God hath geuen you, &c.

For the Israelites had afterward experience of these miseryes, bycause they were oftentymes brought into bondage by their enemyes among whom they dwelled, and with whom they had vngodly ioyned them selues. And finally for ỹ they would not cease of from Idolatry, they were cast out to the Assirians and Babilonians. This chidyng of God containeth iust causes, wherfore the Israelites were destitute of his helpe for a tyme. And the end of the whole sermon is, that the people might be stirred vp to repentaunce, and that most aptely. For among those thinges whiche do vehemently amplify synne & do set it playnly before our eyes, is the greatnesse of ỹ benefites of god, which ought to stirre vs vp to ỹ obseruing of the law. Afterward is set forth ỹ grieuousnesse of the punishmẽts, bycause the waight of the synnes cõmitted, doth euidently declare ỹ burthen of thẽ. Wherfore these two thinges are worthily alledged in the sermon, to the end the Hebrues might fele the enormity of the wicked acte whiche they had committed, whereas otherwise they would haue thought it but a light faulte.

Causes why god forsoke the Israelites for a tyme.

A vehemente amplyfieng of synne.

Two Antitheses to be considered in thys oration.

Furthermore we must consider in this oration the contrary positions artificially ioyned together to augment the vehemency. For to that benefite, wherin God had brought them out of Egypt this is layde agaynst, that they draue not the Chananites from the countrey geuen vnto them. And to this benefite, that God had geuen them an aboundant and fertile countrey, this is contrary, that the people suffred Idolatry to be no lesse vsed there than it was before. And this was to rendre euill for good. Wherfore God would not suffer that to be left vnpunished, but caused it to happen otherwise vnto them than they thought. For the nations whiche they for their cõmoditie had saued, did them great hurte, so ỹ they are cõpared to thornes. And the Gods of those nations, which they had not abolished turned to a snare & greuous stumbling blocke to the Hebrues.

Whether the people wer by this oratiõ stirred vp to faith.

But this sermon may seme vnperfect enough be, for so muche as fayth is not set forth in it, whereunto the mynde of the hearers should be erected: onely the synne is declared, and the punishement wherewith they should be punished is expressed. And these thinges, except fayth be mixed with thẽ breede rather desperation thã saluation: so farre of is it ỹ they should bryng a iust remedy. To this I answere, that that parte whiche semeth to wante, is elegantly contayned in the sermon nowe alledged, so that it be somewhat more diligently considered. For when the benefites bestowed on them by God are expressed, they make vs assured of the goodnesse and mercy of God, whiche benefites also remayne still for the Israelites if they will repente. For god is not chaunged, but is perpetually of the selfe same nature and will. And vnlesse he be resisted by sinnes he is towardes men very fauorable and louyng. Furthermore fayth is stirred vp in the hearers, when it is shewed vnto them, that god would that his couenaunt made with them should abide for euer. Wherefore it is manifest that this was his will, that the impediment of synnes beyng by full repentaunce taken away, his couenaunt whiche he had made might be of force for euer. Wherfore there is no cause why we should complayne that fayth is left out, when as both the promises and the couenaunt are mencioned, whiche can not be conceaued and established but onely by fayth.

There

There yet remayneth a doubte whether God require the selfe same thyng of Christians, whiche he woulde haue to be done of the Hebrues, namely that they should by violence take awaye and breake in peces the Idoles and superstitions both of the infidelles, & also of heretikes. If thys should be demaunded as touchyng Princes and Magistrates, it is without controuersie that they ought to purge their dominions from such euils, and to that end haue they receaued of God the swoꝛd and power. But they which are priuate persons ought to abstayne from violence, foꝛ so much as to them is not committed the swoꝛde and power to constrayne. Of thys thyng Augustine in the .1. tome and 6. sermon after this maner answereth, that the Christians ought so to do as God commaunded the Hebrues in the 7. of *Deut:* where he expressely commaunded that these thinges ought then to be done of the Iewes, when the lande was in their owne power. Wherefoꝛe Christians ought also to do the same, but yet in those landes, cities and houses whiche they possesse, namely they must there ouerthrowe Idoles and superstitious altars. Notwithstandyng it is not lawfull foꝛ them to breake into other mens houses landes and Townes, and with violence to breake and ouerthrowe Idoles and altares. This (sayeth he) is not to heale the synne of Idolatrye, whiche lyeth chiefly in the hearte, it ought chiefly be weyed out of the heartes of our neighbours, by the woꝛde and doctrine, whiche beyng done, as many as we shall wynne vnto Christ, will helpe vs to take awaye outwarde Images, when as they are persuaded by the woꝛde of G O D, and that by our diligence, they haue first shaken away the same thinges out of their owne heartes. And accoꝛdyng to this meanyng the Counsell holden at Eliberium did decree in the 60. Canon.

Wether it be required of vs that we should breake Idoles.

Augustine.

Cõsilium Eliberinum.

By these thynges we muste note, that this is the will of G O D, that we should abstayne from traffickes, matrimonyes and fellowshippes with infidels and heretikes, as by the lawe it was foꝛbidden, that the Iewes should make no league with the Chananites, but this would I haue so to be vnderstande, as I haue befoꝛe and that largely declared. Moꝛeouer we are playnely taught, that the commaundementes of G O D are simply to be obeyed, so that we may not go about either to mollefye oꝛ to mitigate them by mannes inuentions. Seyng that G O D punished the Hebrues and that grieuously, whiche peraduenture thought that they had sufficiently fulfilled hys pꝛecepte, when they had made the Chananites tributaries. But as touchyng their Idoles and superstitions he required nothyng elles of the Israelites, but that they woulde not woꝛshyppe them. Wherefoꝛe suche interpꝛetations are to be taken hede of, whiche do either vtterly take away the woꝛde of G O D, oꝛ at the leaſt do make it to be of small foꝛce. This did the sonne of G O D sharpely repꝛoue, when he sayed that the Phariseys by their doctrine and humane inuentions did wꝛest the law of God, as thoughe it had ben made of ware, to their filthy lustes & wicked desires. We muſt also marke that this whole sermon is taken out of the holy Scriptures; foꝛ there is nothing contayned in it, which is not found in the bookes of Numb: Deut: and Iosuah. Whereby we gather, that pꝛeachyng is then of efficacy, when it is dꝛawen out of the woꝛde of G O D, and not of the inuention of man. Neither is it to be passed ouer, that it is a common thyng with the Iustice of God to punishe synners by the same thynges whereby they transgresse. As nowe it is declared that ỳ Israelites should incurre most great damages, as well by the nations, as also by the Idoles, whiche they contrary to the commaundement of G O D had saued. Furthermoꝛe let vs learne hereby, euery man foꝛ his owne parte to beare continuall hatred to the wicked affections of the flesshe. Foꝛ we ought neuer to come into fauour again with them, oꝛ to make peace oꝛ a league with thẽ: foꝛ so much as God hath appoynted, that we should continually make warre agaynst his enemyes.

We muſt haue no fellowshyp with the vngodly.

The commaundemẽts of god are not to be mitigated by man his inuentions.

This sermõ is take out of the holy scriptures

Sinners are punished by the same thinges whereby they haue trãsgressed.

We muſt make no league with wicked affections.

What is the office of Princes against heretikes & Papistes.

Finally let Christian Princes be taughte, howe they ought to behaue themselues agaynst Papistes and heretikes, namely diligently to persecute, correcte, and amende the errours in them, and at the length to compell them to returne into the right waye: otherwise in permittyng them to take deeper roote, and to lyue at will and idelly, they norysshe thornes for them selues, and do willyngly drawe vnto them blockes, to stumble at.

4 And when the Aungell of the Lorde spake these wordes vnto all the children of Israell, the people lifted vp their voyce & wept.
5 And they called the name of that place Bochim, and offred Sacrifices there vnto the Lorde.

The fruite of the sermon, whiche was preached is by certayn outward sygnes expressed vnto vs, whiche were in a manner apt witnesses of repentaunce, and of a conuerted mynde. Thre thynges therfore are mencioned. First when the people had heard this sermon they lifted vp their voyce whereby as it is to be beleued, they confessed their synnes, and implored the mercy of God. Secondly it is added that teares were ioyned with the voyces: and lastly that they offred Sacrifices vnto God. What they said when they lifted vp their voyce, the scripture doth not expresse, but I haue expounded what is most likely that they sayd, and therfore I will stande no longer about that thyng: but I will somewhat tary in those thinges, whiche the history hath mencioned of, what thynges they are, namely as touchyng teares and Sacrifices. Wherein we must knowe that true and lawfull repentaunce consisteth chiefly of two principall poyntes, namely of a sorowe conceaued for the wicked Actes committed, and of a sure confidence to obtayne pardon by Christe. Neither ought we to be ignorannte, that these two thynges do burgen out of fayth, as out of their proper and naturall roote. And fayth, when it bryngeth forth suche fruites, is occupyed about two thynges. First it assenteth vnto the lawe of GOD, and to the threatnynges there set forth, and confesseth them to be true, whereby we beyng allured of the will of GOD, whiche we vnderstande to be by our synnes violated, and nothyng doubtyng of the threatnynges adioyned, we can not but be grieuously sory. Secondly fayth embraseth the promise of forgeuenesse of punishementes by Christ. And whilest it is occupyed about these two thynges, so many outwarde signes also do follow. For of sorowe come syghinges & teares, which haue adioyned vnto the confessio of the sinnes committed, whiche is sometymes expressed, & sometymes close. And where there is conceaued an assuraunce of forgeuenesse, there followe Sacrifices. And bycause fayth is the mother of these thynges, and it is conceaued by the worde of GOD, therefore the history declareth that the Israelites did at the length weepe and do Sacrifice after that they had heard the sermon. For (as Paule sayeth) fayth commeth of hearyng, and hearyng by the worde of GOD. Wherefore weepyng and sighing followed fayth by whiche weepyng the sorowe then conceaued in the hearte manifestlye appeared, whiche affection of the mynde it is manifest to haue come by reason of the euill whiche then did oppresse them: and that euill was the anger of GOD, wherewith they felte them selues to be oppressed, and whereunto they knewe by the sermon preached that they were guilty. Neither is this to be passed ouer, that the weepyng of those repenting people was no common or easye weepyng, for so much as of the efficacy and aboundance thereof, the place was called Bochim. Which worde signifieth in the Hebrew tongue, men weepyng.

Thre apt witnesses of repentaunce.

Two principal pointes of repentaunce, which do spryng out of fayth.

Two outward signes followe true repentaunce

The worde of god stirreth vp repentaunce.

What is the grief & sorowe of repentaunce

The Ethnikes do not allowe teares.

The teares, whiche the Ethnike wyse men, do either reproue, or contempne as comming from a softe and womanlyke hearte, God, when they burst forth of true repentaunce, doth exceadingly allowe them, and counteth them as most acceptable,

acceptable: Seneca writeth in hys 64. Epistle to Lucillus, that sometymes we may let teares come from vs, but we must not weepe. He would not therefore haue weepyng to haue the rayne: howbeit somewhat he permitted it, bycause by the violence of nature they are eyzelled, and they burste forth euen of them whiche will not, and do restrayne them, as the same authour testifieth in hys 100. Epistle. But we ought not to cõsider what they would, but what is allowed of our heauenly Father. And he wonderfull louyngly accepteth a contrite and humble hearte, and the teares of suche as are repentaunt. Then it is sayde that they offer Sacrifices, whiche were certain tokens of fayth conceaued of the forgeuenesse of synnes by Christe. For whilest the Sacrifices were a kyllyng, it was set forth, that synne in a sorte was transferred into them. For the Sacrifice bare the punishement, whiche the transgressour ought to haue had. Neither is it to be doubted, but that those Sacrifices whilest they were sacrificed, dyd shadowe the death of Christ. Wherefore those ceremonyes did testifye that the Elders, did constantlye beleue, that by the oblation and death of Christ all their synnes were taken awaye, and already forgeuen them. Neither vndoubtedly can true repentaunce be founde wantyng suche a fayth. For take awaye thys fayth, and it may rather be called desperation, than repentaunce. Furthermore in these Sacrifices were thankes geuen vnto God, whiche would so by Christ be reconciled vnto men.

Seneca.

God accepteth the teares of such as are repentaunt.

What the kyllyng of sacrifices signified.

Take awaye fayth & repentance is desperation.

Some man will say, what shall we do therefore when we repente? we may in dede haue teares as witnesses of our inwarde sorowe: but there remayne no Sacrifices in our tyme, whereby we should testifye the fayth of the forgeuenesse of synnes by Christe. To this I aunswere. That whiche they did then by the bloud of beastes, and death of cattell, we do also nowe in celebratyng the Supper of the Lorde. For there we kepe in memorye the death of Christe by outwarde signes, as he hym selfe hath instituted: and thereof it came that the olde Fathers did so often call the ministration of that Sacramente, a sacrifice. Not bycause (as the Papistes falsely beleue) the Sacrifice offereth Christe vnto God the father, but bycause the memorye of hym beyng once offred is called a remembraunce. Moreouer we must take heede that we persuade not our selues, that God is pacified, either by teares, or by Sacrifices, or by the receauyng of the Sacramentes whiche are but outwarde thynges. For by one onely Sacrifice, by the death I saye of Christ, God is made mercifull vnto vs: the fruite, of whose death euery man applyeth vnto hym selfe by fayth. And of that fayth we haue those outward thynges as witnesses and signes. Wherefore if at any tyme we shall heare either the Fathers or the Scriptures them selues to saye that by teares synnes are wyped awaye, or that by Sacrifices, or Sacramentes GOD is made mercyfull vnto men, so ought we to vnderstande their speaches that the referre the Sacrifices, and Sacramentes both to Christ hym selfe, and also to faith in hym, for so much as all those are signes of hym. Neyther let vs thinke that this is a newe, or an vnaccustomed thing, that the properties, operations, and efficacy of thynges shoulde be transferred to the signes, whiche by the institution of God do note and signifie vnto vs the same thinges. But these thinges left a syde let vs speake somewhat particularlye both of teares and syghing, and also of Sacrifice.

That whiche the old fathers did by the bloud of beastes, the same do we in the supper of the Lord.

Why the Papistes called the supper of the Lord a sacrifice.

God is not pacified by outward thynges of them selues.

The properties of thinges are oftentimes attributed to the signes of the same thigs

Of Teares.

TEares are counted as certayne thynges added and ioyned to repentaunce, and also to prayers. For not onely the repentaunte, when they with a grieuous sorowe detest their synnes, do vse to weepe: but also as many as do earnestly and vehemently contend to obteyne any thyng. Howbeit the tokens of

Teares are added ioyned both to repentaunce & also to prayers

Weeping is not alwayes a token of true repentaunce.

true repentaunce are not alwayes measured by teares. For we reade both in the booke of Genesis, and also in the Epistle to the Hebrues, that Esau also wepte. Teares also do not alwayes declare, that the prayers are of efficacye to obteyne that whiche is desired. For Dauid after his aduoutry sailed and wepte whilest he earnestly prayed that lyfe might be spared vnto hys sonne whiche was borne vnto hym by Bethsabe: whiche thyng neuertheleſſe he could not obteyne, but that teares in those examples had no good successe, there were diuerse causes thereof. For Esau as we shall straight waye declare, mourned not of fayth: And Dauid obtayned not that whiche he desired, bycause GOD had ordayned to gene him that, whiche was much better and more noble than that whiche he required. In deede the sonne whiche was conceiued by aduoutry remayned not a lyue. But of the same mother he after warde had Salomon, who succeded the Father in a peaceable and moste ample kyngdome after his death, yea and he beyng yet lyuyng. But contrarywyſe let us marke howe in Peter teares were tokens of very true repentaunce, and also in that woman, whiche (as the Euangelistes declare) with her teares washed the feete of the Lorde.

Teares do not alwayes declare y the prayers are of efficacy. 2. Sam. 12.

And as touchyng prayers Ezechias was heard, when with weepyng he prayed, and the death which was threatned hym was differred to an other tyme. Iosias also was heard, who prayed vnto GOD with many teares. The 126. Psalme speaketh thus of the fruite of prayer, whiche hath sighyng and teares annexed with it: They wente and wepte, castyng their seedes, but doubteleſſe they shall come, & with ioye shall bryng with them their sheaues. And they which sowe in teares, shall reape in ioye. It is also written in the 7. Psalme: The Lorde hath hearde the voyce of my weepyng. And in the 56. Psalme: The teares of the Saintes are in a manner put before GOD in a bottle or potte, and faythfully sealed in hys booke. Dauid also in hys 95. Psalme stirreth vs vp by these wordes: Let vs weepe before the Lorde which made vs &c. But muche more are we instigated vnto it by the example of Christe, who (as it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrues) with a loude crye, and with teares prayed for vs. Paul also in the 20. of the Actes sayeth, that he had longe serued the Lorde with all humble yeelde and with teares.

What teares are not allowed of God.

Howbeit these I vnderstande not those teares, whiche are by a certayne naturall motion powred out without any affection of the mynde: as it commonly happeneth vnto those, whose eyes are stricken with any stroke, or to those whiche runne either on foote or on horsebacke, and whiche with ouer muche drinke become drunke: for these are naturall accidences, neither pertayne they any thyng to goodnesse. But affections after which teares do followe are these: heauynesse of the mynde, whiche other call sorowe, also gladnesse: and that by contrary reasons. For of sorowe the synewes colde, whereby as the whole bodye is constrayned together, so also are the humours of the hed, whereby it commeth to passe that weepyng by violence burſteth forth. But contrarywyſe in gladnesse the pypes, poores, & wayes about the eyes are loosed, whereby there is made a waye open vnto teares. And vndoubtedly of these two affections we haue a testimony in the booke of Esdras. For there it is written, that when the temple was built, the people wept, but not all for one cause. Parte of the very sorg that the new buylding diuerse muche in dignitie and ornamentes from the first. But contrarywise other reioyced, that the house of GOD, whiche had layen so longe prostrate, was rayſed vp againe. And it is manifest in the holy hystorye, that Ioseph when he sawe hys brother Beniamin whome he loued, wepte for ouer muche ioye. Furthermore there are other affections mixed of sorowe and ioye, whiche make vs to weepe: as a vehement anger, whiche hath by reason of contempt sorowe myngled with it and also some ioye and pleasure, whilest it goeth about reuengement as though it were present. Percy also

After what affections teares do followe.

Anger hath sorowe and pleasure myngled together.

shaketh

shaketh out teares, so that we are troubled and are sory for other mens euils, and are desirous to profite the afflicted. For a vehement desire also casteth out teares. Wherefore the men of God, when in prayeng they earnestly desire to obtayne any thing, easely burst forth into teares.

But what the matter of suche an humour is, we leaue to the consideration of naturall philosophers: for they do not well agree among them selues as touching it. Some thinche that they do come by reason of the gaule beyng troubled, vnto which opinion agreeth the first booke de mirabilibus sacræ Scripturæ, the 2. chap: whiche booke is entituled to be Augustines wryting. Other suppose them to be a certayne kynde of sweate, whiche Plutarche affirmeth, but some do thinke, that euen as from mylke is seperated whay, so also a watrish humour is separated from bloud, wherof the greater parte turneth into wine, and that whiche remayneth is thrust forth into teares. Lastly Seneca in his 100. Epistle to Lucillus thincketh that with the stroke of grief and sorrowe the whole body is almost shaken, and therwithall the eyes, out of whiche eyes, the humour lyeng nighe vnto them is expressed. But howsoeuer this matter be, it litteli pertayneth vnto vs. Wherfore let vs come to the causes, for whiche it beseemeth a godly man to weepe.

The Physicall matter of teares.

Augustine.

Plutarche.

Seneca.

Augustine in his 4. sermon of the first Sonday in Lente writeth ỹ there be two causes in true repentaunce that bryng forth weepyng: one is, for bycause we haue throughe negligence omitted many thynges whiche we ought to haue done, And by ouer muche boldenesse committed many thyngs which we ought not to haue done. These are cõmonly called synnes of committyng and omyttyng, and in the same place he interpreteth thys sentence. (Bringe forth worthy fruictes of repentaunce) after this maner, that we shoulde weepe for the synnes alreadye committed, and we shoulde take hede that we do not the same agayne. Chrisostome also vpon the Epistle to the Collossians, the 12 Homely cõplayneth that the Christians abused teares, and when as otherwyse teares are good creatures of God, they diffame them in adioynyng them to those thynges whiche deserue not weepyng. Synnes onely (sayeth he) are to be weeped for, not onely our owne synnes, but other mens also. Whiche Paul perfourmed in very dede, who in the 2. to the Corinthians: sayde that he was afeard, not to come vnto them, but so that he was defected & compelled to weepe for very many which had fallen and not repented. Yea and he exhorted the same Corinthians, to weepe for other mennes synnes, when in hys first Epistle he sayde, ye are puffed vp, and ye haue not mourned, namely for a grieuous cryme of an incestuous man. And Dauid in his 119 Psalme wryteth, Myne eyes haue brought forth riuers of waters, bycause they haue not kepte thy lawe. That most holy Prophete wepte, bycause of the publicque transgressions of the lawe, and when he sawe the same transgressions euery where perpetrated, he aboundantly poured out teares.

Gostly men do easelyer weepe than laughe.

Synnes of cõmittyng and omittyng.

Chrisostome.

The abuse of teares.

Oure owne synnes & other mens also are to be wept for.

And Ezechiell in the 8. chap: commended certayn whiche wepte for the wicked Actes of other men. And hereof it commeth that when holy men see horrible spectacles of synnes oftentymes to happen, they easelyer burste forth into teares than into laughter. For so Christ died, whom we read to haue oftentimes wepte, but neuer to haue laughed. Whiche selfe same thyng also we must do at thys day, when as so great, and euill an harueste of synnes doth on euery syde offer it selfe vnto vs.

That weeping is not allowed which cõmeth onely of the feelyng of the punishmentes.

Lastly we muste knowe, that all kynd of mournyng is not allowed of god. For some there are, which (as I haue before said) are moued only with ỹ feeling of the punishmẽtes, neyther are they moued any further. To be sory in dede for cause of paines and punishementes, is a certayne degree of true repentaunce: for that ende, GOD both punyshe and also threaten men whilest they lyue here. Howbeit this sorowe is not sufficient, neyther is it by it selfe al-

lowed of god: for it ſpryngeth of ſelfe loue, & is in a maner a thyng vnprofitable vnleſſe it go further: Wherfore the Lorde ſayeth in Zacharie the 7. chap: that the Hebrues had faſted for them ſelues, & not for his glorye: ſo theſe wepe for them ſelues and mourne, not becauſe they haue violated the commaundementes of G O D. Furthermore thou mayſte ſee other ſome ſomewhat worſe than theſe, whiche beyng moued with the ſorowe of troubles do wepe, and among their teares do ſpeake euill of G O D hymſelfe, beyng angry with his Juſtice, as thoughe he were to ſeuere, and a harder Lord than he ought to be, and ſuche mournyng belongeth not to repentaunce, but rather to deſperation. An example therof we haue in the booke of Numb. the 14. chap. Where the people when they heard the bytter relation of the ſpyes, fell to weepyng, and ſpake euill both agaynſt Moyſes and agaynſt God, and determined to returne into Egypt.

Their teares are condemned whiche when they weape ſpeake euill of God.

What mourning pleaſeth God moſt.

The thirde kynde of mournyng, is very acceptable vnto god, and that is when we are grieuouſly ſorye, for that we haue violated hys lawe, and becauſe we ſe a great numbre of others to reſiſte hys moſte holy will. To this kynde of Lamentations did *Ioel* and other holy Prophetes ſtirre vp the people of the Hebrues. Chriſte alſo perſuadeth vs vnto them, when he ſayeth, that they are bleſſed whiche mourne, becauſe conſolation is layed vp for them. The Churche lykewiſe vſeth ſometymes to ſtirre vp the people to theſe kynde of mournyngs, when as at ſometymes it ſet forth publicque repentaunce, whiche althoughe it ought continually to cleaue in the heartes of Chriſtians, yet by reaſon of publicque calamityes, and a certayne ſluggiſheneſſe grafted in vs, is ſometyme to be renewed by the diligence of the Paſtors. Wherfore god in the olde lawe once in a yeare, in the 7. moneth I ſaye, inſtituted a faſt, whereby that daye the people of Iſraell myght for the ſynnes whiche they hadde committed, afflicte them ſelues before god. And to the ende it myght the oftener be done, he dayely ſent hys Prophetes to rebuke the people, as we ſee in this hiſtorye he did, when he commaunded this ſermon whiche we nowe expounde to be made vnto the people.

Repentaunce is ſometymes openly to be renewed,

Of Sacrifice.

Oure actions are either voluntary, or naturall

NOw riſeth ſomewhat to ſpeake of Sacrifice. The definition wherof when we ſearche out, firſt we fynde it to be a certayne action: and that voluntary: whiche I therefore ſaye, becauſe there are founde ſome actions whiche they call naturall: but thoſe for ſo muche as they depende not of humane election, they can not therfore be called voluntary. Furthermore Sacrifice ought to be referred vnto religion: whiche I do for this cauſe adde, to remoue and ſeperate it from oeconomicall and ciuill worke. For domeſticall workes, are profitable to gouerne a family, and ciuil workes ſerue for the adminiſtration of a publicque wealthe. But ſacrifice is a religious action, becauſe it pertayneth to the worſhipping of god and was by hym inſtituted, that we ſhould offre our things vnto hym, and that to this ende, that he might be honoured, and therby (as Auguſtine ſayeth in hys 10. booke de ciuitate Dei the 7. chap:) to cleaue vnto hym with an holy ſocietye. And hereby may we ſee in what ſorte a Sacrifice (if we ſpeake of it as it is properly) differreth from a Sacrament, whiche is alſo a voluntarye and religious worke, and alſo inſtituted by God, that by it the promiſes and good giftes of God ſhould be ſealed and exhibited, becauſe ther we offer nothing vnto God, but he offereth ſignes, and amplifieth his giftes vnto vs, when as thoſe thinges which are offred, ar receaued with a ſound faith.

Some actions are religious & are ſeparated from political & oeconomicall actions.

Auguſtine.

The difference betwene a ſacrifice and a Sacrament.

The definition of a Sacrifice.

But that the thing may be made more plain, let vs in a ſumme gather the definition of a ſacrifice. And that is thus: A ſacrifice is a voluntary and religious action, inſtituted of God, to offer vnto him our thinges, vnto his glorye, and that thereby we may with a ſtrayghter bond be coupled vnto hym in holy ſocietye.

To

A deuision of sacrifices.

To this definitiō of sacrifices, must be added a participation. Certein sacrifices ar propitiatory, & others ar of thankes geuyng. By the first kinde God is made mercifull vnto vs, by the power & iuste merite therof. But of this sorte we haue but onely one, for as much as onely by the death of Christ the eternall father is reconciled vnto vs, and by the merite of this one only oblation the sinnes of the elect are forgeuen. But in the other kinde of sacrifice we geue thankes vnto God, we celebrate his name, and to our power we obey his will. Agayne, wee must know that this kinde of sacrifice consisteth of two partes, whereof the one is an inward part, namely whereby we freely and without compulsion referre vnto God our own wil and our selues wholy, and all that wee haue receaued, and we make them subiect vnto him, and consecrate them vnto his name. The other is an outward part, wherby by some gift, and that visible and sensible, we do as it were by some token and signe, testify what we haue in our hart, and we offer vnto him somwhat of those things, which he himself hath geuen vnto vs. So they in the old time offered first fruites, tenthes, and sacrifices. In whych thinges they dyd not onelye shadowe Christ, the most acceptable sacrifice vnto God, but they testified also, what loue they them selues bare vnto God. By these thinges it appeareth, that the outward oblation or sacrifice is nothing acceptable vnto God, except it haue the inward part annexed with it, which maye testefy it to be in vs in very dede, for bicause they which do make any such oblation do most filthyly lye vnto God. For to testifye that which is not so, pertayneth to deceite, and seing that a lye is vituperable in all thinges, & euery wher, much more pernicious & detestable is it, if it be vsed before God. Hereof it came that god often times said by his Prophets, that the sacrifices of the Iewes wer not acceptable vnto him, and chiefely for this cause, namely bicause they dissembled to honour him with lyps and outward signes, when as they wer farre from him in hart. He requireth therfore the inward part by it selfe, but as for the outward part, he hath no other wise commaunded, but so that it be offered with the inward part ioyned together with it: other wise if it be naked & alone, it is both vnacceptable, and also highly displeaseth him.

Sacrifice propitiatory is onely one.

A sacrifice hath an outwarde part and an inward part.

The outwarde sacrifice with out ỹ inwards pleaseth not god.

Why ỹ sacrifices of the Iewes wer some tymes vnacceptable vnto God

If thou wilt aske, what be those outward workes, wherby we may testify the inward sacrifice: I could rehearse a great many, the killing of beastes, the oblations of first fruites and tenthes, which the fathers had, whilest they were vnder the law. To them are added outward wordes, wherin we geue thankes vnto god, we celebrate his praises, and we make our prayers. To these must be added duties of charity toward our neighbours, mortification of the affections of the flesche, and obedience vnto the commaundementes of god. All these latter kinde of sacrifices are as well common vnto vs, as to the fathers. These thinges we geue vnto god, to beare witnes of our faith, and obeysaunce towarde hym. And seing that it is not to be doubted of those first, which wer offred in the time of the law, but that they were in their time sacrifices, least there should be anye ambiguitye had of the other which wee mencioned in the latter place, whether they ought to be counted in the place of sacrifices, we wil confirme it by testimonies of the scriptures. It is written in the. 50. psalme: Offer vnto god the sacrifice of praise. And in the. 51. psalme: A sacrifice vnto god is a troubled and a broken hart. &c. In the. 12. to the Romanes: I desire you for the mercy of god, that ye would set forth your bodies a liuely sacrifice, holy. &c. Micheas saith in the. vi. chap. I will tell thee O man, what god requireth of thee: Doo iudgement, loue mercy, walke reuerently and modestly before God. Isay also, and the rest of the Prophetes haue in many places confirmed this sentence.

The outwardes sacrifices of the Hebrews.

Outward kinde of sacrifices cōmon to vs & to the fathers.

Neither is it to be passed ouer, that among these outward thinges which are offered as sacrifices vnto god, there are certaine degrees and an order appointed. For god himselfe testifieth, that he farre aboue the other preferreth mercye and charity toward our neighbours. Wherefore in Mathew the. 9. is thys place

In order of certayne degres amonge outward sacrifices

brought out of the Prophet Hosea: I will mercy and not sacrifice. Moreouer, it is written in the. 1. of Samuel: Obedience is better than sacrifices. These words teache vs, that among outward oblations, the killing of beastes, and tenthes, and fruites in the old time held the last place. But the principall part was geuen to the obedience which was shewed vnto the woord of God, to charity towarde our brethren, to thankes geuing and to praiers.

The end of sacrifices.

Neither is the end of sacrifices lightly to be passed ouer, but with diligence to be cõsidered, especially as Augustine hath expressed it, namely that we might with an holy fellowship cleaue vnto God. For without it our workes thoughe they be neuer so excellent, can be no sacrifices. Yea and the death it self of Christ which was the chiefe and onely sacrifice pleased god for this cause especially, bicause Christ to no other end offred himselfe, but to fulfill the will of his father, and to obey him as it was meete. But to these thinges which I haue sayd I will adde an other thing which Augustine writeth in his Epistle ad Deo gratias the 3. question. Namely that in euery sacrifice god requireth twoo certaine thinges. First that our oblations be made vnto the true god: from which intent for as much as Idolatrers do wander fro, whatsoeuer they do in their rites, turneth to their own destruction: The other thing is, that the manner of the oblations consist of the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and come not of our owne inuentions and fayninges.

Why the death of Christ so much pleased God.

Augustine.

Two thinges ar required in euery sacrifice.

Here ariseth a doubt, bicause we haue put a difference betwene a sacrament and a sacrifice: and yet if the elders in their oblations and sacrifices had the self same thing, that we haue when we celebrate the supper of the Lorde, whych no man doubteth but to be a sacrament: How shall that be true that we said before that there is a difference betwene a sacrifice and a sacrament, seing that of necessity the sacrifices of the Elders must also be Sacraments? To this I answer that the reasons of these thinges ar diuers, and yet that letteth not but that one thing may be both a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. For no man doubteth but that philosophy and strength of the body are diuers thinges, which neuertheles may be sene both in one mã: So also it happeneth here, that one thing may be both a sacrifice & a sacrament, although the reason of a sacrament and a sacrifice be diuers. When the supper of the Lorde is celebrated, in that the body and blood of Christ are by faith & spirit geuen vnto vs to be receaued, and the promise of that coniunction which we haue with Christ, is sealed, so that we are the members of his bodye, in this respect I say, it is a sacrament, and also so called, bicause in that action god geueth hys gyftes vnto vs. But in that by the same action we do celebrate the memory of the death of Christ, we render thankes vnto him for the giftes which we haue receaued, we consecrate & offer our selues vnto god, it is, & may be called a iust sacrifice, wherby we geue most acceptable oblations vnto god himself. This self same thing may we se in the killing of the sacrifices which wer in the old time done before god: for they wer both sacraments, wher in Christ was geuen to the men in the old time to be receaued of them by faith, & by which they cõmunicated before the Lord in eating & drinking together. Al these things I say pertained to the reasõ of a sacramẽt. And yet the same wer also sacrifices, whẽ as ther thei did both consecrate theirs & them selues vnto god.

Whither the self same thing may be both a sacrament and a sacrifice.

The supper of the lord is both a sacrament & a sacrifice.

The killing of sacrifices were both sacramẽts and also sacrifices.

But to retourne to the history, when as very many kinde of sacrifices were commaunded in the law, namely for synnes and for faultes, peaceofferings also and burntofferings, it is vncertain which of these the Israelites vsed at this present: for the history declareth it not. But by as much as maye be coniectured by those thinges which are spoken, he should not erre in my iudgement, whiche should affirme that they sacrificed for synne. For to this ende pertaineth both the sermon that was preached, and also the weeping of the people, namelye to haue forgeuenes of their synnes, and to retourne againe into fauour with god.

But some peraduenture wyl marualye, why they durst sacrifice there where the

the tabernacle of God was not fired, when as in Deuter. it was moſt manifeſtly forbidden by a law, that the people ſhould not ſacrifice in anye other place. But as touching that is to ſay we muſt underſtand, that it was not of efficacye till ſuch time as the Arke and Tabernacle of the Lord had a fired and ſtable place. Which came not to paſſe before Salomon had built the moſt noble Temple at Ieruſalem. Wherefore before that time, we reade that they ſacrificed in wandering and uncertain places, namely whereſoeuer any occaſion of religion was geuen. Furthermore they which thinke that this man of God which preached this ſermon was Phinees, do ſay that it is not to be marueiled, that ſacrifices were offered here at Bochim as the hiſtory teacheth. For it might eaſely be that the ſelfe ſame man which preached the ſermon, offered ſacrifice in the name of the whole people for fynne, for that he exerciſed the office of prieſthoode. For he ſucceeded Eleazer his parent, according to the promiſe of God.

Whether it were lawfull to ſacrifice there where the tabernacle of God was not.

And by theſe things which haue ben intreated of in this place, we may gather what thinges ought chiefly to be obſerued in an holy aſſembly. The word of god before al thinges muſt be preached vnto the people, thereby to allure the hearers to repentance, namely to acknowledge the ſinnes which they haue committed, and to repent them therof. Then muſt they proceede to the adminiſtration of the ſacramentes, wher the faithful may be made more aſſures that their ſinnes are by Chriſt forgeuen them, they may alſo geue thankes vnto God, and with many and ſundry praiſes celebrate and cal vpon him.

What thinges ought to be obſerued in an holy aſſembly.

6 And when Ioſua had ſent the people away, the children of Iſrael went euery man into his inheritance, to poſſeſſe the lande.

7 And the people ſerued the Lord all the dayes of Ioſuah, and all the daies of the Elders, that outliued Ioſua, which had ſene all the great workes of the Lord, that he dyd for Iſrael.

This narration is therefore put in, to declare how long the Iſraelites kept the ſincere and true worſhipping of God. And it is ſayde, that when they were come into the land of Chanaan, they did their duty wel as long as Ioſua lyued, & as long as the Elders wer remaining, which had ſene the wonderful workes of God, which he had wrought for the Iſraelites ſake. And vndoubtedlye it had bene vnaptly if this hiſtory ſhould haue declared the tranſgreſſion of the Children of Iſrael, and ſhould not haue noted the tyme wherein it happened. Aptly therfore is the death of Ioſua and the Elders which lyued in his tyme, repeated in this place, and afterwarde is mencioned that an other age of men ſucceeded, which knew not God, neither had they ſene his workes. Wherefore the Iſraelites eaſely fel from the lawful worſhipping of God.

We gather by this place that the repentaunce of the Hebrues before declared (which happened after the death of Ioſua, when the publike wealth was gouerned by a Senate, and the enemies wer by manye battailes deſtroyed, & compelled to paye tribute vnto the Iſraelites whiche had conquered them) bridled and reſtrained the people a long time, from falling into more grieuous ſynnes. They had ſinned in dede, as we haue now heard, in ſparing the Chananites, and not aboliſhing their wicked idolatry. But afterward when they had deſired and obtained pardon of ſo great a crime, they abſtained a long time from the worſhipping of Idols, and the repentaunce now mencioned brought forth his fruit.

The profite of the repentance before mencioned of ỹ people.

Some peraduenture will marueyle, howe chaunce, that they ſtyll kept the league which was wickedlye made with the Chananites, & ouerthrew not their deteſtable worſhippinges, Temples and Idols. Andoubtedly if their repentance had bene true and perfect, they ought faythfully to haue amended that wherein they ſynned: for among other thinges thoſe are counted the iuſt fruites of repentaunce. I haue nothing els to anſwer here, but that I thinke they dyd not thys, bicauſe

Why the Iſraelites after their repentance did not breake the league made with the Chananites.

God forgeueth sinnes but he doth not by & by restore the good thinges taken away.

bicause they wanted force, luckelye to fight against those nations. For God, to punish the transgression and violating of his law, had now withdrawen their strength and audatity. And although they repented, yet he did not by and by restore vnto them their old strengthes. For he dieth in deede straight waye to receaue repentaunt synners into fauour, but he doth not by and by restore those thinges which he by his iust iudgement hath for sinnes taken away. This maye we easely see in the fal of our first Parentes. For the euils therby comming vnto mankinde, wer not taken away of God. Yea and those commodities & moste quiet state, whiche they had in Paradise, men neuer afterwarde recouered, although God hath reconciled vnto himselfe those that beleue in Christ. For David had woord brought him by Nathan the prophet, that his sinne was forgeuen him, yet he could not escape, but that his sonne which was borne vnto him, perished, and he himselfe fel into grieuous miseries. So God woorketh sumtimes, partly to keepe discipline, and partly to make manifest vnto men, how much he detesteth sinnes. Againe more and more to stirre vp repentaunce, and that an earnest repentaunce of wicked actes committed in suche as are renued. But let vs returne vnto the history, wherin certain thinges, which happened vnder Iosua are more fully repeated.

Iosua sent away the people twice from hym.

Now (saith he) He had let the people go, and euery man went into his inheritaunce, to possesse the land. The Israelites were twice thus sent away by Iosua. First when the land of Chanaan was deuided by lottes. For at that time euery Tribe went to possesse those places which fel vnto them by lot. Iosua also sent away the people when he should dye. For he had called together vnto him the whole multitude of the Israelites, by his last sermon to admonish and exhort them. Which he preached in such sorte, as it is described in his booke the. 24. chap. And as it is most likely, we ought to vnderstande that sending away in this place, to be the same which was done last. Seing that it is written in the place now alledged, that when the people had heard the woords of Iosua, & renued the couenante of god, they wer sent awaye, and euerie one went to his owne possession. After that is mencioned the deathe of Iosuah euen with as many woordes, as it is now repeated.

Iosua when he should dye executed the office of a good prince.

Here let vs note, that Iosua being almost at the poynt of death executeth the office of a good Prince, in exhorting y people openly, & that with many woords, not to depart from the sincere religion. In which thing he with a godly and holy study imitated Moyses, whom he succeded, who (as we reade toward the end of Deut.) behaued himselfe after the same sort. Iacob also the most holye Patriarche, euen now ready to dye, called vnto him al his children, and seriously, and with great holines preached vnto them. And that Princes and Kinges shoulde cōmodiously do the same, it is prescribed vnto them in Deuter. that they should be most studious in the law of God. For by that meanes were they made apt to admonish the people, and to exhort them faithfully to obserue the commaundementes of the Lord. The Israelites when they wer sent away by Iosua, are sayd to haue gone to possesse the land, bicause as yet ther remained very many places for euery Tribe not yet conquered. Of which places when Iosua was dead, and in the time of the Elders they obtained certain, when as they got the victories in battailes, as we haue heard frō the beginning. After which victories the first transgression followed, vnto which succeded the repentaunce before mencioned. But they abstained from idolatry as long as Iosua lyued, and all the time of the Elders, which wer equall with him, and ouerlyued him, who also had seene the wonderfull woorkes of the Lord. For at that time sound doctrine, and the woord of the Lord testified by notable victories, wer of great force.

That good Magistrate by whom the publike wealthe was then gouerned, had had experience of the wonderfull power of the woord of God, and therefore he continually laboured openly to inculcate & vrge it vnto the people of Israel, which

which thing could not want iuſt fruit. Experience declareth, that almoſt in euery age, the people frame themſelues to the example of their Magiſtrates. For if the Princes be zelous both of religion and godlines, their ſubiectes alſo wil embrace godlineſſe and religion. But cõtrarywiſe if Princes liue vngodly and diſſolutely, the people will likewyſe deſpiſe religion and lyue filthily. Moreouer, let the Magiſtrate as long as he is in authority, chiefly haue a care to thys, that the holy miniſtery be perfect, and that it teache and adminiſter ſound doctrine, and pure rites, and that he ſuffer not ſuperſtitions or wycked opinions to bee thruſt into the church. But euen as he prouideth that other Artificers abuſe not their ſciences: ſo let him diligently beware ỳ the Miniſters of the church do not either corrupt the godly rites, or falſifie ỳ holy doctrine. We ſee that ſomtimes it happeneth, that the miniſtery in the Church is very laudable and pure. But yf an vngodly, and wicked Magiſtrate obtaine the chief rule of thinges, that holy miniſtery is eaſely deſpiſed of the people, Wherfore it is made of leſſe efficacy, than it would haue bene if it myght haue had the Magiſtrate a furtherer of it. Wherfore we muſt with moſt feruent prayers deſire, that ſeing the church hath now by the benefit of God in many places recouered godly doctrine and ſincere Miniſters, that it would pleaſe God to geue vnto it Magiſtrates which may be moſt zelous of godlines and religion.

People frame themſelues to the example of their princes

It profiteth much to ỳ Eccleſiaſticall miniſtery to haue the magiſtrate a helper.

If a man ſhould aſke whether the people may be good and godly, although the Magiſtrate and Miniſter of the Church be corrupt. I anſwer, that ſomtyme they may be, as touching ſome: as we ſee to happen in the Papacy, where ſome godly and holy men are euery where found, which neuertheles lyue vnder wicked, corrupt, and vngodly ciuyl Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the church. Howbeit publike exercyſes of ſound religion and godlines, can not vniuerſally be had wythout them.

8 And Joſua the Sonne of Nun, the ſeruaunt of the Lorde, dyed, when he was an hundred and ten yeares olde.
9 And they buryed him in the border of hys inheritance, in Thimnath-Heres in mount Ephraim, on the North ſyde of the hyl Gaas.
10 And euen ſo alſo all that generation were put vnto their fathers and ther aroſe an other generation after them, which neither knew the Lord, nor yet the woorke which he had done for Iſrael.

Joſua lyued not ſo long as Moyſes.

Ioſua lyued not ſo long tyme as dyd Moyſes, whom he by the commaundement of the Lord ſucceded, for Moyſes was an. 120. yeares old whē he dyed. But the ſame thinges which we reade in this place concerning the death and burtall of Ioſua, are by as many woordes expreſſed in his own booke the. 24. chap. The place wher they buryed him namely in mount Ephraim was his owne poſſeſſion. For of that Tribe came Ioſua. And the Elders prouided to haue Funeralles and Sepulchres in their owne poſſeſſions. For which cauſe it is written in the booke of Ioſua toward the ende, that the bones of Ioſeph, which the Iſraelites brought with them out of Egipt, were buryed in Sichem, in that fielde Iaye, which Iacob had aſſigned as proper vnto Ioſeph. And it followeth: Eleazer alſo the ſonne of Aaron dyed, whom they buryed in a hyll that pertayned to Phinehes his ſonne, which hil was geuen him in mount Ephraim. But as touchyng the name of the Citye, in that it is here called Thimnath-Hæres, Rabi Selomoh toward the end of the booke of Ioſua wryteth that Thimnath is as much as Temunath, which is an Image. And for ſo much as Chæres ſignifieth the Sunne, it declareth that the Chyldren of Iſrael placed the Image of the Sunne vpon the Sepulchre of Ioſua, that it myght remayne as a monument of the myracle by hym wrought. For he commaunded the Sunne and the Moone to ſtande ſtyll, vntyll

The Elders had ſepulchres in theyr owne poſſeſſions.

R. Selomoh. Why ỳ figure of the ſun was ſet vpon the ſepulchre of Ioſua.

vntil he had finished the battaile. That therfore so noble a worke might not be had in oblivion, he supposeth that his tombe was adourned with those tokens. That this word Chæres signifieth the Sunne, Esay the.19. chap. and Iob the.9. doo testifye. Howbeit, this is to be considered in the booke of Iosua, that the name of this place doth vary. For in the booke of Iosua it is written Timuna Serech, which yet R. D. Kimhi thinketh to be al one, the letters beyng somwhat transposed, which is a familiar and a thing much vsed in the hebrewe toung, as they that are learned in the same wel know.

D. Kimhi.

It is lawfull to set forth the benefites of god by certain tokens and outwarde signes.

Neither was it absurdly or wickedly done of the Israelites so to adourne the tombe of Iosua. For it is meete that the benefites of God be set forth by tokens and certain monumentes. They had not at that tyme the aboundaunce and vse of bookes, which we haue. And therfore they vsed certain outwarde symboles and tokens to helpe and to renewe their memorye. Iacob erected a stone in the place where he had seene God. Moyses dyd set vp twelue pylers there, where he made a league betwene God and the people. The same was done also, when the people were passed ouer Iordane: for they gathered twelue stones out of the chanell of the riuer, which should be a token to their posteritye, that God had by a great miracle dried vp the waters of Iordan, when they passed ouer it. For by reason of our naturall ingratitude we do easely forgette the benefites of god, wherfore yf the figure of the sunne were set vpon the tombe of Iosua to testifye the miracle, wherin god at the prayers of Iosuah had cõmaunded it to stand that therby the hebrewes might by his conduicte and leading obtayne a perfect and noble victorie, this I say semeth not to be done eyther vngodly or absurdely for ỹ Image of the Sunne was not therfore put ther, to bee worshipped, neither wer there any holly assemblyes in that place, wherin ye was. Here by it appeareth how a good and godly magistrate may wonderfully profite the healthe of the people. For the Israelites departed not frõ the worshipping of god, so long as Iosua and the wyse and godly seruatours lyued. Aptly therfore is it written in ỹ Proverbes the.29. chap: When the vngodly beare rule, the people mourne. And in the same booke.20. chap: a wyse king destroyeth the wicked. And in the 29. a iuste king setteth vp the land. Reason also teacheth that it is so, for the people do therfore endeuour them selues to please their princes, to fynd the more fauour at their handes: and therefore they frame them selues to their maners and fashians. And also bicause the people is by lawes and decrees compelled to obey the will and sentence of the princes.

A godly magistrate wonderfully profiteth the safety of the people.

They which dye are sayde to be adioyned vnto the fathers.

They wer put vnto their fathers. It is a kind of speche much vsed in the scriptures, that they which do dye, ar sayed to be adioyned to their fathers. For as touching the bodye they ar buried with them, and as concerning ỹ soule they ar adioyned vnto them. For if they haue lyued godly, they lyue with their holy elders, but yf vngodly, they ar tormẽted with their wicked progenitours, if thei haue had any suche.

Howe some are sayde not to knowe the lord.

And there arose an other generation after them, which knew not the lorde. Not vndoubtedlye that any of them wer so rude, that altogether they knew not god. For the constante administration of the world & the vndisturbed order of thynges do testifie & crye that ther is a god. But this knowledge, wherof the history now speaketh, is vnderstand to be that which hath annexed with it allowyng, fayth and obedience. And they are thus sayd to be ignorant of god, bycause they obeyed him not, they did not put their hope and confidence in hym, nether wer they zelouse to worshippe hym purelye and sincerely. Augustine in his questions vpon this booke the 15. question affirmeth that it is playnely expressed in what sort the Israelites knew not god, namely in those excellent and wonderful workes, by which their elders came vnto the knowledge of the lord. We rede also of Pharao, ỹ he (as it is writtẽ in Exodus) answered vnto Moyses,

Augustine.

that

that he knewe not the God of the Hebrues and the Lord, eyther bicause he was not minded to hearken vnto his commaundements, or els, though after a sorte he knewe him, yet he knewe not by certaine proofe that he was the God of the Hebrewes.

11 And the children of Israel dyd euyll in the syght of the Lorde, and serued Baalim.
12 And they forsooke the Lorde, the God of their Fathers, whych brought them out of the land of Egipt: & followed straunge Gods, euen the Gods of the nations that wer round about them, & bowed them selues vnto them. Wherefore they angred the Lord.
13 They forsooke, I say, the Lorde, and serued Baal & Astharoth.

Vnder those vngodlye Princes which succeeded the good, the people grieuously fell. Not bicause that they before had not also transgressed: for that (as we haue shewed) they grieuously synned in sparing of the Chananites, but nowe they began to contaminate and defile them selues with the superstitions and idolatry of those Nations.

R. Leui demaundeth in this place, how it could be, that none of those should be on lyue, which had sene the woorkes of God which hee hadde done for Israel, when as from their comming out of Egipt to this present time there were but 67. yeares passed. He answereth, that there might easely be some found, which had sene those woorkes: yea all men confesse that Phineches lyued at that tyme, but there were but fewe suche, and there were not many wise men, and whych could rightly and with authority instruct the young of those things, which they had sene. And it might be that the scripture spake not these woordes of al ỳ people, but onely of the new Magistrates which succeded. Neither ought we hereby to vnderstand that all the Israelites were become Idolatrers, but the moste part of them, and which was more haynous, they openly professed wicked worshippinges, when as neuertheleste some, although but few, and peraduenture secretly, claue vnto the true God.

All ỳ Israelites became not idolatrers.

Neither maye wee gather hereby, that myracles of them selues haue the power to be sufficient, either to bring in, or to retaine godlynes. For Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, Zimri, Achan, and the ten spies were without dout at the doing of the myracles which were done as well in Egipt as in the wildernes: and yet neuertheleste they fell from God, and defiled them selues wyth moste grieuous wicked actes. Moreouer they whiche when Moyses was absent, woorshypped the golden Calfe, and were consecrated to Baal-Peor the God of the Moabites, they I say vndoubtedly beheld the wonders, whereby God defended the people from their enemies, and helped them in diuers necessities, and yet for al that they became Idolatrers, & committed wicked worshippings. Euen so came it to passe of the Scribes and Pharisays: for the history of the gospell declareth that they saw the wonderful woorkes of Christ, and yet they wonderfullye contemned and maliciously despised him. Wherefore we must thinke that this is not now rehersed of our history as a lawful excuse of the transgressiõ which afterward happened. For if by that meanes the act of the Hebrewes coulde be defended, then might the superstitious & Idolatrers of our time defend their cause: for they might say, miracles haue now ceased, and those thinges which Christe or his Apostels did, are not in our time sene.

Miracles are not sufficient to persuade godlines.

They which sawe not ỳ miracles in the old tyme, are not therfore excused from infidelitie.

But we in this sorte answer to them which doo thus excuse their infidelitye, namely that the miracles of Christ & the Apostles which were done once, ought also to suffice vs: for for our sakes were they put in writing, that wee readyng them, myght receaue fruite by them, beyng assured that they were ministred, not onely to them which lyued at that tyme, but also vnto vs.

The miracles which wer don in the old tyme profite vs also.

so might it be aunswered to the Hebrewes, of whom we nowe entreate: what though ye haue not sene the miracles which wer done in the time of your Fathers: Haue not Moyses and Iosua faithfullye written all those thinges whych God hath done for your nations sake: Yea, and your Fathers which were present and saw them, haue trulye declared them vnto you, when ye were yet lytle ones. The scripture therfore doth not so speake at this preſẽt, to excuse that new generation. But to declare what pretence they made, when they departed from the worshipping of the God of their Fathers, and what occasion they tooke, and also to set forth that they were of a corrupt and naughtye nature, which when their good Paistors and Magistrates were dead, became vnmindfull of all true godlynes. For it is very likely, that they as they were impudent so also openly they boasted abroade those or such lyke woordes. We ar in doubt neither do we easely beleue that the Lord did so many miracles as our Fathers haue both written and also shewed vs. Who can tell whether they were so or no: we vndoubtedlye know not whether the Lorde or anye other God hath for our saluation sake caused such or so great thinges to be done. And so they leauing faith and forsaking the true God dyd euyll in the syght of the Lorde. By this hebrewe phrase it is declared that God was marueilouslye offended wyth thys their transgression. As contrarywise they are called good thinges in the sight of the Lord which doo exceedingly please him. This is the common and receaued exposition.

How thinges in the scripture ar called good or euell in the sight of the lord

Howbeit if we more narrowly marke this kinde of speeche, we shall easylye perceaue that it declareth some other thing vnto vs. Namely that those thinges which the Iewes dyd, were allowed by mans iudgement, and peraduenture had a goodly shew, but yet in Gods iudgement, they were most detestable. And withoute doubte that people synned a great deale more haynouslye in thys last transgression, than they did in the first. For there they onelye omitted the ouerthrowing of ymages and aultares, but here they worshipp straunge Gods. Neither durst they do this onely, but they forsooke also the worshipping of the true God. Wherein vndoubtedly they were to be counted muche more corrupt than were the Samaritanes. For they although they worshipped their Idoles, yet therwithall they ioyned the worshipping of the true God as it is declared in the second booke of Kinges. And in how euyll part God taketh it thus to bee reiected, he hath expressed by Ieremy the Prophet in the .2. chapter: Where hee commaunded the Hebrewes to go and looke vpon other Nations, and see whether they haue so vnconstantly chaunged the Gods of their Fathers. Whiche Nations if they were knowen constantlye to haue retayned their old worshippings although they were vngodly, Israel might thereby learne not to abiect their old rites and customes of their Fathers. This wycked acte moreouer was for thys cause much more detestable, bicause they had newly receaued the benefit of their deliuery out of Egipt, and had also made a couenaunt with god, first by Moses, and afterward by Iosua, when he was euen at the point of death. Furthermore bicause they began to worshipp the gods of those nations, which they had nowe eyther driuen oute of the lande of Chanaan, or els made tributaries vnto them selues. What a diuelish madnes was this to count those gods for true goddes, which could not vndoubtedly against the Lord, helpe euen those whyche worshypped them.

In amplifieng of the idolatrye of ẽ Hebrewes

In outwarde signe of worshipping.

And in this hebrew woord Veïschtechou is properly noted, that they threwe them selues to the ground, & prostrated them selues before those idoles: by which outward signe is declared the adoration. For as the bodye prostrateth it selfe, so also the soule is declared to be subiect vnto the Idole. And this woorde Bealim is expressed in the plurall nomber. But the Hebrewes sometymes take it for the syngular number. And althoughe by the strengthe of the woorde it shoulde bee translated Lordes, yet wee muste in many places tourne it Lord. For thys

woorde

woorde Baal signifieth a Lorde, a Husbande, a Patrone, and suche like. Thys woord Astharoth is lykewise spoken in the plurall number. And the Idole is so called, bicause it stoode to be woorshipped in fourme of a Sheepe, for a Sheepe in hebrew is called Aschtor. And as it appeareth by the first booke of Kynges, it was an Idole of the Zidonians, wherunto Salomon by the instigation of his wyues buylded sometimes a Chappell. But what God the Ethnikes woorshypped in the fourme of a Sheepe, I do not very well knowe. How be it this I am sure of, that Iupiter Ammon was figured like a Ramme. And Augustine who being of Affrica, had the Affricke speche perfectly, which (as we haue taught in an other place) differeth not much from the hebrew toung, for they of Affricke are Phenitians, for they came from Tyre and Sydon. Wherefore Virgil called Dido a Sidonian. Augustine (I say) writeth that the Affricians called Iupiter by the name of Baal, as the Lord of all. And by this name Astharoth are signified Iunos, bicause that Asther in that toung signifieth Iuno. But why that woorde was spoken in the plurall number, he thincketh it was therefore done, bicause there were very many ymages of that Goddesse. And I will adde, bicause those gods had obtayned sundry properties and reasons, as well by their offices appointed vnto them, as by the places where they woorshypped. For Iupiter was called Ammon, Stator, Pheretrius, and Hospitalis. Iuno also was called Lucina, Argiua, Samia. &c.

What Baal & Bealim signifi. Astharoth.

Iupiter Ammō was expressed by the figure of a Ramme. Augustine.

Virgil.

What Baal & Astharoth wer with the Affricians.

I thinke we may gather by this history, that the nature of man is so fraple and weake, that it can not long abyde in the sincere and pure woorshipping of God. Wherby it commeth, that religion hath continually nede of repairing and purging. For the Israelites, as soone as their good Prince and godlye Magistrate was dead, fell straight way from true godlynes. Moreouer, the same oftentimes happened vnder their kinges: yea and in our Churche it happeneth after the same sort. For we haue seene, and we haue with great griefe had experience, that the Apostles being taken away, yea, and when they were yet lyuyng, ther sprang foorth many and sundry errours. Which vndoubtedlye is no marualle, when as Christ hath foretolde vs, that after the good seede was sowen, straight way the enuious man came, which sowed tares therwithall.

Religiō nedeth continually to be purged.

Of Idolatry.

But bycause we haue now heard of the transgression of the Hebrewes how they polluted them selues with Idolatry, I thinke it good to speake a fewe woordes of thys detestable synne.

The woord is a greeke woord, and is compounded of λατρεύειν and εἴδωλα and it is nothing els but the worshipping of Idoles. And εἴδωλον is deriued of this woord εἶδος, which signifieth a fourme, or as you woulde saye a shape. But an Idole is (as wee nowe speake of it) euerye fourme or shape whyche menne haue inuented vnto them selues to signifye or expresse God. And as there are found many and sundry matters of these fourmes, so also are ther diuers kindes of Idoles. Wherfore whether they be stones, wood, or mettals, by which God is outwardly expressed there to be woorshipped, these are grosse and most manyfest Idoles. There may be also a spirituall matter: which then happeneth, when those formes and images are nothing els but the conceauinges of the hart and minde, which men make for them selues to represent God, not as the Scripture declareth him, but rashly, and according to their own fantasy. Wherfore according to the conditions of the matter an Idole is deuided into two kindes, ỳ one is outward & visible, which runneth into the senses of man, and the other is inward, that is, wrought in the inward partes of the mynde. There are also twoo partes of religious woorshipping. The one is inwarde, wherein wee beleue in God hymselfe, wee put our confidence in him, wee geue him thankes, wee submyt our selues and ours vnto hym, and religiously by prayers call vpon hym. Of these actions vndoubtedly the inwarde adoration consisteth.

The Etimologye of Idolatry.

What an Idol is

A diuision of Idoles by matters.

An Idole visible & inuisible.

Two partes of religious worshipping.

Of what thinges inwarde woorshipping consisteth.

Of what thinges outward worshipping cõsisteth.

But the other part hath outward notes, whereby we expresse our hart, in prostrating the body, in bowing the knee, in vncouering the head, in speaking and in exercising rites and ceremonies instituted by God. And this is an outwarde woorshipping or adoration. But wee must note that suche outwarde signes of bowing the body or knees, and suche other lyke are also geuen vnto creatures, to Princes I saye and Kinges which doo in earth represent vnto men the authority of God, and are his Vicars in the administration of thinges. And without doubt they are then to bee esteemed nothing els, but certaine sure testimonies, by which as many as are Subiectes, doo truelye and from the hart confesse, that they in the name of God wyll be subiect and obey such powers, as much as shalbe by godlynes and the woord of God lawfull.

Outward sygnes of adoratiõ are also geuen vnto Princes

But we must there take heede, least in our inward iudgement we attribute more vnto them than is meete, or looke for greater thinges at theyr handes than their power and might is able to performe. Otherwise we should not auoyde idolatrye. Wherefore if a man in bowing himselfe to his Prince, would testifye that his Prince coulde not erre, and that it were lawfull for him to doo any thing, and as he lust him selfe to commaunde whatsoeuer pleased him, that man vndoubtedly should be counted an Idolatrer, and should commit the same both inwardly and outwardlye. And whether the hirelinges of the Pope vse this, we may hereby easely gather, bicause they do so throw them selues downe at his feete, that there testify that they wyll be subiect vnto him as to the onely Vicar of Christ in earth, as to the vniuersall Bishoppe of the Church, as to him which cannot erre in decreeing doctrine of fayth, and finally, to whom onelye it is lawfull to discerne as bee lyst him selfe of religion and Christian discipline.

What we must beware of whẽ we geue vnto Princes signes of adoration.

The Papistes commit Idolatrye towarde their Pope.

Note a certain sure rule.

Wherefore let this be euery where a sure and firme rule, that these outwarde submissions of the body doo then pertayne vnto Idolatry, when as they are testimonies of the mynd, attributing more vnto a creature than is mete, or which are onely proper vnto God. For they are not referred vnto God him selfe, or to the obedience of his commaundementes, but to bayne formes & shewes, which we haue fayned vnto our selues, and conceaued in our mynde.

Hereby may we also gather, that the inuocations of Saintes which the Papistes vse, are Idolatrous. For they geue vnto sayntes that which longethonely vnto God, namelye that they being absent shoulde heare our prayers, or that they can be present at one time, either euery wher, or els in many places, therby to succour those which call vpon their names in diuers partes of the worlde.

Inuocatiõs of the dead pertayne to idolatry.

Augustine, A creature can not be in many places at one tyme.

Augustine in his Epistle to Dardanus durst not affirme that, no not euen of the soule of Christ, namely that at one time it might be in many places Wherefore that which Christ said vnto the theefe: This daye shalt thou be with me in Paradise, he expoundeth the same to be vnderstand as touching his diuine nature, for that the bodye of Christ should the same daye be layde in the sepulchre, and his soule should be in hell. Neither coulde that soule be both in Paradise and in hell at one time Basilius also de spiritu sancto, & also Didimus would not graunt this vnto the Angels, that they can at one time be in diuers places, affirming that that soly is to be graunted vnto the onely nature of God. But they which do cal vpon saintes, they beleue that they doo heare them, and that they are present with them, which without doubt is to attribute more vnto them than the strength and order of a nature created can suffer.

Basilius, Didimus.

But here they trifle and say, that they doo not thinke so, but that God hym selfe which heareth their prayers doth open vnto the Sayntes, what is required of them. But thus I aunswer, that they deceaue both them selues, and also others. For they knowe not whether God wyll shewe vnto the Sayntes their vowes or prayers. Wherefore the prayers which they poure out cannot leane vnto fayth, which ought to be certaine and without doubt.

They bryng also a fayned lye of the glasse (as they say) of the diuine essense, wherin

wherein the Saincts beholde all thynges. But this they? fayning hath no foundation in the holy Scriptures. Furthermoze, seing they will needes haue it so, admitte it were as they fayne it to bee. Yet shoulde they bee compelled to graunte that that they? glasse hath not a naturall rep?esentyng but a voluntarye, so that there the Saincts can see that onely which GOD will haue sene: Otherwise without any exception the Saincts myghte there see all thynges: whiche is both false, and also moste manifestlye resisteth the holy Scriptures. Bycause, of that daye (sayeth the Lozde) neyther doe the Aungelles knowe, whiche yet doe see the face of the Father. Mozeouer the Papistes doe not after thys manner call vppon Saincts: foz if they did they shoulde saye thus, Cause O God that thys oz that Saincte maye knowe those thinges whiche I desire of hym, and that he maye bee with me, and graunte me that whiche I desire. But they doe cleane contrarilye, O Saincte Peter (saye they) Saincte Paule p?ay foz me, b?yng thys oz that to passe foz me. Wherfoze they thinke that the saincts do altogether heare & vnderstand their voyces, whiche thing if they thoughte not, then were their doinges vterly folyshe.

I fayned ile of the papists of a glasse of the diuine essence.

They declare also by their titles & additions which they ascribe vnto ẏ blessed virgine, to the crosse, and other creatures, how far moze woz?hy they esteme and iudge of them, than their nature can suffer. Neither are they affeard (as I haue befoze declared, when I entreated of the heresyes of the Papistes) to lyghte vp lyghtes, Waxe tapers and Lampes vnto creatures, to cense them, and to doe other thyngs, which the Ethnikes, and also the Iewes in the olde law were wont to geue vnto God only. What moze? Do they not builde alters vnto Images of Saincts? But vnto whom alters are builte, the same are tokyzmed by a sure testimonye to be powers of God, oz ells Gods. Augustine in hys v. Tome e. vi. Sermon wziteth thus: An alter is, which testifyeth ẏ to be counted foz God to whom it is erected. Foz they, namely the Ethnikes, what God they haue, and ẏ they take that Image foz a god the alter doth testifie. What should the alter do there if they counted not ẏ foz a god? Let no mã say vnto me: It is not ẏ power of god, it is not god. But I haue already sayd: I would to god they knew this so wel as all we know it. But what they count it, oz what they make of it, that alter testifyeth.

The Papistes attribute moze vnto creatures than is conuenient.

An alter is not to be erected but only vnto God.

Augustine.

But say the aduersaries: we therfoze do these things, bicause we haue by experience p?oued ẏ they please god: foz as much as he there woz?eth miracles. I know in dede that god hath sometimes wzought miracles by saincts, and such as were dead. Foz the bones of Elizeus by the touche of them ?estoz?eh one being dead to lyfe. And the same Elizeus vsed the cloke of Elias to deuide the waters of the riuers, that he myght make the moze expedition on his iourney. But god doeth therefoze woo?ke these thinges sometymes, that the doctrine of the Pzophetes and the Apostles whiche was the very woo?de of god might bee confyzmed. And yet the Scripture declareth not that there was any inuocation made eyther vnto Elias oz Elizeus when those miracles were done. But foz as muche as the Papistes by these their inuocations seeke not the confyzmation of the doctrine of the Gospell, but rather are diligente aboute this, to establyshe superstitions, those miracles whiche they boaste of, are to be referred rather vnto the deuill than to God. Foz Sathan seeketh foz nothyng so much, as to leade men awaye from the sincere woz?hippyng of GOD. This vndoubtedlye was allayed by the enchaunters of Pharao, and that suche thinges shoulde sometime happen vnto vs by Antich?iste, Paule hath faythfully admonished the Thessalonians. But thou wilte saye that the deuill can not doe these thynges vnlesse God will and permitte. I graunte that. And why it is hys will so, there are two causes sette foz?he in the Scriptures.

Of miracles which are done at the alters of saintes.

God hath sometimes wzought miracles by dead bodyes & cozpses of dead saintes.

Miracles which are done at the inuocations of the dead are to be referred vnto Sathan.

Why God suffreth such miracles to be wzought by the deuill.

Of the which the one is gathered out of Deutr. namely bicause he would tempt vs, wherby might euidently appeare how much we esteme his worde, and whether we will suffer our selues to be plucked from him by suche illusions: the seconde cause is to punyshe the vnbeleuers. For so doth Paule teache vs to the Thessalonians bycause (sayeth he) they haue not receaued the loue of the truth therefore they are deliuered to be deluded with inchantementes and deuelishe miracles.

But there are two places in the Scriptures whiche are diligently to bee weyghed and considered, that the doctrine now in hande may bee the more confyrmed. The fyrste is written in the Actes of the Apostles the tenth Chapiter. Of Cornelius the Centurion, to whom when Peter came he caste himselfe at his feete. But Peter woulde not suffer that, yea he reprehended hym, and aunswered in thys manner. Doe not so, ryse vp, for I also am a man. We read also in the Apocalipse, that John fell downe before the Aungell, but he admonished hym that he shoulde not so doe: I am (sayeth he) thy fellowe seruaunt. These two places maye thus bee vnderstande, that Peter and the Aungell condemned these actes, as in a manner Idolatrous, as thoughe the Centurion and Iohn shoulde attribute any deuine nature, the one to Peter, the other to the Aungell, and shoulde haue geuen vnto them more honoure than was conueniente for creatures. But it seemeth that thys can not be easelye thoughte of eyther of these. The Scripture testifyeth that the Centurion feared and worshipped God. How should we therefore beleue that he coulde be led, to beleue that Peter was God or at the leaste to attribute deuine honoures vnto a creature? And it is not very likely that Iohn whiche was either an Apostle or ells a notable deuine (as some call hym) coulde not discerne an Aungell from God. If so bee that neyther of these woulde worship a creature in stead of the Creator, thys remaineth, that it is not lawfull to geue vnto creatures this kind of outward reuerence. Wherfore we shall seme not to haue sayd well before, in saying that these thynges may be geuen vnto Princes and Kinges. To thys I aunswere, there muste be a difference obserued betwene a ciuile and a worldelye honoure and a deuine and religious worshipping, as we haue before expounded. Furthermore we muste knowe that these two men, Cornelius I say and Iohn intended not by thys their worshipping to transferre the honour of God vnto creatures. Howbeit it may easely bee, that they fell to an vnmeasurable signe of reuerence, and so in that excesse they somewhat committed sinne.

Cornelius caste himself down at the feete of Peter.

Iohn fel downe at the feete of the Angell.

Neither Cornelius nor Iohn would worship creatures.

The Centurio & Iohn sinned in excesse but they can not be accused of Idolatrye.

But as touching Kinges and Princes, we are in much lesse daunger of falling, than toward Angels or ministers of Christ. For these bycause they exercise the spiritual office, the honor which is geuen vnto thē draweth nighe to a religious adoration. Wherfore in those places eyther the bowing of the knee or of the bodye are not by themselues condemned. But in as muche as they are geuen for Religion sake. Moderate honoures therefore maye bee geuen especially when they are geuen for Religion sake. And thus muche at this presente as concerning thys thyng. But let vs remember that whiche I haue also before admonyshed, that thys also belongeth to Idolatrye, when we woorship the true God by other wayes and rytes, than he hath willed vs, and prescribed vnto vs. If we shall doe otherwyse, we shall woorship an Idole accordyng to that seconde forme before described, in sayning to oure selues in oure mynde or harte any God, whiche delighteth in a woorshippyng inuented by men: and there is none suche. Wherfore we shall not honoure and worship the true God, but an Idole whiche we haue conceaued in our mynde. And vndoubtedlye so oughte we to vnderstande Paule, when he sayeth to the Corrinthians in the fyrste Epistle: we knowe that an Idole is nothyng in the worlde. Paule teacheth not that an Idole is nothyng as touchyng the

They which worship God otherwise thā he hath instituted, are Idolatrers.

shape

shape and outwarde forme. For no man doubteth but that those Idoles haue place either in the outwarde matter or ells in oure hartes. By an Idole there fore he vnderstoode not the signe it selfe, but the thing whereunto it is referred. And he meant that the thing it selfe which is signified by Idoles, is nothing, for as much as there is no where a God which may be representeed, or els deliteth in such Images.

14 And the wrathe of the Lorde wared hotte agaynste Israell, and he deliuered them into the handes of raueners, that spoyled them and solde them into the handes of theyr enemyes round about them: Neither had they anypower any longer to stande before their enemyes.

15 Whether so euer they went, the hand of the Lord was agaynst them with euil lucke, euen as the Lord promised them, and euen as the Lord sware vnto them. And he punyshed them sore.

The punishment imposed by God for Idolatry is now set forth to be diligently considered by vs. There are two thinges, which are declared.

First is described that the anger of God was kindled agaynst the Israelites. Secondly how he punished the guiltye. God therefore because of so grieuous a wicked crime of the Hebrewes wared hotte agaynst them: which is not so to be vnderstande, as though God had any affections, for that pertaineth only vnto men. But according to the common and receaued exposition of these places, we fele that god is like vnto men that are angry, after which selfe same reason it is written that he sometime repenteth. Wherfore, God eyther to repent or to be angry, is nothing ells, but that he doth those thinges, which men repenting and men angrye vse to do. For the one do eyther alter or ells ouerthrowe that which before they had done: and the other take vengeaunce of iniuries done vnto thē. How we shuld vnderstand god to be angry and to repent.

Ambrose in his booke of Noe and the Arke, the fourth Chapter, speaketh otherwise of the anger of God. For neither doth God (sayth he) thinke as men do, as though some contrary sentence should come vnto him, neither is he angrye, as though he were mutable, but therfore these thinges are beleued, to expresse the bitternesse of our sinnes, which hath deserued the wrath of God, and to declare that the faulte hath so much and so farre encreased, that euen God also (whiche naturally is not moued eyther by anger, or hatred, or any passion) semeth to be prouoked vnto wrath, &c. And aptely is there mencion made of the anger, before the punishment is rehearsed. For mē vse first to be angry, before they reuenge: Neyther is anger any other thyng ells (if we may beleue Aristotell in hys Rhetorikes) but a desire of reuengement bicause of contentempte. For they which perceaue themselues to be despised and contemned, do straightway thinke, how they may be reuenged, and they diligently meditate howe by some punishment they may requite the iniurye or despite done vnto them. Ambrose. What anger is.

Two kindes of punyshments are mencioned in thys place, the taking away of goodes and seruitude: of the which the one is grieuouser than the other. For it is far more grieuous to be brought into bondage, than to be spoyled of goods. But God vseth so to do to punyshe by certayne degrees, those which haue deserued euill. For he doth not byandby punyshe most grieuously. And as touching the wordes we must note that Schis and Schisch signifye one thing, for Shin and Samech haue great affinitie the one with the other, which D. Kimhi hath also noted in thys place. Moreouer where it is sayd, whether soeuer they wente oute, the same interpreter addeth, to fyghte: And in deede it is very lykely, although I am not ignorannte that that sentence may be more largely taken, Two kyndes of punishmentes.

namely to vnderstande that whatsoeuer they tooke in hande to do, or to what thinges so euer they applyed themselues vnto, all those thynges happened vnluckely vnto them.

By this place is gathered, that no mans goodes are taken awaye, neyther are any brought into bondage, excepte God himselfe both will and also bryng to passe the same. For it is sayd here that he gaue them into the handes of raueners, and sold them into the handes of their enemyes round aboute them. Dauid in hys. xliiii. Psalme grieuously complayneth of this plague, and saith that God had solde hys without any price: which place Augustine considerynge, he sayeth that at the fyrst sighte it semeth absurde, that any shoulde be solde, when no price is geuen. But thus he aunswereth, as touching the enemies, which solde the Israelites, there was a price geuen by the byers. But as touching God, which was the principall cause of the selling, he tooke no price. For what could those Idolatrous, violent, and rauenous men, vnto whom ẏ Iewes were deliuered to be sold, geue vnto him? Undoubtedly they neither bought nor deserued those commodities with any reward. Or ells we may thynke, that the price of the Hebrewe bondmen, was so small and vile, that it was counted for nothyng, and so by thys figure of speach they were sayd to be sold without any price. Wherefore Esaye in hys. lii. Chapter, writeth: Ye are solde for nought. And this phrase serueth very well for those, which do binde thẽselues to sinnes and wickednesse, when as therby, they shall get no commoditie at all. And how hard this bondage was which the Hebrewes serued when they were so solde by their enemies, it is manifestly expressed in Deuteronomye, for there it is sayde: Thou shalt serue thine enemye, whom the Lord shall send vppon thee, in hunger, in thurst, and in nakednesse, and also in al penurye, and he shal put an yron yoke vppon thy necke, till he shall destroye thee. Moreouer by these examples we are also taughte, what Christians euery where deserue for their daylye transgressions and innumerable superstitions and also Idolatrous worshippynges. Neyther is it to bee doubted but that a heape of euelles are at hande excepte Christ by fayth deliuer vs from those curses of the lawe.

Augustine.

The wicked sell themselues to sinnes without any price.

The hand of ẏ Lord is alwayes present in all our actions.

WHether soeuer they went, the hand of the Lord was agaynst thẽ with euell lucke. In all our actions the hande of the Lorde is continually presente, for without hys myghte and power, we can not so muche as moue oure selues. Wherefore both good successes and euell are to bee ascribed vnto hym.

Neyther had they any power any longer to stande before theyr enemyes. And no mervayle, for by reason their goods were spoyled, and their number diminished, bicause of those which wer brought into bondage they wer so impayred and weakened, that they could by no meanes match with their aduersaries. Undoubtedly, if we diligently consider the histories from that time, wherin superstition began to reygne in ẏ church, we shal fynde that our princes haue had either no good successe at al, or els very smalin their expeditiõs against ẏ enemies of ẏ fayth. We haue fought and ẏ oftentymes against ẏ Turkes and Sarazens, but for the moste part vnluckely: Neither do the gouernours both of the publicque wealth and also of the Churche feele that the hand of the Lord is agaynst them with euill lucke, and that that is the cause why they can not stand before their enemyes.

The cause of the vnluckye battels against the Turkes.

Agayne let vs note, that the Scripture doth here most manifestly testifye, that God him selfe deliuered the Israelites into the handes of rauenors, & solde them into bondage, for that that thinges were done by hys motion. And this doth Ezechiel the Prophete euidently shewe, where he describeth, how Nabuchad-nezar standyng in the ende of two wayes, and in a maner determining to directe his host one way, was of God thaunged, and after a sorte forced to turne

hys

dis armye agaynſt Ieruſalem. And yet muſt we not vnderſtand theſe thinges ſo, as thoughe we ſhould thinke that God doth inſtille a new malice into ỹ heartes of the wicked. For they nede it not. For of what ſorte ſoeuer they be, they are framed of malice and ſynnes, but GOD, ſeyng he is a ſtrength and worckyng of moſt efficacy, driueth them as he doth all other thyngs to be moued & to worke. Wherfore they whiche are altogether corrupte, and voyde, and deſtitute of the grace and fauour of God, can do nothyng but onely worke euill. But God, by whoſe motion they are ſtirred vp to worke, directeth their euill doynges, cruelties, ſpoylinges, luſtes and tyrannies, to what end ſo euer it ſhall ſeme good to his iuſtice and moſt highe prouidence. Moreouer let vs here conſider, how miſerable and wretched a thing it is for a man to haue God angry. Wherfore let vs moſt diligently take hede, that in all our affayres that we take in hande, we firſt of all reconcile him vnto vs, by an vpright faith in Chriſt: for he beyng angry & agaynſt vs, nothyng can proſperouſly go forward.

How god may be ſayde to worke euyll workes in the wicked.

God vſeth the ſinnes of the wicked.

It is moſt vnhappy to haue God angrye.

These thynges did the Lorde as he had ſpoken and ſworne. Threatninges are ſet forth here and there in the lawe of GOD and eſpecially in Deut. But we neuer read (that I can tell of) that an othe was in that place ioyned with the threatnynges. Howbeit we muſt beleue, that God when he made lawes did ſometymes alſo adde to an othe. For the Scripture in this place teſtifieth vnto vs that he ſware, whiche is ſufficient, thoughe it be not found in any other place. Moreouer let vs call to memory, that the latter cauſes, whiche commonly are called the ſecond cauſes are much to be conſidered in the ſucceſſe of thynges, as well proſperous as vnfortunate: but yet we muſt much more haue a regarde vnto the firſt and chiefe cauſe, namely vnto God hym ſelfe. So that then when thynges proſper not with vs, we muſt be angry with our ſelues, becauſe we are alienated from God. And that this is true, this place manifeſtly proueth. For the Iſraelites were the ſame men which they were before, and their enemyes alſo the ſame men whiche they were before. Wherfore if the Iewes had had God now as fauorable vnto them as they had before, vndoubtedly they ſhould haue obteyned the ſelfe ſame victoryes. Therfore they ought to aſcribe all that vnluckynelle vnto them ſelues. For vnleſſe god had bene angry with them, for the Idolatry whiche they had committed, they ſhould with as good lucke haue ouercomed their enemyes now as they did before. Therfore the Prophetes whē they lamented for the miſeries of their people, teſtified that iuſtice, honour, and alſo goodneſſe are to be aſcribed vnto GOD, but confuſion and ignominye vnto them ſelues.

Whether an othe be ioyned to the threatninges put in the ſcriptures.

The ſecōd cauſes are not to be ſo much cōſidered as the firſt cauſe.

16 Neuertheleſſe the Lord rayſed vp iudges, whiche deliuered thē out of the handes of their oppreſſors.
17 And yet for all that they would not harcken vnto their iudges but went a whoryng after ſtraunge Gods, and bowed them ſelues vnto them. They turned quickly out of the waye, whiche their Fathers walked in, obeying the commaundementes of the Lord, But they did not ſo.

Now is briefly declared vnto ỹ readers, what conditiōs & alteratiōs ỹ Iſraelites had in al ỹ tyme, which was betwene ỹ paines & punithmētes now deſcribed, wherwith they were for their Idolatry punished, & ỹ firſt king, whom they chooſe vnto thē ſelues, reiecting Samuel. When they were grieuouſly oppreſſed, they ſighed & groned, & repenting thē ſelues, turned vnto god, & deſired ayde of him. And God as he is gentle & merciful, deſpiſed not their mournings & inuocations but ſent them ſome one iudge, by whoſe leadyng and conduicte they were deliuered from their oppreſſors. But they when they were deliuered, and ſet at libertie, they lyued at pleaſure & fell agayne into their olde wickedneſſe. Wherfore

fore God accordyng to his iustice punished them agayne, and they agayne when they were grieuously oppressed, groned, & continually prayed vnto god, whiche yet agayne by an other iudge deliuered them from misery and calamitie.

The whole tyme of the iudges is deuided into three differences.

Wherfore the whole time of the iudges may be aptely distributed into three differences. First he Hebrues were iustly punished for their synnes and wickednesse. Secondly they beyng oppressed, wept, prayed, and implored helpe at gods hande. Lastly god by some iudge deliuered them. Moreouer this is to be marked, that the Iewes, althoughe they did not wholly obey the iudges, yet for all that they lyued somewhat better as longe as those iudges remayned on lyue.

The people lyued better vnder the iudges than they dyd whē they were dead.

Wherfore as touchyng outward thinges that publicque wealth had somewhat better successe vnder iudges, and the people myght as long as they lyued, be at rest from oppressions, and liue at liberty. But they were no soner deade, but they returned to their old fashions. Whiche thyng euidently declareth, how they did in vayne before pretend, that they had not sene the workes, which god had done in deliueryng their elders out of Egypt. As thoughe they should haue sayd, if so be that we were sure of those so noble workes, we would not now haue forsakē the ceremonies of our fathers and chosen new rites. These alterations & chaungynges (I say) manifestly testifye that that pretence was vayne. For euery age sawe the wonderfull workes of god, when as oftentymes he did by iudges set at liberty the people beyng oppressed. And yet thoughe they had sene these thinges they could not kepe them selues, but that whē their iudge was deade they fell agayne into the same wicked crimes.

The fruicte of ỹ punishmēres whiche GOD impoled.

This is also to be noted, that it is here written that god vsed to be moued at the sighyng and teares of the Israelites. For this was the fruite of the paynes & punishmentes, namely that they might repente, & beyng admonished by miseries might vnderstand whether they should flye vnto. And god in hearing of thē when they cried, had onely a respecte vnto hys promises, goodnesse and name. Furthermore let those whiche delyghte in oppressyng and doyng iniury to the poore, note here that the tyme will come at the lengthe, that god will take in hand the causes of the afflicted. For althoughe they be euill, and haue worthily fallen into calamities and miseries: yet bycause he hath promised that he will reuenge the violence and crueltie done agaynst the poore, therfore he will one day deliuer and reuenge them, euen for this cause, namely, bycause he neyther can nor will fayle his office and promise. And in delyuering those whiche were euill from present miseryes, he graunteth vnto them occasion and tyme of repenting that except they truly and vnfainedly repent, they may be altogether inexcusable. Moreouer this goodnesse of God, whiche he vseth also towardes the euill, beareth most manifest witnesse of the most perfect fayth and truth of god. For althoughe men do filthyly fall from that couenaunt which they haue made with god, yet he forgetteth not his goodnesse and promises.

God hath also sometymes cōpassion of euill men whē they are oppressed.

18 And when the Lord rayſed vp vnto thē Iudges, the Lord was with the Iudge, and deliuered them out of the handes of their enemyes, all the dayes of the Iudge. For the Lorde repented at their ſorrowinges whiche they had, by reaſon of them, that oppreſſed and vexed them.

The iudges were before of the cōmon ſorte and vulgare eſtate.

Still is declared after what sorte God behaued himself toward the Israelits in the tyme of the Iudges. Neither doth this speche, when he saith. And God rayſed vp Iudges, want an emphasis. For it is expressed that they wer before of the common sorte and vulgare state but god so chaunged them by his spirite, that he inspired them with couragious hartes, strength, and moste wyse Counsels. This vndoubtedly was that stirring vp, which is now declared. For God vseth, when he appoynteth any man to any office, to geue him strength & abilitie

abilitie to perfo3me the same. Which thing we read did come to passe in Saul & also in Dauid, and before them in Moses, who beyng before shepheardes & ho3se-kepers, when they came to beare rule, did by the power of the spirite of GOD wo3ke marueilous thinges, and p3oued noble men. Fo3 GOD (as the scripture now speaketh) rayſed them vp. And not cõtent with this, but he fully perſuaded them, and with inwarde feelyng made them aſſured, that they were now elected by God, to deliuer the Iſraelites and to ſet them at libertie. And without doubt vnleſſe they had ben fully perſuaded of this, it had not ben lawfull fo3 them to haue fought agaynſt their Lo3des, o3 to rebelle: fo3 ſo much as it is not the office of p3iuate men to fight with his enemies. Wherfo3e Cato, whoſe ciuile iuſtice is merueilouſly commended, gaue his ſonne charge, ỹ when he was diſmiſſed from warre, and no mo3e bounde by an othe of warre, he ſhould not fight againſt the enemyes of the publicque wealth. Knowyng this right well, that it is lawful fo3 no man, to d3awe weapon againſt any, excepte it be by publicque authoritie, I haue now expounded what this meaneth that God rayſed vp Iudges: Now let vs ſee fo3 what cauſe God did the ſame. In example of Cato.

Bicauſe (ſayeth the hiſto3ye) he repented. What is the receaued expoſition of theſe kindes of ſpeache we haue before declared. But now we muſt marke what this meaneth which followeth: At their ſorowinges. We may not thincke that God was reconciled o3 made fauo3able vnto them by the ſtrength and dignitye of the wo3ke. Fo3 that do men obteyne onely by fayth in our mediatour Ieſus Chriſt, to which fayth in theſe and ſuch lyke kynde of ſpeaches we muſt continually haue a reſpect vnto, therby to loke vpon the roote from whence ỹ fruites of true repentaunce, and alſo ſighinges and teares are deriued. Neither do we fo3 all that denye, but that good wo3kes ſp3ingyng from faith are ſo acceptable vnto GOD, that he rewardeth them with excellent giftes, as well outward, as alſo ſpirituall, which commeth of his goodneſſe. So ſayd Daniel vnto the kyng of Babilon: Gy almes redeme thy ſinnes. That is, d3yue awaye the paynes and puniſhementes, wherewith otherwiſe thou ſhalt be puniſhed. God is not reconciled vnto vs by the outward wo3kes which we do. God rewardeth good wo3kes.

But if thou ſhalt demaunde what is to be thought, of thoſe ciuill and moral good wo3kes, which are done without fayth. I aunſwere, that fo3 ſo much as they p3ocede from a viciate and co3rupt nature, they are therfo3e ſinnes. And fo3 that cauſe they deſerue dampnation and hell fy3e. Howbeit God, to the end that the o3de3 and iuſt diſpoſition of thinges in the wo3lde might be kept, and to defend aſſemblyes of humane kinde, fellowſhippes and publicque wealthes, cauſeth that ſuch actions haue many rewardes, not fo3 the wo3thynes and dignitie of thoſe actiõs, but by reaſon of a certain connexion, wherwith god would theſe thinges to be knitte together. Wherfo3e it commeth to paſſe, that when as hypocrites do wo3ke outward wo3kes, ſometymes goodly to the ſhew, therby they obtayne notable p3ayſe. And they which are rulers as longe as they honeſtly behaue them ſelues, in doyng iuſtice, either in warlike affaires, o3 elles in honeſt converſation (as the Romanes in the olde tyme did) may obteyne a moſte large Empyre. Fo3 ſo would god haue diſcipline kept, the wo3ld and publicque wealthes p3eſerued. God did therfo3e repẽt at the ſo3rowynges of the Iſraelites, bycauſe thoz3ough the faith, from whence ſo3rowinges and groninges p3ocẽded, he was made mercifull and fauo3able vnto them. Of mo3all wo3kes done without faith.

But peraduenture ſome man will doubte, whether god, when he repented, were in any poynt chaunged: All the godly confeſſe in a maner with one mouth, that god can by no meanes be chaunged, fo3 as much as that is a certaine ſigne both of imperfection and alſo of inconſtancy. But this variety which here happeneth is not to be aſcribed vnto god, but vnto vs. Of this thing I haue ſpokẽ ſom what before, but this ſemeth to be added at this p3eſente. If a man will ſay, that god without controuerſy ceaſſed to fauour the Chananites agaynſt ỹ Iſraelites, whom he had before ſo ſtrengthened, that he would haue them to oppreſſe the Iewes: and agayne afterward to helpe the Hebrues, whom before he ſemed that God doth not ſo repente that he is chaunged

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hys will was to haue them oppreſſed by the Chananites. No man can deny, but that theſe thinges haue variety. How can we therfore defend the will of god frō chaunging? I anſwere, that by the 28. chap: of Ieremy, it manifeſtly appeareth, ỹ there is a diuerſitie in the effectes, when as for all ỹ god in very dede, continually retayneth the ſelfe ſame will. For it is thus written there in his name: When as I ſhall ſpeake agaynſt a kyngdome or nation, to deſtroye, roote out, and ouer throwe it, if they ſhall repente, I will alſo repente. And contrarywiſe when as I ſhal ſpeake good of a kingdome or nation, to builde and to plant, and that nation or kingdome ſhall do euill in my ſight, I will then alſo repente me of the good, that I had decreed to beſtowe on them. Theſe wordes declare, that god in theſe kindes of threatninges and promiſes is therfore not chaunged, bycauſe he ſpeaketh not abſolutely & ſimply, but vpon condition. But the accompliſhing or makyng voyde of the conditions, is to be conſidered toward vs. And therfore the chaunge is not to be attributed vnto him, but vnto vs. But if thou ſhalt aſke me, whether god doth before know and decree, what ſhall come to paſſe as touching theſe conditions: I will graunt that he doth. For he euen from without begynnyng doth not only know of thyngs that ſhal come to paſſe, but alſo hath decreed what ſhall be. But bycauſe the hid priuitye of his will as touching theſe thinges, is not opened vnto vs in the holy Scriptures, therfore ought we to follow that rule, whiche (as we haue declared) is pronounced by Ieremy. This rule did the Niniuites and alſo Ezechias the kyng conſider and beholde beyng, not yet ſet forth. For although deſtruction was threatned them in the name of god, yet for al that by repentaunce and prayers they eſcaped it. Neither is there any cauſe why we ſhould ſuſpect that god doth lye in any thyng, when he ſo threatneth or promiſeth any thinges, whiche afterwarde come not to paſſe. For as touching Ezechias, he could no way eſcape death, if we ſhould looke vpon the natural cauſes, whiche are commonly called the ſecond cauſes. Wherfore the ſentēce beyng pronounced accordyng to thoſe cauſes, he coulde not be accuſed of a lye. And the Niniuites, if god had done vnto them, as their ſinnes deſerued, they ſhould vtterly haue periſhed. And god commaunded Ionas to preache according to their merites. Furthermore a lye can not be ſo takē, in an oration which hath a ſuppoſition or condition ioyned with it, as it may be in abſolute and ſimple ſentences, when as the ſucceſſe depēdeth of the kepyng or violatyng of the condition. More ouer in theſe wordes of the hiſtory is expreſſed the cauſe why the Iſraelites ſorowed and ſighed, namely bycauſe they were oppreſſed and afflicted, and that with thoſe kindes of calamityes whiche are before mencioned, namely bycauſe they were ſpoyled, ſold, and loſyng their liberty and goods, they were no longer able to ſtande before their enemyes.

Variety is the effectes, & not in God.

God, when he threateneth things whyche come not paſſe, lyeth not.

19 Yet for all that as ſoone as the Judge was dead, they turned and did worſe than their fathers, in following ſtraunge gods, and in ſeruing them and bowing them ſelues vnto them, and ceaſed not from the Actes of them, and from their hard waye.

When the Hebrues in the tyme of the Judge that was rayſed vp had a reſtyng tyme, and came to a tollerable eſtate, that iudge beyng dead, they fell agayne worſe than they did before, and committed much more grieuous things than did their elders. Whereby is founde true, that whiche we before haue ſayde, namely that the infirmitye of our nature is ſo great, that we can not longe abyde in pure religion and ſincere worſhippyng of God. And in that it is ſayde that they whiche came after were a great deale worſe than their fathers, is declared that GOD not without reaſon and iuſte cauſe was the more prouoked vnto anger ſo that whereas he had longe tyme ſpared their elders, nowe at the laſt he would not forgeue thoſe that came after. And this is it whiche is often

often sayde, that he doth visite the iniquities of the fathers vpon the children euen to the third and fourth generation, which is not so to be vnderstand, as thoughe he should punishe the posteritie more than they haue deserued. But bycause God, as he hath spared the fathers, would so also haue forgeuen the children, vnlesse they had so much followed the iniquities of their fathers, that also they went further in those mischieuous Actes, then did their fathers. God is patient, and before the poureth out his wrath and punishementes, he vseth to tary for the thirde & fourth generation. But howe these of whom we intreate were more corrupte than their fathers, the history manifestly declareth: for they committed more wicked Actes than did their fathers, And of all those, whiche their fathers perpetrated, they forsooke none, or left none vndone.

howe the iniquities of the fathers are visited in the children & children.

But of this kynde of speache, wherein it is sayde: Neither ceased they from their endeuours, we may not conclude that it lyeth in our strength & power to auoyde synnes, or to wrappe our selues out of them. Wherefore they greatly erre, which of the precептes of the law of GOD do gather the strength and power of our free will. For by the commaundementes the scripture testifyeth, what thynges they be whiche are required of men. But the same scripture manifestlye in an other place admonisheth, that it lieth not in our power to fulfill them. As Paul also writeth in his latter Epistle to Timothe: that there are in a great house not onely vesselles of golde and siluer, but also vesselles of wood and vesselles of claye. And he whiche shall purge him selfe from them, shalbe a vessell sanctified to honour, profitable to the Lorde and prepared to all good workes. Further for all that can we thereby conclude, that it is in our owne strength, to purge our selues from synnes, although the same be required at our handes, for as much as that is to be looked for onely of God. Wherefore the same Apostle in the same Epistle, when he had admonished the Minister of the Churche to be gentle, ready to teache, patient to suffre euilles, but so for all that to confute them whiche resiste, addeth, If peraduenture God shall geue them repentaunce to the knowledge of his truth. By these wordes we are taughte, that repentaunce from synnes, whiche is commaunded commeth not of our selues, but is louyngly and gently geuen of God.

It is not in mans power to auoyde sinne.

The power of free will is not to be gathered of the commaundementes.

It is GOD whiche geueth repentaunce & amendement.

The waye of synners is hard

The waye of synners is rightlye and worthily called harde, and it is a metaphor elegantly taken of roughe and stonye places, for stones and rockes for that they haue rough and vnequall partes, they hurte, pricke and rente the tender flesshe of their feete whiche trauayle vpon them. So are the maners of the wicked, they wounde their consciences, and at the laste bryng them into extreme miseries, which happeneth not without the great goodnesse of God for y god at the length by that meanes calleth vnto him very many sinners. And the same hath Hoseas the Prophete very well described in his ii. chap: when he sayeth: And he sayde, I will go after my louers whiche haue geuen me golde, siluer, wooll, flaxe, &c. But I will hedge in thy waye with thornes, and will take awaye my golde, my siluer, my wooll and my flaxe. And she shall say: I will returne vnto my first husband, for then was it better with me, than it is now.

20 Wherfore the wrath of the Lorde was kyndled agaynst Israel, and he sayde: Because this people hath transgressed myne appoyntment, whiche I commaunded their Fathers, and haue not hearkened vnto my voyce.

21 I also will hence forth not cast out before them one man of the nations whiche Iosua left when he dyed.

22 That thorough them I maye proue Israell, whether they will kepe the waye of the Lorde, and walke therein, as their Fathers dyd, or not.

23. And so the Lord left those nations, and drove them not out immediatly, neither deliuered them into the handes of Iosua.

The cause being before declared, namely the contempte, wherby the Israelites contemned GOD, now is set forth the effecte therof, which is the kindling of the wrath of GOD. For this worde Charah in the Hebrue tongue, is to ware hotte, or to be kyndeled with anger. Wherby the property and nature of angry is properly and elegantely expressed. For if angry should be defyned according to the matter therof, it is a certayne inflamation of blood about the hearte. Neither do I speake it as though that can be applied vnto GOD, who vtterly is without heate and bloud. But all these thynges (as I haue allready oftentymes sayde) are by a certaine translation applied vnto hym.

What is the matter of äger

Of a Leagne.

BVt bycause God complayneth for that the leagne was broken, whiche he had made with them, I thincke it good somewhat to speake briefly of a leagne whiche is in Latine called Fœdus. And that worde is deriued of the verbe Ferio, whiche is to slaye bycause that the ambassadoures of eche partie killed a hogge: from whiche Etimologye peraduenture the Hebrue worde Berith, differeth not much, with whiche outwarde signe also they wished by prayer the destruction to that parte whiche should violate the leagne, as we may gather out of Liui the first booke Ab vrbe condita. And as the same author writeth in his viii. booke de bello Macedonico, there are thre kyndes of leagnes. The first kynde is, when the conquerours set lawes to those whom they haue conquered, in punishyng them and commaundyng them, what they wolde haue them afterwarde to do.

The kyndes of leagnes.

1. The second kinde is when thinges being yet vnsure and neither parte ouercome, they commen together, that thynges taken from eche partie may be restored and couenauntes of peace may be established. The thirde kinde is when there is no warre but betwene the parties and certayne princes or cities are ioyned together by some couenauntes either to lyue the more peaceably, or elles to take in hande some common affaires. And nowe that we haue thus declared these thinges let vs shewe what a leagne is.

2.

3.

What a leagne is.

A leagne is that bonde betwen men, wherby enterchaungeably they testifye both by wordes & signes, that they are bounde to performe certayne thinges, so that they handle togethet with good fayth. And if that it be a bonde, and pertayneth to relation, it is grounded vpon humane actions, & is referred to thole thinges whiche the parties confederated ought to performe the one to the other. It is expressed by wordes, and for the most parte signes are added. God when after the flood he made a leagne with mankynd, he did not onely declare the forme of the obligation by wordes, but also he put the rayne bowe in the cloudes as a token. And in the leagne whiche he made with Abraham he put the signe of circumcision. Furthermore in that whiche was made by Moses at the mount Sinay, there were twelue pillers erected, & the people was sprinckled with bloud. Iosua also when he should dye, erected vp a very great stone, therby to seale the leagne renewed betwene the people and God.

Leagnes are expressed both by wordes and signes.

What thinges are promised in the leagne of god made with men.

And what the promises were which should be kept of eche partyes the Scripture oftentymes teacheth. For God promised, that he would be the god of the people, namely whiche would be with them to helpe them, to deliuer them, and by all meanes as touching all kind of good thinges to aduance them. The people agayne promised that they would thanke the Lord Iehouah for their God in beleuing, worshipping, and obeying him. And Christ was in the leagne as the mediatour betwene eche partye. This is the exposition and nature of the leagne made betwene god and men.

Christe is the mediatour in makyng the leagne.

Howe a leagne is deuided into a newe leagne & an olde.

A leagne is deuided into the new leagne and the olde, whiche deuision is not of a generall thing into speciall thinges, but of the subiecte into accidences, for

so

ſo much as in either league the thing it ſelfe and ſubſtaunce was vtterly one and the ſelfe ſame & onely certain qualities did vary. For the olde league was made with one onely nation of the Iewes, and had certayn additions, the poſſeſſion (I ſay) of the lande of Chanaan, the kingdome of the Iewes, and the prieſthode of Aaron, & alſo the promiſe of the Meſsias, accordyng to the natiuitie of the fleſhe, and the miniſtery of his owne perſon. Moreouer it had very many ſignes of ceremonyes and ſacrifices very mete for that age. There wer alſo in it miſteries of ſaluation, and promiſes of eternall life althoughe farre more obſcure, than they were afterwarde geuen vnto vs. And contrarywiſe in the new league, there are proprietyes in a manner contrary. For it pertayneth not to any one certayn nation, but to all nations, how farre ſoeuer the worlde extende. Neither is there any peculiar ciuile adminiſtration adioyned vnto it. Furthermore there are but very fewe ceremonies & outward ſignes (and they very plaine and ſimple) added vnto it. And laſtely all thinges are contayned more openly, playnely & manifeſtly in the new teſtamēt, than they are in the old. By theſe qualities doth the new league and the old differ one from an other, howbeit the thyng it ſelfe and the ſubſtaunce abydeth one and the ſame. For as the Lord would then be the God of the Hebrues, ſo now hath he decreed to be the god of the Chriſtians. And that alſo whiche they at that tyme promiſed, namely ỹ they would beleue in the true god, & obey and worſhyp him as he hath preſcribed, we alſo ought to performe. Chriſt cōmeth betwen both parties as a mediatour, and forgeueneſſe of ſinnes, and alſo eternall lyfe is by hym promiſed. And the lawes of manners remayne the ſame now whiche then were.

The thing and ſubſtaunce of the olde league and newe is all one.

Paul in the xi. chap: to the Romanes hath very wel declared that the league of the elders & ours is all one, when he compareth the Church with the tree, which hath Chriſt as the roote. Then he addeth that from ſuch a tree certayne braches were cut of, namely the Hebrues whiche beleued not. And we whiche were gētils were planted in their place: that is put in the ſame league wherin they were comprehended. The ſame tree he affirmeth to remayne, into whiche ſome are by fayth grafted in, and from the whiche other ſome byreaſe of incredulitie are cut of. Wherfore eche league contayneth both the law and the goſpel. And there are in either of the Teſtamentes the ſelfe ſame Sacramentes as it is declared in the firſt Epiſtle to the Cor. the x. chap: For the fathers were al vnder the cloude, and were baptized in the ſea, and did eate the ſame ſpiritual meate, and dranke of the ſpirituall rocke followyng them, and the rocke was Chriſt. Farther we graunt, that as touching outward ſignes, there is ſome variety in their Sacramētes and ours, which yet as concerning the things ſignified by the Sacramentes is found to be nothing at al. Otherwiſe the argument of Paul ſhould not haue perſuaded the Corin. that they ſhould be ſubiect vnto the ſame puniſhmentes that the Hebrues were. For they might haue ſayd, that they had farre better ſacramētes thā had the Hebrues, & therfore they nede not ſo much to be afeard leſt they ſhould ſuffre the like: for as much as the excellency of the ſacraments may auoyde thoſe miſfortunes, from whiche the Hebrues could not be deliuered by the ſacramētes of the law. Wherfore the Apoſtle tooke away from them this ſhift, and maketh our ſacramentes and theirs equall and a like as touching the thinges. He writeth alſo to the Rom. the firſt chap: of the goſpel, that it was in the old tyme promiſed by the Prophetes in the holy ſcriptures. And in the third chap: he ſpeaketh after this ſorte: but now is the righteouſneſſe of god made manifeſt, being teſtified by the lawe and the Prophetes.

In either of ỹ teſtamētes are the ſelfe ſame ſacramentes.

Neither canſt thou ſay vnto me, that theſe in dede were promyſed in the holy Scriptures of the olde Teſtament, but not that they were performed vnto the men whiche lyued at that tyme. Becauſe the Apoſtle doth moſte warely aunſwere to this obiection, when he ſayeth that euerye lawe doth ſpeake to thoſe men whiche do lyue vnder it. And it is not to be doubted, but that the

The fathers were iuſtified onely by fayth, as we are.

fathers were iuſtified after the ſame ſorte that we are now at this preſent. For they were no leſſe iuſtified onely by fayth in Chriſt, than we. Wherefore it is written in the booke of Geneſis of Abraham, that he beleued, and it was counted vnto hym for righteouſneſſe. Iohn alſo teſtifieth that Chriſt ſayde of Abraham that he had ſene his day, and therfore reioyſed. The Epiſtle to the Hebrues the xiii. chap: affirmeth that Chriſt was yeſterdaye, and to daye, and remayneth for euer. Wherfore euen as we are ſayd now to be ſaued, not by workes, but by the true mercy of GOD by fayth in Chriſt, ſo was it with the fathers at that tyme: For they were iuſtified by no merites, but onely by fayth in Chriſt. Furthermore what obedience ſoeuer the fathers had towarde the commaundementes of God, and alſo fayth in the promiſes, they were not derined from their owne ſtrengthe and power, but (euen as it alſo happeneth vnto vs) they came vnto them by the grace of God and Chriſt.

A place of Ieremye of the epiſtle to the Hebrues is expounded.

It is true in dede that Ieremy in the 31. chap: writeth, as it is alſo alleged to the Hebrues the viii. chap. that there muſte be another league made in the name of GOD, not as it was made in the olde tyme with the fathers. And among other thynges he ſayeth, that GOD woulde geue hys lawes in the heartes and bowelles of men, ſo that none ſhould nede any more to teache hys neyghboure, becauſe all, from the leaſt to the greateſt ſhould haue the knowledge of GOD. And farther it is ſayde in the perſone of God, I wyll be merciſull vnto their ſynnes, and will no more remember their iniquities, &c. As touching theſe wordes both of Ieremye, and alſo of the Epiſtle to the Hebrues, we muſt vnderſtande, that thoſe wordes proue not that there is any difference betwene the teſtamentes as touchyng the thyng and ſubſtaunce it ſelfe, but as concernyng the propertyes and qualities, as we haue before ſayde. Neither muſte we thincke that the olde fathers whiche in obeyeng the commaundementes of God, and in right fayth worſhypped hym purely, coulde performe theſe thynges of theyr owne ſtrengthe or naturall powre. For vnleſſe they had had the lawes and promiſes of God written in their heartes and myndes by the holy Ghoſt, and alſo a will by the grace of God ready to obey hys commaundement they had neuer ben able to haue performed ſuch things. They wanted not therfore the lyght of God which ſhined before them to cauſe thē to beleue. Yea and their ſynnes were forgeuen them by Chriſt. Wherfore they alſo had the fruition of thoſe thynges, whiche God promiſed to geue in the newe league. The difference was onely in this thyng as touchyng largeneſſe and perſpicuitye for at that tyme thoſe gyftes were diſtributed to very few, but now they are euery where communicated to the gentiles. They were ſomewhat darke at that age, but to vs they are made euident and cleare, ſo that we haue no more nede of the old diſcipline. Wherby it manifeſtly appeareth, howe they erre from the truth, whiche will haue the old league to haue had promiſes onely for poſſeſſing of the lande of Chanaan and for worldly felicity. And that the people of the Hebrues were bounde onely to an outward obſeruation of certaynerites and workes, and not to ſhewe forth good and ryght motions of the minde toward God. The Prophetes declare not the thyng after that ſorte, yea rather they denye that GOD any thyng eſteemeth outwarde workes without inwarde godlyneſſe. And they euery where cry out, that ceremonyes without fayth, and voyde of the feare of GOD are a moſte grieuous burthen and ſo troubleſome that GOD can not ſuffre them. Yea and the lawe it ſelfe maketh mencion expreſſedly of the circumciſion of the hearte: and GOD euery where requireth, that we ſhould heare hys voyce, whiche vndoubtedly is nothyng elles, than by fayth to haue to do with hym. Wherefore fayth of the promiſes and commaundementes of GOD, ought alwayes to be counted as the roote and foundation, whiche alwayes abydeth, when as outwarde ſacrifices and viſible rites ſhould at the length be chaun-

The erroꝛ of them which in the olde league acknowledge onely temporal thynges.

God would not fully thoſe thynges that are chaunged.

ged.

ged. Wherefore it is very manifeſt, that god would not haue them for their own ſakes. Howbeit they endured ſo long as men were endewed with a childiſh ſpirite (as Paule ſpeaketh to the Galathians) whileſt they liued yet vnder tutors, & differed yet very litle frō ſeruaunts. But when they receaued a more ful growē ſpirite, then were the ſacramentes and childyſhe rites (as Auguſtine ſayeth) taken awaye. It is manifeſt therefore that the difference betweene the two leagues is not to bee taken of the thing or ſubſtaunce, but of the qualityes and proprieties.

Let them therfore ceaſe ſo much to erre, which thinke that god in the old lawe promiſed only earthly thinges, as though at that time he prouided onely for the bodyes and not for the ſoules, as doe Shepeheardes, Plowmen, and Swyneherdes, whiche haue a care onely for the bodyes and carkaſes of theyr ſheepe, ſwine and Oxen, neyther laboure they for any other thyng, but to make thoſe beaſtes ſtrong and fat. We muſt not ſo imagine of God, who ſo made a league with the Elders, that he promiſed them the chiefe felicitie, which chiefly pertayneth vnto the ſoule. Wherefore it is written in the 144 Pſalme. Bleſſed are the people which haue the Lorde for their God. In Deutronomye alſo God toke vpon him to bring to paſſe, that they ſhould walke in his cōmaundements. But what more? Our ſauiour, out of ỹ words of the old league hath moſt aptely taught the reſurrection of the dead. For when the Lorde ſayd that he was the God of Abraham, Iſaac, Iacob, and they were then dead, Chriſt inferred that they were not dead but that they ſtill liued, and that their bodyes ſhould be receaued, namely in the bleſſed reſurrection. Hitherto pertayneth that that God affirmed to Abraham, that he himſelfe woulde be his rewarde, whiche thyng plainely teacheth vs, that in that couenaunte were not promiſed onely carnall and earthly good thyngs. Vndoubtedly it were a great ſhame euen for Kyngs and Princes, whiche being compared with GOD are but fleſhe and bloud, if they ſhoulde bee counted to gouerne the publicque wealthes, onely as touching the bodyes of the ſubiectes: for as muche as they profeſſe that therefore they prouide for their Citizens outwarde commodityes, quietneſſe and peace namely that they might liue happily and vertuouſlye. Wherefore if Princes ſeeke for goodes of the minde for their Citizens, is it not meete that God hymſelfe prouided farre more noble thinges for the publicque wealthe of the Iſraelites whiche he faythfully gouerned. Furthermore I do not ſpeake, howe foolyſhe it is to beleue that the old fathers by the league bound themſelues only to outward rites and viſible ceremonies, whereby to worſhip God: when as euen the Ethnikes were not ignorant, yea they haue moſt manifeſtly teſtifyed, that the worſhipping of God conſiſteth not in thoſe things. For Plautus in Rudente writeth thus: They thinke that they pleaſe God with giftes and ſacrifices: but they loſe both their laboure and coſte. I will not declare thoſe thinges whiche Plato in his Alchibiade hath written as concerning this thing. Yea (as I haue now before taught) the lawe it ſelf and the Prophets declare that the thing was farre otherwiſe.

God promiſed the old fathers the chiefeſt felicitie.

The end of political gouernement.

The worſhipping of god conſiſteth not only in outward rites.

Plautus.

Plato.

But now at the length to returne to the woordes of the hiſtorye, God complayneth that the Hebrues had broken their couenant which he had made with their fathers. For they wer departed from the true fayth and inward godlyneſſe Neither ceaſſed they only vnlye and rightly to ſacrifice vnto the true God, but they moſt filthily turned aſide to ſtraunge Gods & worſhipping of Idoles. And for theſe thinges was God angry with them, and eſpecially for this, bicauſe they harkened not vnto his voyce. This vndoubtedly was the roote and the fyrſt beginning of falling, namely not to beleue in god.

The rote of falling from god.

Let vs here alſo note that the Fathers made a league with GOD not onely for themſelues, but alſo for their poſteritie. As God agayne for hys parte promiſed them, that he woulde bee the GOD not onely of them, but

The elders made a league with god for their poſteritie.

The elders made a league with God for their posteritye

also of their sede and posteritie. Wherefore it was lawfull for them to circumcise their children, being yet infantes. And in like manner it is lawfull for vs to baptise oure little ones being yet infantes, for as muche as they also are comprehended in the league. For they which haue now the thyng it selfe, there is nothing can let, but that they may receaue the signe. It is manifestlye written in the.xxix. Chapiter of Deutronomye that the league was made not only with them which were present, but also with them which were absent, and not yet borne.

It was lawfull to circumcise ỹ litle ones in the old time, & it is lawfull at thys day to baptise them.

But some doubte, whyther the posteritie may be bounde by their Elders. We aunswere, wee muste looke whyther the thinges whiche were promised by oure Elders were iuste and honeste. Then muste we consider whyther those promyses pertayne to ciuill thynges, or to Godlynesse. When they are made for ciuill matters, the bonde is sure, bycause it is not lawfull for the posteritye to infrindge the contractes of their Elders, as are byinges, sellinges, bargaynes and such like, prouided that they contayne nothyng, that is filthy, vnhoneste and vniuste. But if the couenauntes and obligations belong to godlinesse or to true fayth, the obligation is then strong, for that we are all bounde to true godlinesse and a perfecte fayth, although there were no league therunto. But if the Elders haue bound themselues and their posteritye to filthy and vngodly thinges, it is no bonde. But for God to abase himselfe to make a league with men, it commeth of his mere benevolence and mercy, wherby we might be more and more stirred vp to performe those things which we ought otherwise to do of dutye.

Whether they which come after may be bound by theyr elders.

I also will not caste them oute. When he sayeth, that he will not hence forth caste oute any one of those Nations, whiche remayned in the Lande of Chanaan after the time of the death of *Iosua*, he declareth the punishemente, wherewith he wouldo nowe punyshe the Hebrewes. And this muste we vnderstand condicionally, that is, excepte they repented: or bycause God was so offended by reason of theyr Idolatrye, that he wouldo not so soone caste forth those Nations, as he would otherwise haue done, if they had faythfully continued in their office. And the very wordes of the bisorye doe strayght waies exprelle thys latter interpretation. But bycause a man myghte doubte why he expelled not the Chananites, while Iosua was yet aliue (who byrighthye behaued hymselfe towarde God) in this place he aunswereth vnto it and sayeth that he had therefore suffered those Nations to remaine, that by them he myght proue the Israelites, whyther they would worshyp him purely and sincerely as their Fathers had done vnder Iosua or not. For as much as I haue at large before spoken of this kinde of temptation, I will now speake thereof no more. This onely I shall admonyshe you, that where as there is mencion made in this place of the Fathers, the same is to bee vnderstande onely of those which were good and godlye: otherwise euen in the tyme of Moyses there wanted no vngodly ones and rebelles, which fell from the true God. Furthermore we muste consider that these thinges were spoken, when the Hebrewes after the death of the Iudges fell to vngodlynesse. For the thinges which are here mencioned of the fallinges and conuersions of the Hebrewes whiche followed one after an other, are spoken generally and summarilie. Otherwise God (as we shall heare) expelled some of the enemyes oute of the lande of Chanaan vnder euery Iudge. Wherefore in that now he being angrye sayeth that he will not caste forth the reste of the Nations, we muste vnderstande it, that he will not so quickely doe it, and vnlesse they tourne agayne vnto the ryghte waye. After which manner Ieremye hath taught vs that the threatnynges of God are to be vnderstand.

Why all the Chananites were not expelled in the time of Iosua.

The

The thyrde Chapter.

THese are the Nations, which the Lorde left, that he myghte proue Israell by them euen as many of Israell as had not knowen all the warres of Chanaan. 1

2 Only for the learning of the generation of the childzen of Israell that he also might teach them warre, in as much as they which wer before them knewe nothing thereof.

THis is a very common and receaued exposition of this place, that God in leauing diuerse Nations in the land which was promised to the Israelites, did it not only to trie the Israelites, but also because he woulde haue them exercised in warlike artes, leaste they should become slouthfull. For if the enemyes should straightway at the beginnyng haue bene expelled, that people would easely haue bene lefte with idlenesse and slouth. Which interpretation if we allow, therby will plainly followe, that iuste warres are altogether lawfull. For if GOD would teache the Israelites the arte of warrefare, then iudged he not that arte vnlawfull. And to thys purpose serueth that which Dauid sayd: Blessed be god which teacheth my handes to warre, and my fyngers to battayle. But thys question, whyther it be lawfull to make iuste warres, is not nowe to be entreated of: for as muche as it is most euident, and that by the holy Scriptures, that it is lawfull. And we shall haue occasion in an other place, to speake at large of that matter. Wherfore I will declare what the Hebrewe expositours iudge of thys place. R. Salamon, R. Dauid Kimhi, and also R. Leui ben Gerson writte, that God, when he had tempted the Hebrewes and detected theyr vngodlinesse and Idolatrye, withdrewe from them their strength and ayde. Wherby when they attempted to make warres by their owne power and to fight by their owne strength they learned what it was to make warre. Whereas before when God himselfe fought for them, they were ignoraunt of it. For he endued them with strength, he draue a feare into their enemyes, dissolued their strength, and gaue the Hebrewes a prosperous successe in theyr enterprises. One dyd then pursue a thousand, and two ten thousand. It is therfore aptlye sayd that the Israelites, when he had not yet broken the league, and god fought for them, were ignoraunte of warlyke feates. Euen as the fyrst parentes of mankinde when they had eaten of the forbidden tree, beganne to know both good and euill. For before when they were nourished with the grace of GOD, they were touched with the feeling of no euil. And we commonlye say of childzen, when their parentes are taken from them, that they shall nowe fele what it is to gette theyr owne liuyng, which before they had not learned, when they had their parentes liuing. Christe also vsed the same kinde of speche, when he sayd vnto the Apostles: When I sent you without bagge or scrippe, vndoubtedly you wanted nothyng. But now because I shall be taken from you, let him which hath no sweard, bye him one: for hereafter the times shall be harde and paynefull vnto you, so that ye shall proue and haue experience of those thinges which hitherto ye haue not felte. And this is the meaning at this present, that the Hebrewes were brought of necessitye now at the length to knowe and feele, what it was to make warre with enemyes stronger than themselues. They had not experience of that, before GOD taught them it in taking awaye their strength and ayde. Neither is it founde in the whole lawe that he ordained any thyng for the learning of the arte of warrefare. In Deutronomye the xx. Chapiter: he

War is a thing lawfull.

When God fought for the Israelits, they knew not what it was to make warre.

How our fyrste parentes after sinne knew both good and euill.

God commaunded nothing in the lawe for the learning of the art of warfare.

made certaine lawes for making of warre, but they pertayne nothing to the attayning of knowledge in the arte of warrefare. And I, in my iudgemente, doe allowe the interpretation of the Hebrewes, rather than that which was first alligned.

3 Of those whom he left, there were fyue Lordes of the Philistians and all the Chananites, and Sidonites, and the Heuites that dwelled in Mount Libanon, euen from Mount Baal Hermon vnto the entrance of Hamath.
4 Those (I say) remayned to proue Israell by, and to wete whether they would obey the preceptes of the Lord, which he commaunded their fathers by the hand of Moyses.
5 The children of Israell therefore dwelt among the Chananites, Hethites, Amorites, Pherezites, Heuites, and Iebusites.

That which is in the Hebrewe Sirni, Ierome sometimes translateth rulers, and sometimes Lordes. And we may call them Princes, or Presidentes, or ells Gouernours. Those woordes the Grecians call, σατράπης, σαλραπευειν, σαλραπεια. But yet they are derined of the Persians, yea & the Latines sometimes vsed thē. Terence in his comedie Heautontim: writeth. If Satrapes (ỳ is a Lord) be a louer, he shal not be able to abide the charge. Dauid Kimhi thinketh these woords in the text, Fyue lords of the Philistians, to be a figuratiue kinde of speche, ỳ by the fyue Lords, we might vnderstand those fiue places, which they were lords ouer, that is fiue Lordships of the Philistians. And those places be named in the booke of Iosua the 13 chap. Gaza, Asdod, Ascalon, Aekron & Geth. Of euery one of these cities they toke vnto thē the name of the lordship. And vndoubtedly there is manifest mencion made of them in the fyrst booke of Samuell, for of ech of thē there were gifts gathered wherwith the arke of the couenaunt was adorned to be sent agayne to the Israelites.

Satrapes.

Terence.

Dauid Kimhi.

The names of the Lordships of Palestine.

Howbeit this may seme to be strange how these cities should now be sayd not to be conquered by the Israelits. When as in this booke the first chap. Gaza, Ascalon, & Aekron are declared to be wonne in that battaile, which was made by the tribes of Iuda and Simeon. Whereunto we aunswere, ỳ in dede those cities were taken at ỳ time, when as for all that they were not fully conquered by the leading and conduct of Iosua, as it is written in his boke. Howbeit at this time. as the history now testifyeth, they were not in the power of the Iewes. For by reason of the sinnes of the Hebrues, the strength of the Philistians was confyrmed, & other nations of ỳ land of Chanaan wared euery day strōger & stronger, but the Israelites on the contrary side were feabled. Wherefore it was an easye matter for these places to fall againe into the power of the Philistians. For they were very skilful in feates of warre, and they had yron and hooked Charlottes. Neither did God fight for the Israelites. Wherefore they might without any great trauaile (by reason of the sinnes of the Iewes) recouer againe the places which they had lofte.

In that it is written And al the Chananites we must not vnderstand it absolutely and simplie, but only of those which inhabited ỳ places here mencioned. Farther we must note, that in the boke of Iosua there were also Chananites and Zidonites rehearsed which were not at that time destroyed. And as touching the Mount Libanon, some write, ỳ it was so called of frankencense which the Grecians call λιβανον, yea and the Hebrues call frankencense Libona. And Mount Hermon (as the boke of Deut. teacheth) was called of the Amorrites, Naschir, & of the Sirians Scherion. Wherof peraduēture the prouince of Siria had his name.

The Mounte Libanon.

And

6 And they tooke the Daughters of them to be their wyues, and gaue their own daughters to their sonnes: and serued their Gods.
7 Wherefore the chil dren of Israel did wickedly in the sight of the Lord, and forgot the Lorde their God, & serued Baalim, & groues.

The Israelites synned three times against God. First, because (as it is already shewed) they dwelled peaceably and quietly among the Chananites, and contrary to the commaundement of God made those nations tributaries vnto them. Secondly because they contracted matrimonies with that people. And that had God prohibited to be done, as the law in many places witnesseth. Yea and in the booke of Esdras the last chap. we reade of a grieuous complaynt because the Iewes in their captiuitye in Babilon had taken straungers to wyues. And Esdras there decreed that such wiues should be put away, & that those matrimonies should be counted voide, which wer contracted betwene persons prohibited by God. And why God would not haue matrimonies so contracted, this reason is chiefly alledged, because by such vnlike matrimonies the worshipping of God is wonderfully empaired. For godly husbandes or wiues are by the vngodly parties oftentimes alienated from the true god. Neither doth the Scripture onely teache vs this, but also experience both in the olde time, and also in our time testifieth it. For as much as Salomon (as it is written in the first boke of the kinges the. xi. chap.) was both corrupted, and also builded Temples for Idoles, by the entisement of straunge women, whom he most inordinately loued, and more than was cõuenient. Wherfore he miserably incurred the wrath of god. The Iewes also (as our history declareth) had experience of the same. And we in our time see great hinderaunce to come vnto the beleuers, because very many of them contract matrimony with Papistes. The third synne of the Hebrewes was, because they worshipped Idoles: and that was most of all against the league which they had long before made with god, for they sayd: we will serue the Lord our god. 1. The synnes of the Hebrues. 2. Godforbydeth vnlyke marryages. 3.

Further it is added: And they woorshipped trees or groues. Thys woorde Aschera with the Hebrues is a tree, and being in the plural number Ascheroth as it is in this place, it signifieth trees, and of some it is translated groues. For it is a most common maner among the Idolatrers, to woorship their goddes in groues. In Oken groues they sacrificed vnto Iupiter, and the Oke of Dodome, was in the old time most famous, by reason of the answers which it gaue. In woods of bay trees was Apollo woorshipped. Daphne also is notable wher the Temple of Apollo was built. Minerua also was wont to haue a temple among Olive trees. And lastly we may marke both in the Poetes, and also in histories, that shadowy woods, most large riuers, & mountaines of exceding great height wer counted of the men in the old time places most apt for sacrifices to be done vnto Idoles. Because such places driue into men no smal admiration. Wherefore they thought that such notable places had the power of god present. Yea, and Abraham also, Isaac and Iacob, and the old Fathers, offered sacrifices vnto the true god vpon the high mountaines, which custome was tyll such time vsed as god by a law ordained that they should not do sacrifice euerye where, but in that place onely which he himselfe had chosen. Gods wer woorshipped in groues. From whence the maner of sacrificing in hye mountains came

8 Therfore the Lord was angry with Israel, and sold them into the handes of Chusan Risea thaim kyng of Aram-Naharaim: & the childzen of Israel serued Chusan Risea thaim eyght yeares.

Now is particularly moncioned the punishment wherwith god being angry punished the Hebrewes. For when they so fel from him, that they forgot hym, he deliuered them to Chusan King of Mesopotamia. And this is the first bondage

dage that the childzen of Iſrael were in. And that which the Grecians cal μεσοποταμία, the Hebzues name Aram-naharaim. Nahar ſignifieth with them a Ryuer. It is therfoze put in the dual number, bicauſe that part Siria, oz Aram is enclosed with two riuers Euphrates (I ſay) and Tigris. Wherfoze as touching the ſignification of the wooꝛd the Grecians haue followed the Hebzues. But why Chuſan was called Riſeathaim, it is darke. Although D. Kimhi thinketh that ỹ ſurname was geuen him of ſome certain place, as we ſe to chaũce to Pzinces of our time, which receiue their ſurname of ỹ places, frõ whẽce their Elders had their beginning. But other ſome thinke that this king was therefoze ſo called, bicauſe he was very wicked and vngodly. Foz with the Hebzues Reſchaha ſignifieth wickednes and vngodlines. Wherfoze they wil haue it to be as much as if one ſhould ſay, Chuſan of vngodlines, oz vngodly Chuſan. It is the dual number, to declare that he was coꝛrupted not with any ſimple wickednes oz vngodlines, but with a doubt, that is with a pzincipal and abſolute wyckednes oz vngodlines. And ther wer ſome of the Hebzues which went about to exꝑreſſe the double vngodlines of the kings of Meſopotamia. Foz they ſay that Balaam was hired from thence to curſe the Iſraelites. Farther, and this (ſay they) was the other wickednes, wherwith this Chuſan oppzeſſed the Iewes, which by no right pertained to his dominion oz Lozdſhip. But theſe ought rather to be called diuinations and coniectures, than iuſt interpzetations.

Meſopotamia.

Of ỹ ſurname of Chuſan.

They ſerued hym eyght yeares. Undoubtedly a very long time, which I ſuppoſe was ſo much the painfuller vnto them, bicauſe from their commyng out of Egipt hitherto, they had ſerued none. But vnder what pzetence this Kyng ſubdued vnto him the Hebzues it is not declared. Peraduenture he thought that the Iewes wer a part of his people ſent abzoade to inhabite. Foz Abraham was cal led out of Chaldea, and came firſt into Meſopotamia. From whence by the commaundement of God he went into the land of Chanaan. Furthermoze in that place Iacobs childzen were bozne, which wer the Pzinces of the twelue Tribes. This peraduenture wer the titles, wherby the Chaldeans and Sirians endeuoured them ſelues often times to be Lozds ouer the Hebzues, which thing yet they did vnluckily. Foz ther wer no people ſent from the Chaldeans oz from the Sirians by the common wyll and conſent of the Pzinces and Magiſtrates, whyche ſhould go and inhabite in ſome place of the land of Chanaan, Wherfoze they did wzongfullye oppzeſſe the Iewes and were ſtyzred vp thereunto by couetouſnes and ambition to enlarge their dominions. This is alſo vncertayn whether this Chuſan did together with the Iewes oppzeſſe the Chananites. And it maye be, that he was not troubleſome to the Chananites as to his friendes, but onely afflicted the Hebzues. Neither wer it abſurde to thinke, that this king was called by the Chananites to oppzeſſe the Hebzues their common enemies.

Why the Chaldeans and Sirians went about to gouern the Iewes.

9 And the childzen of Iſrael cryed vnto the Lozd: and the Lozd ſtyzred vp a Sauiour to the childzen of Iſrael, and ſaued them, one Othoniel the ſonne of Chenez, Calebs yonger ſonne.

10 And the ſpirit of the Lozd was vpon him, and he iudged Iſrael, and he went out to warre, and the Lozd deliuered Chuſan Riſeathaim kyng of Aram into his hande: and hys hande pzeuayled agaynſt Chuſan Riſeathaim.

11 And the lande had reſt. 40. yeares: And Othoniel the Sonne of Chenez dyed.

Iſrael cryed vnto the Lozd, bicauſe they wer euil bered, and moſt grieuouſly oppzeſſed of the Sirians. They acknowledged now after their great hurt that ſtraunge Gods pzofited them nothing, yea rather they bzought vpon them the miſeries

miſeries wherwith they were vexed. When they vnderſtoode that mans helpe was on euery ſide cut of, they conuerting them ſelues vnto the true God, called vpon him. This is the fruite of miſeries as touching the elect, or rather the fruit of the goodnes of God, which by troubles calleth againe vnto him, thoſe which are his. Of Othoniel we haue ſpoken inough before. Now he is called a Sauiour, becauſe he brought health vnto the Iſraelites as ỹ other Iudges did, which were alſo called Sauiours, he was a ſhadow of Chriſt. But the Chaldey paraphraſt calleth him Porkan, that is a Redemer. Which ſurname alſo rightly agreeth with Othoniel: becauſe before it is ſayd that God ſold the Iſraelites: and when bondmen are ſold, they haue nede of one to redeme them.

Othoniel was called a ſauiour and a redemer.

For as much as before it was ſaid ỹ God raiſed vp Iudges, now is declared the maner & forme how he raiſed them vp. For it is written: And the ſpirite of the Lord was vpon hym. For by the holy ghoſt were not onelye geuen vnto hym ſtrength, political wiſdome and warlyke artes, but alſo he was made the more certain of his calling. The Chaldey paraphraſt vnderſtandeth by the Spirit of God the power of prophecy. But Dauid Kimhi interpreteth it the gift of force & ſtrength. But I thinke that either interpretacion is to be allowed. For beſydes the ſtrength and power which was geuen the Iudges, they had alſo the iudgement and feeling of the wil of God, which pertained vnto prophecy.

After what maner God raiſed vp Iudges.

Dauid Kimhi.

He iudged Iſrael. That is, he ſet them at liberty and was their Gouernour as touching ciuil thinges, and reſtored the pure worſhipping of God. In that it is aboue written that God ſold Iſrael to the king of Meſopotamia. And nowe again it is declared ỹ he deliuered the ſame king vnto Othoniel, we may gather ỹ victories are geuē at ỹ pleaſure of God, which alſo we haue often noted before.

R. Leui ben gerſon thinketh that in that ſupputation of. 40. yeares wherein the Iewes liued peaceably vnder Othoniel were comprehended alſo the eyght yeares of ſeruitude which went before. But of this thing we wil ſpeake abundantly in the hiſtory of Iiphtah. This place teacheth that men muſt call vpon God, though they haue ſynned: which I therefore thought good to note, becauſe ſinnes vſe much to feare away men from the inuocation of the name of God for this is the nature of ſynnes to alienate vs frō God, vnto whom we yet by prayers come againe. Wherfore ſeing theſe thinges are contrary, namely to be alienated from God, and to come vnto him, it is wonder how they can be applyed to one, and the ſelfe ſame man. And this maketh with it alſo which is written in the goſpel: God heareth not ſinners. Although Auguſtine writeth of that ſentēce, that it is found in dede in the holy ſcriptures, but it was ſpoken by hym whych was borne blynde, when his hart was not yet illuſtrate. Wherefore he iudgeth that that ſentence is not to be taken as a firme and certaine rule. But I would rather make a diſtinction betwene ſynners, for there are ſome, which when they ſey vnto the Lord, do repent, and from their hartes are ſory, for the euils which they haue committed. But ther are other which continue ſtil in their mynd and purpoſe to ſynne, and haue a very great delite therin. Farther I am not afeard to affirme, that god heareth thoſe ſynners which being repentant cry vnto him with faith: wher as thoſe are repulſed which being hardened in their ſinnes and wāting faith do call vpon god. Wherfore it appeareth that thoſe ſinners which come to god, and thoſe that depart from god are not ſinners of one ſort, becauſe they which after they haue ſynned cal vpon god by faith, & repent them of their ſynnes, are deuided from thoſe which ſtubbornly without repentaunce perſeuer in their ſynnes. For they although by wordes they cry vnto god, yet in hart and mynde they are farre from him, ſo farre are they for to be ioyned vnto him, or to come vnto him by fayth and prayers.

R. Leui ben gerſchon.

God is alſo to be called vpon of ſynners.

Auguſtine.

A diſtinction of ſynners.

Whether God be the cauſe of ſynne.

But in theſe thinges which are ſayd, there ariſeth a queſtion which is not to be left vnſpoken of. For it is written that god ſold the Iſraelites to the king of

of Mesopotamia. Wherfore it seemeth that he holpe a wicked man, & aided hym to satisfy his tyranny and ambition. For he had neither a iust cause, nor yet an honest title, to clayme vnto him the dominion of the Hebrues. What shall wee saye therefore? Shall we affirme that God is the cause of this sinne? Wher happeneth in this booke and in other places of the holye Scriptures suche kynde of speeche, and that often times very plaine, and therefore it seemeth good to be expounded once for all.

Whether by ye word permissiō this question may be dissolued.

Some, yea and that with no euyl minde labour to excuse God, and say that he doth not these euyl thinges, but onely permitteth them, And they thinke that in doubtful places, that interpretation is to be applied, which altogether wanteth fault and daunger of vngodlines. Undoubtedly this their saying wer to be praised, if that we could se their exposition to be allowed in the scriptures. But there it is farre otherwise sayd, namely that God doth stirre vp wycked men to their wicked actes, that he seduceth, delyuereth, commaundeth, hardeneth, and deceaueth them, and bringeth to passe those sinnes which are grieuous. Suche kindes of speeche do manifestly teach vs, that God after a sorte worketh euyll thinges, not onely in permitting, but also in doing in vs. Without doubt al we are said both to haue our being, and also our mouing in him: For he is in suche sort the first cause of all thinges, that without him we can do nothing. For how should we moue our selues, vnlesse by his power we wer both moued and also driuen: Farther, how farre his gouernment extendeth, we may reade in the.x. chap. of Mathew: for two Sparowes (saith the Lord) are sold for a farthing, and yet one of them falleth not to the ground without the wyll of the father. And that was as much to say as without the counsell of God nothing be it neuer so smal is done in the world. Moreouer that permission wherby certainie go about to make plaine this question, at the length is called againe to the will. For who soeuer can let and prohibite any thing that is euil, and doth it not, it is manyfest that after a sort he is willing therunto. Besides that, he permitteth it not against his wyll, but willingly. Wherefore a wyll without doubt is contayned in that permission.

It is proued by good reasons that besides permission god worketh somewhat whē sinne is cōmitted.

1.

2.

3.

4.

God doth not idelye beholde those thinges whych are done of men, but worketh together with them

But now must we shew, that God, when sinnes are committed, doth not idely looke on, yea he worketh somwhat there. For Esay in the.v. chap. saythe, that God would geue a token, and with his hissing cal a nation from the vtmost partes of the earth, which should ouerthrow the kingdome of the Hebrues, as their synnes had deserued. By which it manifestly appeareth, that God stirreth vp Tyrannes and outward nations to these vniust warres. Also in the.x. chap. the same Prophet pronounceth that king to be wicked, which in that expedition was in the hand of God as a saw, a staffe, and an axe. There is no man ignorant but that al these thinges do so worke and moue, that they be first moued. Yea and that proud king is therfore reprehended, bicause he so exalted himselfe as though he wer God, who had by him brought such and so great thinges to passe. Ioseph also in the booke of Genesis said vnto his brethren which had by a wicked cōspiracy sold him: It was not you but god that sent me into Egipt. In the first booke of the kinges also, and the.xxii. chap: Sathan, who was readye to deceaue Achab, was commaunded by God to do it, & to preuaile. Which words declare that God himselfe commaundeth and also stirreth vp to deceaue. Further it is written in the Prouerbes the.xxi. chap. The hart of the king is in the hand of God, he shal incline it whether soeuer he wyl. The scripture saith also of Pharao, kinges seme free from humayne lawes, but God boweth them whether he wyll, (which place Paul alledgeth) that his hart was hardened by God. Neither maketh this anye thing against it, if thou shalt say that it is written in the.viii. chap. of Exodus, that Pharao hardened himselfe, for as muche as both the sayinges are true. For God doth no violence to the wyll of man, seing that nothing is more contrarye vnto it than to make it to doo any thing vnwillingly,

Esay.5.

Esay.10.

Gen:45.

1.kinges.22.

Prouerbes.21.

Exodus.9.10.11 Rom.9.

Pharao was hardened both of god & of hym self.

ar by compulsion. Howbeit it is chaunged and bowed of God so softly and pleasantly, that it willingly & without violence inclineth to whatsoeuer pleaseth God. And it often times happeneth (as Augustine in diuers places hath taught) that God punisheth former sinnes by latter synnes. And the holye scriptures before Augustines time testified the same, & especially Paule, in his Epistle to the Romā. the first chap. Wherfore God hath in his hand the affections of our hart, which he loseth or restraineth as shal seeme good to his most wise prouidence, & turneth them whithersoeuer it shal please him. And so great is his power, ý we must beleue that he worketh much more, than may be expressed by the woord of permission. For Paul feared not thus to write vnto the Thessalonians: bycause they haue not receaued the loue of the truth, therfore shal God send on them an error, so that they shal beleue lyes, & al they shalbe iudged which haue not beleued the truth, but allowed vnrighteousnes. These wordes manifestly testifye, ý God did cast error vpon them, to punish their former sinne, namelye vpon those which despised the truth offered them. Dauid also semeth to tend to this, when in the. 2. booke of Samuel the. 16. chap. he said of Simeck: Suffer him, for God hath cōmaunded him to curse me. Also in the same booke the. 12. chap. God by Nathan the Prophet saith of Dauid which had grieuously fallen: behold I wyll stirre vp euil against thee, & wil take thy wiues, & geue them vnto thy neighbour, who shal sleepe with them: this diddest thou secretly, but I wil do this thing openly, in the eyes of the Sunne and of all Israel.

God worketh more as touching sinnes than is expressed by the worde permission.

2. Thess. 2.

2. Sam: 16.

2. Sam: 12.

If the matter be so (thou wilt say) they which sinne shall easily be excused: for they may saye, ý they wer by God moued & stirred vp to sin. Not so. For mē ar not so deliuered by God vnto sins, as though they wer them selues pure & innocent. For they which ar so stirred vp to naughtines, haue worthily deserued the same. And the same men are not driuen against their wil, but they wonderfully delite themselues in those transgressions and sinnes. Wherefore their excuse is foolishe, or rather none.

The sinnes of men are not excused by the working of god

But this semeth to be against the things before said, bicause in the Psalmes it is written that God is such a one, as willeth no iniquity, and hateth synnes. And vndoubtedly he is so in dede: For vnles he hated sinnes, why should he punish them: for thinges that are allowed, are not wont to be punished. Farther, he hath most seuerely prohibited them by his lawes. But as touching this, thus must we decree of the wil of god, that it is in nature and very dede one, which yet may be deuided for diuers and sundry respectes. For as it is set forth in the scriptures & the law, he condemneth sinnes, he prohibiteth them, and threatneth most grieuous punishments vnto them. Howbeit bicause he directeth the same sinnes whithersoeuer he wil, & vseth them to his counsels and decrees, neyther when he may, letteth them, it is therfore sayd that after a sort he willeth them. Neither is it meete to deny that such sundry respectes are in the wyl of god. For god would before al beginninges, haue his sonne sacrificed vnto him for a most swete sacrifice: who yet himself said in the law: Thou shalt not kil, & thou shalt not shed innocent blood. God also forbad, that any shoulde be deceaued, who for all that would haue Achab to be deceaued of Sathan, as we haue a lyttle before mencioned. And least any man should doubt that Christ was put to death by the wyl of God, we may se in the actes of the Apostles that it is most manifestly said that the Iewes did those things which God by his counsel had before ordained.

Whether God do together both hate & wil sinnes.

A distinction of ý wyll of God.

Christ was killed by the will of God.

What then: shal we say that god is the cause of synne: Not so, for if we wil speake properly: and that it may the more manifestly appeare, we must marke, that one selfe acte as it is deriued from vs, is verye synne: but in respecte that it commeth from God, it is both good, iust, and holy. For punishment is by God imposed to wycked men. And to punishe synnes, no man is ignorant but that it partayneth to iustice. Wherfore God in withdrawing his grace from the vngodly, and ministring some occasions, which might moue to good things, if they

God if we speake properli is not the cause of sinne.

happened to right & iuſt mindes, and which he knoweth the wicked will turne to euil, may after a ſort, although not properly, be ſaid to be the cauſe of ſinne. And vndoubtedly that act, in that it proceedeth through vs, is ſinne, but not as it commeth from God. For in that it cõmeth frõ God, it is moſt perfect iuſtice. It happeneth ſometimes, that the ſelf ſame wine being powred into a corrupt veſſell, is loſt, and made palde: which wine as it was brought by the husbandman & put into the veſſel is both ſweete and good. Neither is it hard to vnderſtand how one & the ſelfe ſame act may as touching one, be vicious & in reſpect vnto an other, iuſt. For when a murtherer & a hangman do kill a man, the act as touching the matter or ſubiect, without doubt is al one, namelye the death of a man. And yet the murtherer doth it moſt vniuſtly, & the hangman by law and iuſtice. Iob also do wel vnderſtand that when he ſaide: The Lord gaue, & the Lord hath taken away as it hath pleaſed him, ſo is it done: he did not by thoſe words praiſe the Chaldians, Sabines, & the Deuil, which were veſſels of iniquity, & moſt vicious: but he with great godlines allowed thoſe euils, as they were gouerned & ruled by the prouidence of God, namely for this cauſe, becauſe they pleaſed God. It is alſo written in the. 2. booke of Samuel the. 24. chap. of Dauid, who vnadviſedly would haue the people numbred, & how God was angry with Iſrael, & therefore be ſtyred by Dauid to do that. And in the booke of Paral. it is writte that Sathan was the doer of it. For God doth thoſe thinges which he will haue done by Angels, as wel good as euil. Wherefore that numbring of the people as it proceeded of Dauid or the Deuil, was in vede vicious, but in that it came from God, who intended to puniſh the Iſraelites, it pertayned exedingly to the letting forth of his iuſtice.

Howbeit Iames ſayth, that God tempteth none to euyll, but euery one of vs is allured by our owne concupiſcence. Auguſtine writing vpon this thyng in his booke de conſenſu Euangeliſtarum, ſaith that there are two kyndes of temptation, the one of trial, the other of deceite. And in deceas touching tryal he denyeth not but that God tempteth, for that the ſcriptures do confeſſe it. But with that kinde of temptation which deceaueth, wherevnto Iames wrote, he ſayth that God tempteth no man. But the ſcriptures teache not ſo, as we haue declared a litle before of Dauid, and before him of Achab, Iudea, and in Ezechiel the. 14. chap. God ſaith that he had deceaued the Prophet. And he ſaide Auguſtine writeth not after the ſame maner in other places, as it manifeſtly appeareth in his bookes de Prædeſt. Sanctorum, de Corrept. & Gratia, and Valent. and in his. 3. booke and. 3. chap. contra Iulianum. Wherefore the true interpretatiõ of this place is, that euery man is therefore tempted of his own concupiſcence, becauſe al men haue their natural diſeaſe, which is corruption, and vicious luſts, which al together borne with them, & do alſo grow and increaſe in them. Wherefore God tempteth no malice of his, for he hath enough at home. Wherefore he cannot be accuſed, for as much as the beginning of vngodlines & wickednes commeth not from him, but lieth hid in vs: he ought not therefore to be counted to geue the cauſe and fault, who yet when it ſeemeth good vnto him, will by iuſt cauſes haue our lacks & wickednes brought to light, and rule & gouerne our wicked mindes, thereby more and more to illuſtrate his iuſtice and glorye, & to aduaunce the ſaluation of the godly. Wherefore his ſingular godnes and prouidence is very much to be praiſed, which can ſo ſkilfully and wiſely vſe ſo euyll meanes.

But if a man will aſke, how it happeneth, that ſome are more prone to ſinnes than others, if (as it is ſayd) malice & wyckednes be not ſtored into vs all from our byrth, neither is it nede that any new or larger malice ſhould be infuſed in vs frõ God. And ſeing that we al al brought forth of one & the ſelfe ſame lumpe, and that lumpe likewiſe is altogether vitiated, it ſhould ſeeme that al alſo ought to be of a like diſpoſition and inclination to wickednes. But this is diligently to be weighed, that betwixt this diſpoſition there happen naturall mat-

ters,

Auguſtine. Whether God tempt or no.

God when he will bringeth to light our frowardnelle of mynde.

Whence the diuerſity of propenſitie to ſinne commeth.

ces, maners, cuſtomes, wicked qualities, fellowſhippes, temperatures of bodies, ſundry parentes, diuers countries, and manifold cauſes, wherby ſome are made more or leſſe prone vnto ſins, which proneneſſe of ours God according to his iuſtice, goodnes, and wiſdome vſeth and ſtirreth it vp, gouerneth and ruleth it. And this is not to be forgotten, that none of vs haue ſo in our ſelues the beginninges of good actes, which truely pleaſe God, as wee euen from the verye birth haue within vs the beginninges of ſins. For they ar inſpired in vs by the holy ghoſt, and we continually receaue them of God, neither burſt they forth out of the corrupt beginninges of our nature.

Now reſteth to ſee from whence after the ſynne of Adam, that frowardnes and corruption came, and whither it wer deriued from God to puniſh the wicked act which was committed. I anſwer, that we maye not ſo thynke: for man was for the fault which he had committed alienated from god, wherfore he iuſtly withdrew from him his giftes, fauour and grace. And our nature being left vn to it ſelf, falleth and declineth to worſe and worſe, yea it cõmeth to nothyng, from whence it was brought forth at the beginning. Wherefore by that withdrawing of giftes and grace, and departure from God, which is the fountain of al good thinges, nature is by it ſelf throwen headlong into vice and corruption. But now let vs returne to the hiſtory.

Whether the firſt corruption after the ſynne of Adam were deriued frõ god or no.

Wherefore we muſt ſeke for no other efficiẽt cauſe of that corruption.

12 Againe the childzen of Iſrael dyd euill in the ſyght of the Lord. And the Lord ſtrengthened Eglon king of Moab, againſt Iſrael: bicauſe that they had done euyl in the ſight of the Lord.

13 And this (Eglon) gathered vnto him the Chyldren of Ammon and Amalek, and went and ſmote Iſrael: and they poſſeſſed the citye of Palme trees.

14 And the childzẽ of Iſrael ſerued Eglon king of Moab. 18. yeres

The hiſtory declareth firſt the ſinne which the Iſraelites committed: then it ſheweth the puniſhment wherewith for the ſame they wer puniſhed. As ſoone as their good Prince was dead, the people fel againe to their olde wyckednes, neyther did they onely commit thoſe ſinnes which before they had committed, but to them they added ſome ſinnes more grieuous. For the laſt fallinges were for the moſt part greeuouſer than they which wer paſt: for at the leaſt thei added this, in that they more & more became ingrate for the benefites paſt, when they againe fel from God, with whom they were before reconciled into fauour. Their puniſhment was bondage, wherin they wer bound & ſerued the Moabites. Without doubt a grieuous kinde of puniſhment: bicauſe it is maruaylouſlye agaynſt the ſtate and nature of man. For al men by nature ar borne free. And bondage, as euen the Lawyers alſo do confeſſe, was brought in by a cõmõ law among men agreeing to natural reaſon. But it may more truly be ſaid ỹ it was brought in bicauſe of ſinne. Enemies when they wer ouercome in warre, wer ſomtimes ſaued, & compelled to ſerue them which ouercame them: and ther can be no iuſt warres taken in hand, vnles it be to reuenge ſome facinorous acte. Wherefore we ſaid wel, that ſeruitude was deriued of ſinne: & is therfore a grieuous puniſhment, bicauſe it is againſt the nature of man. I graunt in deede that this is natural, for the childzen to be obedient vnto the parentes, the ſubiect vnto the Magiſtrates, the vnlearned & vnſkilful vnto the wiſer, & the weake ones muſt apply themſelues to the mightier. But this kinde of obedience and ſeruice, namely toward them which are fauourable vnto vs, and ſeeke for our profyt, is voluntary. Wherefore it very much differeth from the ſeruitude, wherof we now intreate. For that voluntarye kynde of obedience myght haue bene vſed when men were in perfecte ſtate: but this whyche was brought in for ſynne coulde not bee there. And bondmen are compelled to ſerue not ſuche as are their friendes, but ſtraungers and enemyes, and that in thynges vnprofitable vnto

The laſt fallinges wer for the moſt parte more grieuous than the firſt.

Seruitude is againſt the nature of man.

Seruitude was brought in by cauſe of ſinne.

Certaine ſubiections are natural.

Which is the more grieuous bondage.

them, yea and often tymes thynges hurtfull and vnhoneſt.

Seruitude alſo is then far more grieuous, when people are ſubiect vnto thoſe enemies which once wer ouercome by them, and whom before they ruled. Theſe euyls happened vnto the Iſraelites. For the Moabites were enemies vnto the Hebrues, euen from the beginning, and they hired Balaam to curſe them, and in the wildernes they abandoned their women vnto them, for the which the people was afterward grieuouſly plagued. Farther, the Iewes ouercame the Moabites by warre, and punished them ſore, as we reade in the booke of Numbers. Beſides that, the Moabites wer a filthy and an infamed people: for their father was Moab, the ſonne of Loth, who begat him by inceſt. Neither would God ſuffer, that they ſhould be admitted into his church. For theſe cauſes therfore, was this bondage moſt hard, and eſpecially vnto the Hebrues, which were alreadye before by god ſet at liberty both from the Egiptians and alſo from the Sirians, and by wonderfull woorkes from them redeemed.

The Moabits wer enemyes to the Iewes from the beginning.

God ſtrengthned Aeglon, namely in geuing him courage and ſtrength, making him prompt, and ſtyrring him vp alſo by ſome certaine occaſions. And adioyned vnto hym Ammon and Amalek. This may be vnderſtand two wayes, either that Eglon adioyned vnto him ſelfe ſuch confederates, or that god cauſed this league to be made betwene theſe nations. And vndoubtedlye both ſignifications are true: for that which they dyd, they coulde not haue executed without the wyll and ayde of god.

Let vs note in this place, that the vngodly, which otherwiſe agree not verye wel among them ſelues, do eaſely conſpire againſt the people of god. Wherfore theſe three nations being ioyned together, did eaſely ouercome the Iſraelites, which wer forſaken of god. And they poſſeſſed the city of Palme trees, which is Iericho, as it appeareth in Deut. and as it is before declared. But in that it is ſaid that they tooke poſſeſſion of it, it ſignifieth that they did not ſpoyle it, and leaue it voyde: for they claimed it vnto them ſelues, making the landes and poſſeſſions therof proper vnto them ſelues. Neither is it vnlykelye, but that they put in it a gariſon of ſoldiors, for to oppreſſe the Hebrues more grieuouſly. And yet I do not thinke, that they reſtored again the city vnto them, for that came to paſſe afterward in the time of Achab, as it is declared in the booke of Kynges.

The vngodly do eaſilye conſpire againſt the people of god.

But this peraduenture may ſeeme marueilous vnto ſome, that god vſed to punish his people by other nations farre woorſe than they wer: for as muche as the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites wer Idolatrers, & nations that were ouerwhelmed in all kinde of wickednes. To this I wil anſwer, that it was the prouidence of god, which (as I haue before declared) doth in ỹ ſorte punish ſyns with ſynnes, and in ſuch maner chaſten the vngodly, by others that are vngodly. Farther, by it he declareth, that theſe things though they be euyll, yet they can not eſcape, but that ſome way they ſhal ſerue his will. But whi he differreth to punyſh nations, which otherwiſe are wicked, and his own he ſtraight waye puniſheth, this is the cauſe: becauſe they pertaining to god, do ſynne againſt his law which they know. Wherfore ther is no cauſe why the Turkes and Papiſts though they ſomtimes preuayle againſt vs, to punish our ſinnes, ſhould flatter them ſelues therby, as though they were much better than we are, or as though their ſuperſtitions were better than our religion. For if the Moabites, Chananites, and Aſſirians were not counted better than the Iewes, whom they ouercame: no more ſhall the Turkes or Papiſtes obtayne the ſame, thoughe ſometymes by the wyl of God they afflict the Goſpellers. Wherfore god doth quickly punish his, for his woord ſake, which is among them published: hee wyll not eaſely ſuffer, that his woord being receaued and knowen ſhould be deſpiſed and eſcape vnpunished. There were vndoubtedly very many lyers and falſe men at Ieruſalem, and yet god ſuffered them, where as he ſtraight waye deſtroyed Ananias and Saphira. For he would adorne & ſet forth ỹ goſpel & holy miniſtery.

Why god puniſheth his people by vngodly ones.

Whi god ſoner puniſheth his owne than he doth ſtrangers.

God wyll not eaſely ſuffer his woorde beynge knowen & receiued to be deſpiſed.

And

And now that the Ethnikes do see, how seuerely God punisheth vs, they maye easelye coniecture what hangeth ouer their heades, according to the saying of Christ: If this be done in the grene tree, what shall be done in the drye tree. And if by reason of their blindnesse they vnderstand not this, we ought diligently to remember it to our great consolation. We rede in Jeremye the. xlix. Chapiter that the people of God dranke of the cup of the Lord, which semed not so muche to deserue it: Wherefore the Edomites ought much more to loke, to be one day punished with punishmentes appointed for them. In Ezechiel also the. ix. Chap. god exhorteth nations against the Hebrues, to kil and spare none, but first they should begyn at his sanctuary. Peter also in his. i. Epistle the. 4. chap. The time is (saith he) that iudgement must begin at the house of God. But why he sayth that nowe is the tyme, I thinke this is the cause, because he sawe that all those thinges which the Prophetes had foresposen of the chastising of the people of Israell before other nations, should chiefly of al take place among the Christians. For those thinges which happened vnto the Iewes in a figure or shadowe, do chiefly belong vnto vs. Wherefore Christ being made manifeste, & his fayth being spred abroade throughout the worlde, Peter thought that it shoulde be very soone accomplished, that iudgement should beginne at the Christians whiche are the house of God.

Furthermore there are in the fellowship of the people of god alwaies some holy men still founde, which when sharpe affliction cõmeth are proued, & as golde in fyer are made more bright, which the heauenly father will chiefly and spedely to be done. The electe also, which haue fallen, being admonished by chastisementes and aduersities, do vse to returne againe into the right way. And that the same may come to passe, God, who louyth them exceedingly, doth of his louing care prouide. But such as are incureable, his wil is that they should quickly be broken, least they might longer than is mete, hurt and with their contagiousnesse destroy other. These vndoubtedly are the causes, why God doth sooner correcte his own than straungers. It is not to be attributed to hatred but to most feruent loue. For the deuine oracles declare vnder the person of God. Whom I loue I correct and chastise. Also a good housholder not regarding straungers, beginneth seuere discipline at his own, when they sinne.

The Israelites serued the Kyng of Moab. xviii. yeares. Thys with out doubt was a long tyme of bondage. And not without desert, bicause ẏ Hebrewes had augmented their sinne, either in ẏ they cõmitted thinges more grenous, or els bycause when they were reprehended and delinered, they fel agayne to their old wickednesse. This latter seruitude was twice so long as was that wherein they serued the king of Mesopotamia.

15 And the children of Israell cryed vnto the Lorde: and the Lord stirred them vp a Sauioure Ehud the sonne of Gera, the sonne of Iemini, a man hauing an impediмente in hys ryght hande, and by hym the children of Israell sente a presente vnto Eglon the kyng of Moab.

The kindnesse and mercy of God is farre greater than the kindnesse and mercy of men. For if any through their own default fal into any miseryes, men for the moste parte haue no compassion on them. Which manifestly appeareth in ẏ Romane lawes, in the Digestes de deposito vel contra. In the lawe, bona fides, it is ordayned that a pledge shoulde not bee restored, but shoulde bee geuen to the treasorye, when he whiche owed the pledge doth so offende, that he deserueth banishemente, bycause that he suffred it through hys owne default, and therefore is it meete that he shoulde bee punyshed with pouertye. A woman also, if she committe aduoutrye, dyd not only loose her dowery, but also she cã clayme none of her husbands goods, bicause through her own default

The kindnesse of God is farre greater thã the mercye of men.

the falleth into that misery: which is also written in Decretalibus, title de consuetudine, chap. Ex parte. But god is so merciful and long suffring that he saith in Ieremy: I will do that, which none of you wil do. No husband would receaue againe a wife which he hath repudiated, especially for adultery sake. But I, so that thou wilte returne, will take thee againe, although thou hast most filthily played the harlot with thy louers. This goodnesse of god ought we also to follow not only to haue cõpassion on those, which wõut their own fault are thrust into miseries but of those also which for their faults are chastised. Wherefore we ought to be gentle towardes them, but yet so farre as good lawes wil suffer: which I therfore adde, lest hereupon any should thinke that such as are condemned to death or are captiues for wicked actes whiche they haue committed might be deliuered against the wil of the Magistrates. Christ commaunded, that we should forgeue the repentant sinner, not once nor seuen tymes, but seuenty times seuen times: this doth he himself toward his people: thei fal in dede oftentimes, and most filthily sinne, and yet when they retourne the heauenly Father both receaueth and also deliuereth them.

It is not lawful by violence to deliuer those which ar alredy fallen into the power of the Magistrate.

He rayſed them vp a Iudge, Ehud the ſonne of Gera. The cõmon translation hath Aioth. But that is meruaile, for both in the Greeke and also the Latin translation, very many proper names are corrupted. As Isaac, Ezechiell, Ezechias, Nabuchodonosor, &c, for both those Nations abhorring from hard kinde of speaking haue leuifyed and mitigated the Hebrue woordes after the forme of their own speche. And this man of whom we entreate, came (as the holy history declareth) of the tribe of Beniamin. For the familye of Iemini, whereof he was borne, belonged vnto the tribe of Beniamin.

Why the Latin & Greeke translation haue corrupted proper names.

Hauing an impediment in hys ryght hand. The common Latine edition hath turned it Ambidextrum, that is, one which vseth both handes a like, which interpretation the Hebrewe phrase suffreth not, whiche is thus: Ater iad lamino, that is, shut or taken in his right hande. And in the Latin also we saye claudum, quasi clausum, that is, lame. And there are two causes alledged, why some are lefthanded. For eyther it commeth of custome from their childhode, or ells by some impediment in the right part. But I would thinke that ỹ custome of vsing the left hand from a childe commeth of some impediment, bycause peraduenture some pores of ỹ body are shut or stopped, by which ỹ spirites whiche are instrumentes of mouing, can not easlye haue their course to the sinowes and to the brawnes of the righthand. Otherwise children should of their own accord be prone to vse the right hand, for as much as in creatures, by order of nature, ỹ right part is much stronger thã ỹ left. Neither do I at this present speake of those which do of purpose practise to vse the left hand, that therby whẽ nede requireth they may haue both handes ready. For that serueth little to oure matter, for the history by expresse woordes declareth that this Ehud had an impedimente in hys right hand. Yet let vs remember, ỹ god for the executing of noble dedes & enterprises for the most part choseth the weake & vnapt ones, as the first epistle to the Corin. testifieth: Brethren, see to your calling: how ỹ not many noble men, not many wise men, not many mighty men, are chosen, but God hath chosen the foolishe things of the world, to put to shame the wise, & he hath chosen the weake things, to ouerthrow things ỹ are mighty, & also vile things, and thinges of no reputation hath God chosẽ to confound things of reputation, ỹ no flesh should be glorified in his sight, &c. For as much as the glorye of God shoulde easlye bee darkened by the power & wisedome of men. Wherfore ỹ that glory might excel, he hath elected the folyshenesse of preaching, he hath also chosen vnto himselfe rude Apostles, and weake and feable men, by whom he myghte shewe forth hys wonderfull workes. Howbeit bycause that which was now done by Ehud seemeth to be done by crafte, subtilitye and guile, it is declared what occasion God gaue of this noble dede.

Why some are lefthanded.

And

And by him the children of Israell sent a present vnto Eglon. God would therfore haue this messanger those, that he might the easlier come to the presence of the king. And I suppose that the present which they sent vnto Eglon was not the ordinary tribute which they payd, but some honorable gift, ther by to make the king more fauourable towards thē, or els to obtayne somewhat at his handes. For tribute is called by an other word of the Hebrewes than by this word Minchah. For that word is derined of this verbe Nachah, which is to bring, or to offre. Wherfore Minchah signified not only an oblation, which was appointed for sacrifices, but also a present, and gift presented vnto noble men. And for that cause in the booke of Genesis, those thinges whiche Iacob as a gifte sent vnto his brother Esau, before he came vnto him, are called by ỹ same name. And when Ehud saw, that he was called to a weighty and perilous enterprise, although he nothing doubted of the successe thereof, yet he diligentlye weyghed with himselfe the daungers to the end he myght the more prudently auoyde them. The callyng of GOD doeth vs to haue a sure confidence, but yet it nothyng letteth, but that we maye meditate howe we maye warely, and wyselye execute it. Ehud therefore reuoluing with himselfe the thynges that were to be done, caused that thyng to bee made for him, whiche the holy history by these wordes declareth. Minchah.

16 And Ehud made him a sword with two edges, of a cubite lēgth, and he girded it vnder his raymente, vpon his right thigh.
17 He presented the present vnto Eglon king of Moab. And Eglon was a very fatte man.
18 And when he had presented the presente, he sent away the people that bare the present.
19 But he himself returned agayne from the quarry of stones that was in Gilgal, and sayd: I haue a secret errand vnto thee O king: whoe aunswered: Keepe silence. And all they that stoode neere went forth.

Ehud made him a two edged sworde, whiche hauing a most sharpe edge on both sides, might both easlye pearse and cutte, and also quickely strike through the bodye. He caused it also to be made but a Cubite in length that he might the easlier hide it. Neyther is this woorde Gamar any other thing with the Hebrewes than Amah. Wherefore the Pigmeians in Ezechiell the. xxvii. Chapiter are called Gamerim, and therfore so called, because they are but a Cubite in stature. And such a short sworde the Latines call Sica that is, a scayne. He hidde it vnder his garments: for if he had worne bys sworde openlye, eyther he shoulde haue bene compelled to laye awaye his sworde, or elles he shoulde haue had no accesse vnto the kyng. For Tirannes will not easely admitte armed men priuately to talke with them. Furthermore if it had bene marked that at hys departure when he had killed the king, he caryed not hys sworde with hym as he broughte it, hys enterprise woulde easelye haue beene suspected. He gyrded the shorte sworde vppon hys ryghte thye, that he myght handsomly take it with his left hand, which only he was able to vse. What is the stature of Pigmeians.

Eglon was a very grosse man It is no straunge thing that Princes are troubled with ouermuch fatnesse. For they liue delicately, they eate and drinke aboundauntly, and very litle exercise they? minde and bodye. Agag the kyng of Amalek, is in the fyrste booke of Samuell described to haue beene suche an other.

And he sent the people awaye, namely those whiche broughte the gifte

And returned from the place of grauen Images which were by Gilgall. Those men which Ehud sent away, were eyther fellowes of the message or they which bare the gift that should be offred vnto the king. By good aduise he sent those away frō him, bicause he would talke with the king alone & without any arbiterers. And he saw that whē he had finished his purpose he should by flying away a great deale better saue himself being alone, thā he should do if he had many ioyned with him, bycause then he should not haue bene carefull onely howe to saue himself, but also how to saue others. Farther conspiracies whē they are communicated to many, haue very seldome good successe. Peraduenture also he woulde endaunger but himselfe only, and not bring others into daunger with him. Wherefore he sent them awaye that if any daunger shoulde peraduenture happen, they might be in safetye. And the place fro whence he returned is called Pesilim of this verbe Pasall, which is to cut or graue, bycause peraduenture there were in that place eyther a quarrey of stones, or elles some Idoles of late set vp by Eglon. For Gilgal was among the Iewes counted a religious place. For the arke of the couenaunt remayned there a while, and we read that the Israelites after they were passed ouer Iordane rested first in that place, and celebrated a general circumcision there. Wherefore it might easlye come to passe ẏ Eglon in contempte of the Hebrewes, had there placed Images and idoles.

Conspiracies cōmunicated to many haue seldome good successe.

Ehud when he had there sent away his fellowes, returned againe alone vnto the king, to whom he sayd, I haue a secret businesse to tell thee O Kyng. As touching the proper signification of his talke, he tolde the truth as it was. For Dabar signifieth with the Hebrewes not only a word, but also a thing and businesse. But bicause Eglon was thereby deceaued, and he spake these thinges to deceaue, he made a lye also. The King when he heard thys answered, Holde thy peace. Beckening vnto him to tell it him secretly & not to speake it before all them which stoode then by.

20 And Ehud came vnto him, and he sat in a sommer parler alone, and Ehud said: I haue a message vnto thee from God. And he arose out of his seate.
21 Then Ehud put forth his left hand, and toke the sworde frō hys right side, and thrust it into his bellye.
22 And the haft went after the blade, and the fat closed the hafte, so ẏ he could not draw the sworde out of hys belly, & the dirte came out.

As soone as they vnderstoode the will of the King they went all forth, and Ehud was lefte alone with the King. And he satte in a colde parler, that is, as they translate it, in a sommer parler. The Hebrew interpreters do say that that place was therfore the colder, bicause it had very many windowes, so that the ayre did the easlier come into it. When Ehud say d: I haue a message vnto the from God, he sayde not a message from Iehouah but from Elohim whiche is a general name and is also attributed vnto idoles, he lieth againe although he depart not from the signification of the wordes. He deceaued the king, and that he might the better beguile him he spake after this sorte. Eglon when mentiō was made of the worde of God, he rose vp & honoured it. And as it is to be thoughte, the manner was so at that time in those regions. And in oure daies we see oftentymes, that very many Princes whiche otherwyse are farre from religion, yet to fayne themselues most religious, will vncouer their hed at the name of God and of Christ, and come to holy seruices shewing greate reuerence vnto suche rites rather of hipocrisye, thereby to deceaue the common people and where as they are vngodlye they woulde bee counted verye Godlye. Thys did Eglon as farre as I suppose: althoughe I knowe that the Hebrew Rabines haue far otherwise fayned. For they say that bycause of this honor which

he

he gaue vnto the name of God, it came afterwardes to paſſe, that the daughter of Eglon, Ruth I ſay, was conuerted to the Iewiſhe religion, and was the great grandmother of Dauid. That is altogether a fayned thing, becauſe it hath no teſtimony out of the holy Scriptures. And yet I ſpeake not this, as though I knewe not that God geueth vnto men aboundant benefites for obſeruyng of outward diſcipline. Farther I marke ỹ Ehud got thee cõmodities by ỹ things whiche he thus did. Firſt, as a Prophet he ſpake vnto the king ſtandyng, whereas otherwiſe he ought to haue ſpoken with him either proſtrate or elles kneelyng. Secondly the kyng myght eaſelyer be ſtriken to death ſtandyng than ſyttyng. Laſtly whileſt he was ryſing he could not ſo well marke Ehud plucking out his ſhorte ſworde. And the ſtroken was ſo vehement that not onely the ſworde, but alſo the haft perſed into the body of the kyng, yea & the whole ſkayn was ſo cloſed in with fat or greace that he was not able to plucke it out. And the king was killed with the ſelfe ſame ſtroke. It is added alſa that dyrte came frõ him, which thinges is wont to happen to thoſe whiche dye violently.

A lye of the Rabines.

God beſtoweth benefites vpon men for keping outward diſciplyne.

23 And Ehud got him out thorough the porche, and ſhut the dores of the parler about him, and locked them.
24 When he was gone out, his ſeruauntes came, and looked and beholde the dores of the parler were lorked. Then they ſayd: Surely he couereth his feete in his ſommer chamber.
25 And they taryed till they were aſhamed, and beholde he opened not the doores of the parler. Wherefore they toke a kay and opened thẽ. And behold their Lord was fallen down dead on the earth.

Ehud when he went forth plucked the dores after hym and locked them: for there is a certayn kynd of lockes made in ſuch ſort, ỹ wout a kay, of a mã plucke the dores after him, they will ſtraightway locke. And Auguſtine writyng of this place, ſayth that they are in Affrike every where called Veradata. The ſeruaunts of Eglon when Ehud was come forth, ſuſpected no euill, becauſe as it is moſt lykely, he neuer chaunged his countenance when he went forth but went hys way ſayre and ſoftly as thoughe he had committed no wicked acte. And they thought that the king had ſhut Thedores, becauſe peraduenture he would eaſe him ſelfe. And that is ment by the Hebrew phraſe wherin they ſay. He peraduẽture couereth his feete. For in that worke men vſed to couer their feete with garmentes like a tabernacle or tente. And whileſt the ſeruauntes of Eglon taryed and wayted, Ehud had good leaſure to flye. But at the length when they were aſhamed, they tooke a kay and opened the doores. They vſe in courtes to haue many kayes of the kinges chamber, whiche the chamberlaynes diligently kepe: and that is it whiche is here ſayde that they tooke a kaye. But when they ſawe their king ſo vily and miſerably ſlayne, we muſt beleue that they were amaſed, ſo that they could not well tell what was to be doone. The thing was ſo ſtraũge whiche had happened. Peraduenture alſo they a while mourned and lamented or elles prouided to ſaue them ſelues by flyght, becauſe they had not well kepte the kyng.

Auguſtine.

26 And Ehud eſcaped whileſt they taryed, and was paſſed ouer the quarrey of ſtones (or place of grauen images) and eſcaped into Seirath.
27 And when he was come to hys, he blewe a trompet in mount Ephraim. And the children of Iſraell went downe with him from the hill and he went before them.
28 And he ſayd vnto them: Follow me, for the Lord hath delinered

your

your enemies the Moabites into your handes: and they descended after him and tooke the passages of Jordan towarde Moab, and suffred not a man to passe ouer.

This place Seirath, whiche is here mencioned, is not the mount *Seir* in *Idumea*, but is a place not farre from mount *Ephraim*, as the wordes which follow do manifestly declare. And *Ehud* beyng of a noble courage when he had slayne the tyrranne, left not his matters halfe done and halfe vndone, as did Brutus and Cassius long sins when they had slayne Cesar, with a trumpet he called together the Ephraites, whiche were men very expert in warres, and those by his authoritie he exhorted to battayle, makyng them assured ỹ God had graunted him the victory. They therfore stopped ỹ passages of Iordane, that ỹ Moabites, which were in the kyngdome of ỹ Israelites, & had gotten part of it as it is already declared, should not flye away. And lest others of the coūtrey of *Moab* should passe ouer the riuer, to succor their owne men, whiche were among the Hebrues.

29 And they slewe of the Moabites the same tyme, aboute a ten thousande men whiche were all fat, and all strong men, and there escaped not a man.

30 So Moab was subdued that day vnder the hande of Israell: and the land had rest lxxx. yeares.

Whē they had stopped the passages of ỹ riuer of *Iordane*, they slew x. thousād Moabites, which at ỹ tyme dwelt in ỹ dominiōs of the Hebrues. And they which were slayne were no common men, but in our history, are called Fattemen, not that they were fat in body but in richesse. For they were riche and very strōg. For by their myght and warlike power the Israelites were brought into bondage. Wherfore it is very aptly a litle afterwarn sayd, that ỹ Hebrues when they had gotten this victory, were in quiet a very lōg tyme after: for the Moabites wer so cōsumed and worne away, by reason their notable and excellent captaynes wer lost, that they were not able to renew warre agayne. And therfore it is sayde, That Moab was subdued vnder the hand of *Israell*. Augustine diligently considering, that the lād was at rest lxxx. yeares, hath learnedly noted, ỹ the Romanes had neuer peace aboue the space of xl. yeares, which they had in ỹ tyme of Numa Pompilius. For ỹ king setting aside the study of making warre, applied himself wholy to institute ceremonies. Wherfore therby he concludeth ỹ the affaires of the Israelites were longer in quiet, thā were ỹ affaires of ỹ *Romanes*. Howbeit the Hebrues thinke, that in that sume of lxxx. yeres are cōprehended those xviii yeares, wherin the Hebrues serued the kyng of Moab, that the supputation of the tyme might agree more iustly.

Augustine. What peace of the Romanes was lōger thē other.

There are two thinges whiche are to be marked in this place. First ỹ Ehud was of a valeant, strong, & noble courage, wherevnto was adioyned a singular prudece. And of those giftes, faith was the principall foundatiō, for vnlesse he had effectually beleued god, whē he called him & also his promise he wold neuer haue put his life & goods into so great iouparties. The second thing is, ỹ all thinges had therfore happy successe, bycause god neuer faileth those, which obey him, followyng their vocation, wherby they feele that by him they are called to accomplishe any thyng.

But now that we haue briefly touched ỹ history, there are three places or questiōs offred vnto vs whiche may not by any meanes be left vnspoke of. For so as much as Ehud (as we haue heard) vsed guile, & ỹ euill guile, made also a lye, & drew vys swoorde agaynst vys prince, me thinketh it is worthy to be declared, whether it be lawfull for Christiā & godly mē to vse guile. Secondly whether it be lawful to lye, lastly, whether ỹ subiectes may inuade their prince for any cause.

Of Guile.

Nowe

Now let us speake of the first. That where the Latines call Dolus (that is guile) the Grecians call it δόλος, so that their worde and the Latines is almost all one. But the Hebrues call it Mirmah or Rimah. Then we must know that that guile is there vsed, where any thing lyeth secret, whiche in plaine & iuste guile should appeare or easily be sene. Wherefore Plautus saith, Guiles vnles they be couered by craft, they are no guiles. Thus much as touching the name. Now let us come to the definition. Plautus.

In the digestes de dolo malo lege 1. Seruius an interpretor of the lawe hath thus defined euil guile, namely to be a subtile invention or deuise for to deceaue another by, when as one thing is done and an other thing assembled. Where soeuer therfore is guile, there is deceate by some dissimulation. It is true in deede that Labeo an interpretor of the lawe reproued the definition which Seruius brought and that by two argumentes. Whereof the one is, that some may be beguiled without dissimulation or euill guile. Wherefore the definition is more straite and narrowe than that whiche is defined, whiche all men confesse to be an error. The other argument is, bycause some sometymes by dissimulation do saue and defend their owne, or elles other mens thinges, and yet thereby they beguile no man, neither do they hurte any man. Wherefore the definition is applied vnto other thinges besides that whiche is defined, whiche thing also is reproued as a fault. Wherefore he thus defineth it: Naughty guile, is all craft, discate and subtilty inuented to beguile, delude, and oreaue an other. Vlpianus in the same place also with the opinion of Labeo. For saying the authoritie of suche a man, I would say that Labeo did not well in removing dissimulation from the definition of deceate. And as touching the first argument which he hath, I deny, namely that men may be beguiled without dissimulation, bycause vnles they should be together without sense, they would not easily be brought to credite or to graunte that whiche they vnderstand shall be hurtefull vnto them. And therfore it is necessary, that there be some shewe and colour added, whiche can by no meanes be done without dissimulation. Then, where as he saith that there are very many whiche by dissimulation may defende other mens thinges or elles their owne thinges or elles other mens: I graunt that, but yet I affirme that the same is guile, although it be good guile, as after I will more manifestly shewe. Wherefore as touching the definition of guile, it semeth that saying or dissimulation is alwayes to be ioyned vnto it, that made the definition of Seruius pleaseth me better, which definition setting all that my selfe would rather apply vnto guile in generall, than vnto euill guile as he did. Beyng by this meanes perauenture moued, bycause he vnderstoode by deceate that deceate whiche should be hurtefull. Labeo.

Cicero in his first booke of offices affirmeth that dissimulation as saying, pertayne chiefly vnto the nature of guile. For he writeth that Aquilius his familiar beyng conuicted of that guile vnto, he answered, wherevnto thyng is vnlike another thyng, dissembled. To this sentence Augustine assenteth also (in his 3. treatise vpon Iohn vpon these wordes of Christ pronounced of Nathanael, Behold a true Israelite in whom as no guile) sayeth: That is guile, whē one thyng is done and an other thyng is sayd. &c. And to speake this by the waye, by this place is easily gathered, that Augustine preached his sermons vnto the people in Latine, bycause he affirmeth that the Romane tongue, although it were not pure, but in some wordes corrupted, for there Augustine admonished the people, that Dolus which is guile, signifies and Dolor that is pain as many corruptly spake, saying Dolus illi torquet, that is as they meant, he is troubled with payne, when as in that place they should haue said Dolor and not Dolus. To take away therfore the ambiguitie of the worde, he sayeth, that Dolus whiche is guile, signifieth saying and dissimulation. And in the same place to confirme what saying beguiling signifieth, he addeth, that it commeth of doublenesse of the heart. He alleageth the 11. psalme, where when mention is made of guilefull men, Dauid sayth that they speake in hart and in harte, that is, as he inter-

Cicero.

Augustine.

Augustine preached vnto the people in Latine.

Guile signifieth of doublenesse of heart.

interpreted. In one parte of their heart they do se the truth, & perceaue how the thing is: & in the other part they go about dissimulation & dissemble. But in those (saith he) is no guile, which whē they se themselues to be sinners, do also cōdēne themselues for such, neither do they dissemble or boast of righteousnesse, as did ỳ Pharisey, whē he prayed by ỳ publican, & as other hipocrites also do. Nathaniel had no guile in him, because vniuersally, because euery mā is a lyer: & as Paul writeth, there dwelleth no good thing in our flesh, for as much as it is altogether guilefull and disceitfull. Nor could be onely sayd of Christ in vniuersall, that he wanted guile. But yet they are blessed (as Dauid sayth) to whom the Lord hath not imputed sinne, and in whose spirite there is no guile. For in as much as they are regenerate especially as touching the spirite that whiche they do they do it rightly and simplie. And surely one Christ affirmeth Nathaniell to haue ben.

Augustine.

The same Augustine in the 10 Tome and his booke of 50. Homelies the first Homely, expounded this, whiche is written in the 33. Psalme of Dauid what man is he, which would lyue, & loueth to se good dayes: Refrayne thy tongue frō euil, and thy lippes that they speake no guile, then (saith he) it is guile, when nothing is closed and secret in the heart, and an other thing is expressed, either in word or deede, as flatterers vse to do, which cōmēd some contrary to ỳ which they think, thereby either to eat their meat & drinke their drinke, or els to get some other benefite at their hāds. And ỳ which he speaketh of flatterers, may also be vnderstād of enemies & backbyters. But ỳ it is conuenient ỳ men should do ỳ which they do rightly & simply, ỳ very Christes saw. Wherfore Achilles in Homere saith, that he doth no lesse thā death, hate those mē, which speake other wise than they thinke. Wherfore we thinke ỳ it is not ill to affirme a subtile inuention to deceaue a mā, to whom as one thing is done and an other thyng dissembled is set for the generall worke in the definition of guile.

Flatterers.

Homere.

Good guile & euill guile.

But after this definition we shall adde a distinctiō. For some guile is good & other some is euill, we call ỳ good, which is not hurtfull: & when shall hurteth none, but sometimes profiteth. But euil guile is hurtfull, & euer hurteth somebody. These thinges may easily be made playne by exāples. Nurses do cōtinually vse good guile toward their litle ones, thereby to please & still the: for with them they dissēble & faigne very many thinges. Philistias also do after ỳ same sorte deceaue them ỳ are sicke, because they would heale them. Yea and Chrisostome in his first boke de Sacerdocio, writeth, ỳ a certaine Philitiā so beguiled one ỳ was sicke of an agew, ỳ in drinking water, he thought he dronke wine. And the same Chrisostome in the same place affirmeth, ỳ he himselfe vsed a good guile, to beguile Basilius to take vpō him a bishoprike, whē ỳ he in no case was minded that way. Dauid by this kind of guile, escaped the handes of the king of the Philistias. For he fayned himself to be a foole, so ỳ the king iudged him vnworthy to be punished. But of euil guile there are very many exāples in ỳ holy scriptures amōgst which this act of Ehud which we no interpret, is one. And ỳ in an other also which ỳ Hebrues did, whē they went forth of Egipt, who desired to borow both of their neighbours & also of their frendes precious garmētes, golde & siluer vessels, & yet they minded vtterly to robbe the of thē. Also this kind also belongeth, that whiche Chusai the Arachite did in deceauing Absolon. This acte also may be counted among them, which Simeō and Leui perpetrated against Emor & the Sichemites. I could bring a great many mo exāples, if I would nedelesse stande longe about a thing that is manifest.

Chrisostome.

Augustine.

Euill guile is not prohibited to be vsed against enimies.

Of ỳ first kind of guile, which is called good & vnhurtful, no mā will cōtend, but ỳ it is lawfull to vse it. But of ỳ other kind there is a doubt. Wherof if I should be desired, I would thinke this ought were should be made. That we may not vse euil guile with our frendes, but against our enemies it is not prohibited, because it is as it were armor. Wherfore if it be lawfull to make warres against the iuste with armor, guiles also are to be admitted according to the saying of the Poete Vegetius. Whether it be guile or power, who can require in an enemye?

Pole-

al. Howbeit this is to be obserued, that we speake only of those enemyes which either God himselfe, or the publicque wealth, or a iust Magistrate declareth to be enemyes, and not those whiche euery priuate man hateth. Farther I doubt not, but that where it is lawfull to repell violence by violence, when there is no other waye to escape, it is also lawfull to vse guiles against guiles. For he whiche repelleth violence by violence, as the lawes do permitte, the same man is not to be counted a priuate man, for as much as he is armed by the Magistrate. Wherefore it is manifest that he doth not against the lawe, but with the lawe. So he that is sodenly oppressed, may lawfully escape by craft guile if he can. Moreouer the Scriptures teache that this kinde of guile is iust. For Ierome sayth, and it is written in the decrees. 22. question 4. chap: Vsilem. That Iehu did very well dissemble with the Priestes of Baal, bycause he could not haue kylled them all, if he had begon to put some of them to death. Wherefore to gather them altogether, he fayned himselfe to be much more studious to worship Baal than was Achab, and by that meane he slewe euery one of them. Who bee the true enemyes. Ierome.

But this is to be taken heede of, that they whiche are to destroyed by guile, be they worthy of punishment, as they are commonly called, notorious offenders, & such as can not be punished by an ordinary waye. For whiche cause the kyng of Denmarke of late is counted, whiche by guile destroyed most pernicious theues, which he could not take. For he fayned a warre, and made a proclamation that as many as would come should receaue wages of him, and promised vnto the theues pardon for their wicked acts whiche they had hitherto committed. But I (as I shall afterward declare) do not so fully allowe such examples. In acte of the kyng of Denmarke.

Augustine (as it is found in the 14. question the 3. chap: Dicit, & it is a place in his questions vpo Exodus) thinketh that the Israelites deceaued ye Egyptians, when they borowed of the goldsmithes siluer vessels, & yet it was not to be counted a faulte in the, when as for al yt no man doubtes, but ye they did it by craft guile. The same is, question. 2. Domino which is take out of his questios vpon ye booke of Iosua, reuealeth ye place, wherin it is sayd ye God commaunded the Hebrues, to fight against the citie of Hay by wiles, which without doubt belong to guile. Ierome vpon the 17. chap of Ezechiel, bringeth this sentence as a worthy sentence: namely, Whether it be guile or power, who can require in an enemy. Augustine. Ierome.

Howbeit he afterward vnto it, although he seemeth ye it can take place where an othe is made. But I will not wage expounde that. Ambrose in the 14. question the 4. permitteth guile, or rather craft against enemies, & after this maner he interpreteth a place of Deut. where God gaue the Iewes liberty to put their money to vsury to straungers, namely, ye where the warre is full, there also may vsury take place. For the goods of the enemies at ours, & they may lawfully be taken away from them. And it shall not, whether it be done either by violence or by guile. There are which alledge that which is written in the latter Epistle to ye Corinthians the xii. chap: When I was crafty, I tooke you by guile. But ye maketh nothing to the purpose, when as it is most manifest ye he spake it in mockage. For he fayned, as though he had receaued money of the Corinthians by other me, which by craft he refused to receaue, which thing he straightway putteth away. But these examples which we brought first, do manifestly proue that it is lawfull to vse guile, yea & craft guile against enemyes, namely in keping close our Counsels & doinges, & vsing couenable words & wordes. Ambrose. The ciuile lawes permitte guile against enemies.

Neither do ye ciuil lawes other wise teach. In ye Code de commerciis et mercatoribus Lege. Non solu. The emperor decreed not only ye no gold should be caried vnto ye barbarous nations ye were enemies of ye pub. wealth, but also ye by subtile guile or policy ye gold which they had, should be taken fro the. Also in ye digestes de captiuis postliminio reuersis, Lege. Nihil interest, it is decreed, ye captiues howsoeuer they returned into their country again, should receaue again their owne goods, & old state, whether they were sent home again, or whether they escaped by violence, or by guile. Although afterward in Lege postliminio Paragrapho cap-

tinis, ꝑ he restrained, if ꝑ they returne in a minde to tary at home. For if they shuld either promise or sweare vnto their enemies to returne, they shuld not enioy ꝑ right of returning. Wherfore Attilius Regulus enioyned not himselfe, because he was set to Rome to perswade ꝑ senate for ꝑ exchaūge of captiues. Wherfore so much as he promised, so much was he minded to returne by ꝑ same. Of this euill guile.

Attilius Regulus.

A diuisiō of an other.

By this also appeareth ꝑ to be true, which is said before, that euill guile, we may not vse euill guile against our enemy, if that kinde of deceite be vsed. And ꝑ this may the plainlyer be vnderstand, we must deuide an othe as ꝑ lawyers do, for one kinde of othe is called an auouching or a affirming of a thing, another a promising of a thing, or as they terme it, one assertiue, another promissory. For in ꝑ we sweare either we bo affirme or els deny some thing to be or to haue ben, which we ought neuer to do with euil guile, if we ment thereunto to make ꝑ promise to performe something, for as much as faith is to be kept vnto our enemy, ꝑ same faith also is not to be broken, with euill guile. Wherefore all those things which we haue sworne vnto our enemy to kepe, obserue, are temporal goods, as are money, honours, life of the body, for these things the name of God is not to be prophaned. Wherfore Dauid in his. 15. Psal. saith he ꝑ sweareth to do euill, & changeth not. In Debarle it is thus written Nischoah Leharah Velo Iamid, which place Kimhi expounding he saith, which poinct vnto God certaine hard & sharpe things, which serue to ꝑ subduing of ꝑ flesh, neyther do they chaūge ꝑ which they haue promised. But ꝑ sentence me thinketh seemeth more simple, if it haue a larger sense, namely of an othe hurtful vnto be, which a good & godly man will not abrogate or abounge. Ierome also vpon Ezechiell the 17. chap. is of this opinion. For there ꝑ good father ꝑ he was very angry against Zedechias, because he had broken ꝑ othe which he had made vnto Nabuchad-nezar king of Babilon. For although the Iewes counted him as an enemy, yet as Ierome teacheth, he was not as a seruant, when he had by an othe promised his faith vnto Zedechias. For he is euer vnto friends & one to be faithful vnto the other. Wherfore an euil guile ought there to take no place. And Augustine in ꝑ 33. questiō ꝑ. chap. Nolite existimare, writing vnto Bonifacius admonisheth him to kepe faith vnto his enemy also. And also also in ꝑ same questiō ꝑ. 4. chap. Innocēs, admonisheth the same, & hath ꝑ same sentence in his booke de officiis, where he bringeth the example of Iosua touching the Gabaonites, who although he might haue made the othe voyde & of no force, yet by ꝑ consent of God he caused it to be kept & ratified. Neither suffered he the Gabaonites to be slayne, who for all ꝑ he punished because of ꝑ guile which they vsed. Seing ꝑ they be good & godly thing, it is vtterly to be made frustrate, because we the ought not to be a band of iniquitie. Neither is it necessarie, ꝑ a man to be absolued of these kindes of vowes should come before some iudge. Which I therefore speake, because ꝑ Pope claimeth this right vnto himself, namely to release a bond in such kind of othes, & as they commonly say, to dispense with them. As it appeareth in the 7. question

Ierome.

Augustine.

An othe for an vniust thing is to be broken.

The Pope dispenseth both lawfull & vnlawfull

ꝑ. cause Nicholaus absolueth one Laurentius. And his pride & arrogancy hath caused him at the length extended his right & power, that he absolueth not onely vnlawfull othes, but he abrogateth also lawfull & iust othes when it seemeth good vnto himselfe. For Zacharias deposed the right heire men of an othe, wherewithall they were bound vnto their king, and he put the king from his kingdome, and substituted Pippine in his place. But that is not to be meruayled at, when as it is a common saying in the court of Rome at this daye: Non est regum & pagorum, sed mercatorum stare iuramentis, that is: It is not mete for kinges & noble men, but for merchants to kepe their othes.

A prouerbe in the court of Rome.

Wherefore ꝑ thing be all the made of guile is not to be vsed vnles peraduenture ꝑ thing perteine to him vnto whom the othe is made, shall go from the condicions and couenaunts, for then ꝑ common saying must take place, he that breaketh faith, for faith also is broke vnto him. Wherefore Ierome ad Nepotianū

Ierome.

commen-

contendeth this saying of Demetrius the Orator vnto Philippe, when thou counsellest not me for a tyranne, I also do not count thee for a counsellor. But where as we haue testimonies also in the holy scriptures: for Paule in the first to the Corinthians the .7. chapter writeth, as touching faith yͤ vnmaried and widowe yͤ vnfaithfull depart they him depart. A brother or a sister serueth in subiection vnto such, but God hath called vs in peace. And those thinges which are a long great an other, I vnderstand also to be of the same efficacy in promises & couenaunts, as in which promises & couenaunts, if auaile, yͤ godly & iust men ought but to vse playne & simple wordes, & also ritchly to fulfill them. Wherefore yͤ Thessalians are iustly & worthily condemned who after yͤ truce was made for .30. dayes, robbed & spoiled by night, excusing their doing, for yͤ their truce was made for yͤ daye not for yͤ night. Neither doth yͤ legat of the Romaines vprightly, yea be God ghostfully dealt with Antiochus, who when he had decreed yͤ the one halfe of the ships should be geuen vnto the Romaines & the other halfe vnto yͤ kyng, commaunded them all to be deuided & cut in sonder in very dede. But he did not that the kinge should be vtterly destitute of a nauell ship. Wherefore whatsoeuer a godly man shall promise, he ought before hande rightly to weygh with hym selfe, whether he be able to stande by his wordes and promises. Wherevnto Ierome hath written vnto Galatia thynges which he shall say, thinke thou shouldest them.

As touching the ende of the question, yͤ the thing may be the more manifest, there remaine certain doubtes to be examined. First if a mā promise vnto any mā wicked, and hope yͤ that for the space of three or foure yeares: & in the meane time some man betrayeth a traitor to his countrey, & maketh warre against it, whether in this case he ought to performe his fayth, or is it euill gyle to breake it? I answere, yͤ neither in this case, nor in the like, is faith to be kept by cause, as it is manifest, a mischieuous acte happeneth in yͤ meane time whiche with a safe conscience we may not helpe, neither in deede is either euill gyle or els periury here committed. For he which hath his vowe is not changed, but he to whom the othe was made. For othes can plucke a thyng or diminish nothing of those bondes which went before. Wherefore for as much as euery man is bounde vnto the worde of God to yͤ healthe of his countrey, before he sweareth any thing, yͤ which is more worthy of two, it must be vnderstād, so yͤ the first bondes be kept inuiolate.

The same also must take place in othes which are bonded. For although a man vowe to kill, or lye vnlawfully as he before was bounde vnto yͤ worde of God, wherein it is sayd, yͤ is better to marry thā to burne, & they which cānot kepe thē selues should lye vnmaried and vnpolluted by reason of the holy which so hauing take away the fleshly bonde. But herein if he sinne not kepe hym selfe chaste, or if he burne, he ought by the commaundement of God to marye: neither can any othe or vowe vtterly abandon & take away the power & strength of the commaundement of God.

Where vnto yͤ also an other doubt, of those princes, which haue geuē their promise & fayth vnto heretikes for to come vnto Councels or to communications, whether they ought to stande by their promise, or violating their fayth to kepe still the heretikes and to punish them. I answere, that they ought not to kepe vnto vs and put the promise made vnto them.

What say they, for will ye rashly graūt yͤ it is then time, to whom we geue promise of a naughty thyng? Yea but after we haue promised, shall we not kepe & stand to our promises, vnlesse we may an other waye chuse. For to execute not the office cōmitted vnto vs, is neither to obey God. For it is our part according as God hath cōmaunded, to punish & to correct heretikes, that they vnsit not the Church, and go forwarde to deceiue their pestiferous doctrine amonge the godly. Neither doth any man doubt but that Magistrates ought to defende the Churches. Wherefore it seemeth that heretikes are not to be let goe, when as we haue them vnder our handes. I answere, that this in deede is the office of kinges, to punish, and to correct heretikes, but yet then when they haue them in their power.

Sophisticall reasons of the Thracians.

The guile of the Legate of the Romanes against Anthiochus.

Ierome.

When an othe is made of a lawfull othe an vnlawfull or he is not to be kept.

In othe dissolueth not former bondes.

No othe or vow taketh away the bonde vnto the commaundements of God.

Whether faith is to be kepte with heretikes

But if they geue them a safe conduct to come vnto them, then can they not say that they haue them in their power. For they came vnder a promise & an othe to go & come harmeles, other wise they would not haue come. Wherefore if there be a promise made, it is not lawful to breake it. And this is the cause, why I before said, ý I cã not easily allow ý acte of the king of Denmarke. Neither also would I iudge Iehu to be without sinne, when he promised ý he would worship Baal, thereby to get all Israel together (except peraduenture he manifestly knew, that he was by God thereto prouoked to do it). But of this thing we will intreat in an other place. Let this therefore, which declareth the Counsayle of Constantia, cease to lay for their pretence, that Iohn Husse with a safe conscience could not be let go, because it is a heinous sinne in all princes, if they suffer heretikes to inioye an liberty: for by cause that which they say is so fully true, as they shalbe in their power. But when they come by a safe conduct vnto them, then are they at liberty, neither are they layd to be in the power of the princes, which call them.

They which by a safe conduct come vnto kinges & princes, are not in their power. Of Iehu.

Whether faith is to be kepte with theues.

Other are in doubt, whether it be lawfull to vse craft & guile against theues, so that if a man fall into their handes, & by an othe be made vnto them, in suffred to go home vpon this condition, there to gather money to redeme himselfe, whether (I say) he ought to returne vnto the with the money, or without it, if he cã not get it, as he hoped to haue done, especially if in a manner he were assured, either to liue in perpetual seruitude, or els to be put to a most cruel death. I answere, that in my iudgemẽt he ought to returne vnto them, for as much as in this case there is no danger, but as touching goods of this world, of money (I say) liberty, & life of the body, which are not so much to be esteemed, that for their sakes an othe, or the name of GOD should be violated. And the verse of Dauid before brought serueth aptly for this purpose. And this sentence is so true & true that euen an Ethnike, Marcus Attilius Regulus I say, knew it. For he returned to Carthago, where he knew certainly, that either he should be in perpetual seruitude, or els lose his life, and that most cruelly. Neither canst thou answere me, that he did foolishly therein: because the Romayne lawes (as we haue before said) de captiuis, & postliminio reuersis, in lege postliminiũ Paragrapho Captiuus, do expreyne and playly decree that he should not be counted to enioy the benefite of the law postliminium, which had promised to returne agayn. Farther the nature of man perswadeth the selfe same thing, for it (creature) delighteth in society.

Attilius Regulus.

Wherefore next to God and godlines reuerence vnto him, there is nothing which ought more to esteeme, then loyalty, which wonderfully kepeth humane fellowship. For without it, it is not possible for men truly to liue together. Farther who will not say, that the money, liberty, and life of one man is rather to be lost, then the money, liberties, and lines of innumerable men. For if couenantes and promises be not kept with those theues, henceforth they will geue credet to no man that they shall take, they would send home none to their owne house to fetche their ransome, but as many as they take, either they will kill them, or els kepe them with them in miserable and perpetuall bondage.

Lastly, this I thinke good to admonish the reader, that in other let signes of vniuersality trouble no man. For if a man promise and sweare vnto his frende that he will be an helper vnto him in all thinges, or if a man promise and sweare vnto a Prouost or vnto the Church, that he will do and obserue all thynges which it shall decree. For all such kynde of speaches (as it appeareth by that which we haue sayde) are to be vnderstande, so that the obedience of the worde of God be kepte. And vndoutedly although that clause be by the nature of an other vnderstãding alwayes to be added, yet for al ý it is the duty of godly mẽ to expresse it, when they are receaued into any vniuersity, Colleges, office, corporatiõ, or felowshyp, according to the customes are cõpelled to sweare for to obserue statutes, lawes & decrees. It is the sure way (I say) by expresse wordes to testifie, ý they will obserue all those things, vnles they shal finde ý any of ý same ar against

How it is lawfull to sweare certain thynges vniuersally.

the

ꝯ wozd of god. And as touching this matter I think I haue spokē sufficiēt now. Our Ehud vsed euill guile. I graunt: but yet agaynst hys enemy. Neither doth the scripture make mencion of any othe that was made betwene him & Eglon ꝯ kyng. And thaugh there had ben an othe, yet he had ben quitte of it, for as much as ꝯ stirring vp of god, wherby god opened vnto him his will, had abrogated it.

Of Truth and of a Lye.

NOw remaineth to intreate of the second question, namely. Whether it be lawfull for a good & godly mā to lye. But first before I entreat of a lye. I thinke it good somwhat to speake of truth, whiche vndoubtedly is an excellent vertue. Of Truth.

Truth (as saith Tullius de Inuentione) is, wherby things which are, whiche haue ben, & which shalbe are spoken vnaltered. Wherin we first note, that it cōsisteth in wordes: for (saith he) they are spokē, not ꝯ I am ignoraūt, ꝯ both dumbe men, & also other mē speake somtime by signes, but because (as saith Augustine in his first boke de doctrina Christiana) wordes among other signes are ꝯ principall & most playne. Farther we are hereby taught, that truth is not only to be considered as touching one difference of time, but as concerning thre differēces, for he saith, both those thinges which are, and which haue ben, & which shalbe. These things vndoubtedly are then spoken truly, when they are set forth vnaltered, that is, euen as they are, & by speaking made neither more ample nor lesse than they are. This selfe same thing almost hath Augustine sayd in his booke de vera Religione chap: 36. where he writeth, that the truth is, whereby ꝯ whiche is, is signified. And it is a vertue because by it men are made prone & redy to speake that which is true. The generall wordes of it is equalitie, whereunto is ioyned in steade of difference, this voyce, namely, of wordes, to the thinges which are signified. And as it is well knowen of all men, all vertues leuel vnto the middest, & shye frō extremities. Wherfore in kinde of speches thou shalt find two faultes namely if thou shalt speake more than the thing is, or els lesse than the thing is. Neyther is vertue content with the middest only: for we must adde also circumstances, which vse continually to followe it. Wherfore the truth is not alway to be spokē to euery man, neither at all times, nor yet of euery thing, & yet we must not lye: but it is wisedome sometimes to kepe close those thinges which we will not for iust occasiō haue knowen. He which should vaunt abrode euery where & vnto all mē the gifts of God geuen him, he should be counted foolish & vnwise: as cōtrary, he which should boast of a crime, wherunto by humane weaknesse he hath fallen, should rightly, and worthely be reproued. Truth therfore requireth this, that those things which we haue within vs as touching our sense or will, be signified of vs as it is, prudētly & rarely. Farther the vertue, wherof we speake, hath chiefly simplicitie ioyned vnto it, & it is very much contrary vnto doublenesse. Besides this it is a part of iustice. For it rēdreth vnto things their wordes and to a neighbour the truth which of duty longeth vnto him, without whiche truth humane fellowship can not consiste. For if a mā should cōtinually suspect him selfe to be deceaued by any man, he would neuer beleue him in any thyng. Wherby amongest men al trades and societies perishe. Aristotle in his Ethikes affirmeth that truth declineth sometimes to defection: especially when any man speaketh of himselfe. For ꝯ wisedome requireth, that a mā boast not of himselfe. Wherfore Paul in his second Epistle to the Corinthians the 12. chap. writeth: If I will boast of my selfe, I shall not be vnwise: but I will not, any man shoulde thynke of me, more than he seeth in me, or that he heareth of me. By these wordes, he reproueth those as foolishe and vnwise whiche do boast & glory euen of those good thinges which they haue. And he saith that he wil abstaine from it. Neither (sayth he) do I require, ꝯ any mā should thinke more of me, thā he either seeth in me or heareth of me. Neither is he which speaketh lesse of him selfe than it is, straight way to be accused as a lyer. For ꝯ whiche is more cōprehēdeth and

Tullius.

Augustine.

Augustine.

Truth is a vertue.

The generall of vertue is equalitie.

Two faultes in speaches.

What truth requireth.

Aristotle.

Whē an Ironny is lawfull.

He which speaketh lesse of hī selfe than it is, lyeth not.

containeth in it selfe ẏ which is lesse. For whosoeuer hath fifty, he may say truly ẏ he hath twenty, although he speaketh not all that he hath. Howbeit the same man, if he should affirme that he had but onely .xx. or els should deny that he had any thing, without doubt he should lye: which is not to be committed, either for modesty sake, or els (as they say) because of humilitie.

We may not lye for humilities sake.

And as for testimonies of the holy scriptures which do stirre vs vp to speake ẏ truth, I could vndoubtedly bring a great many: but a few shal suffice. It is writ ten in ẏ x. cõmaundements: Thou shalt not beare false witnesse, which cõmaũdement is not only to be obserued in iudgement, but in all things whiche in our talke we testifie to be either true or false. Farther, God is set before vs of vs to be followed, whom the scriptures euery where pronounce to be true. Wherfore we also ought to be most feruent louers of the truth. And for that cause in Exodus the 18. chap: Iethro counselled Moises, ẏ he should make rulers ouer ẏ people, such men as feared god, strong men, louers of the truth, & which hated couetousnesse. Dauid saith also: Behold thou hast loued truth, & therfore thou hast made me to vnderstand wisedome in the inward & secret partes of my minde. These wordes sufficiently declare, ẏ we are for ẏ cause taught of god both by inwarde inspiraciõ, & also by outward doctrine: because he is a louer of the truth, neither doth he easely suffre, ẏ his children should either erre, or be deceaued by lyes. In Zacharie the viii. chap. it is writtẽ: Speake ye the truth euery man to his neyghbour, which selfe same sentence Paul vseth to the Ephesians & he cõmaundeth the same vnto the Collos. But to ẏ Corinth. the latter Epistle he saith of himselfe & of the other Apostles, ẏ they cã haue nothing against ẏ truth. Yea & the Scribes & Phariseys beyng ioyned with the Herodians, after this sorte flattered Christ, whom they went about to entrappe in his speache: Master, we know ẏ thou acceptest no persons, yea thou teachest ẏ way of god in truth. Hereby they declared ẏ it is a singular vertue for a noble & notable mã, to preferre the truth before all things. But let these testimonies of the holy scriptures be sufficiẽt at this time.

Of a lye. Augustine.

Now resteth to intreat of a lye. Augustine (who wrot of it to Cosctius) affirmeth a lye to be a false significatiõ of a word. And vndoubtedly all those things which before are declared of truth, we may by the contrariety affirme of this vice. And chiefly it is cõtrary to ẏ that Marcus Tullius affirmed of truth, namely that to be truth, wherby things which are, which haue ben, & which shalbe, are spokẽ vnaltered. And a lye is ẏ, wherby is ẏ signified which is not: for Augustine cõtrary wise spake of ẏ truth. This vice is so hurtful, ẏ it maketh a mã which is infected with it, to reioyce & to be glad in false thinges. The generall word of truth was equalitie, & of the vice ẏ generall worde shalbe inequalitie. And as ẏ vertue was very nye ioyned wt simplicity: so belõgeth a lye to doublenes. Truth is a part of iustice. But a lye is a part of vniustice. By truth humane fellowship is kept, but by a lye it is hurte & ouerthrowen. But to returne to Augustine who writeth, ẏ he is sayd to lye, which wt a wil to deceaue speaketh ẏ which is false, & that to lye is nothing els, than to speake against the minde: for liers speake otherwise than they haue in their heart. But the desire to deceaue, is vtterly against iustice, loue & amitie, which we mutually owe one vnto an other. There are thre things ther fore in a lye: first to speake that which is false: secondly his will in speaking: and thirdly a desire to deceaue. The first parte longeth to the matter of a lye: the other two partes pertayne vnto the forme.

In equality is the generall worde of a lye.

Augustine.

Three thinges ioyned with a lye.

A diuision of a lye.

A lye is deuided into a Seruiceable lye, a Sporteful lye, & a Pernitious lye. And this deuision commeth of no other thyng but of the effectes, or of the endes. For this is euermore true, that the endes them selues, may haue the nature both of the cause and of the effecte. For lyes do either profyte, or delyte, or elles hurte. The ende of a pernitious lye, is to hurte. The ende of a Sporteful lye is to delyte: and the ende of a Seruiceable lye is to profyte. But Aristotle, because in vertue he chiefly considereth the meane, therefore if in speakyng thou

Aristotle.

exceede

exceede that meane, he calleth that boasting: but if thou want of the meane, he nameth it Irony. And in that euyl this is chiefly hurtful, bicause an euyl or false opinion is ingendred in the minde of our neighbour. For the which cause the same Aristotle semeth to haue sayd wel, that a lye is both euyll, and also it is to be auoyded. Which thing we may also proue by testimonies of the holy Scriptures. For to this belong al those thinges which we before brought to stirre vs vp to speake the truth. And very many places are here and there set forth, which detest lyes. Dauid saith: Thou wilt destroy al those which speake lyes. Ther are reasons also which perswade vs the same: whereof one is, in a lye is an abuse of signes. And for as muche as it is not lawful to abuse the gifts of God, a lye is vnderstand also to be prohibited. Farther (as it is before said) a lye is contrarye vnto humane felowship, for in lying the conceauinges of the minde ar not cõmunicated vnto our brethren, but lyes. Wherfore seing man is by nature made vnto felowship, and communication, when he speaketh false thinges, he fyghteth with his owne nature. And as Augustine saith: Faith is therin hurt, for hee which heareth, beleeueth those thinges which are spoken. Wherfore that sayth, which he geueth vnto other mens woordes, is made frustrate. And so great a thing cannot be hurt without blame. And lastly euery man by lying, leeseth hys owne credite: for being taken in a lye, he shal euer after be suspected. Wherefore though he would, he shall not bee able by admonition or correction to helpe hys neighbour. For the which cause the fault which is in a lye, pertaineth not onely to the hurt and losse of our neighbour, but it is in it by the general woord, as by that which we haue already said manifestly appeareth. But among lies, that lye semeth to be most grieuous, which is cõmitted in religion, doctrine, and godlynes, bicause in no other thing can gaile be more hurtful & pernicious. For there if we shal erre, we are thrust from the eternal felicity. Wherefore Augustine in his Encheridion the. 18. chap. hath very wel written that they in deede doo synne grieuously, which deceaue trauelyng men, shewing them a contrary waye: but they are much more detestable, which as touching godlynes by lying, doo bryng men into errours.

A lye is both euyll and also to be auoyded.

In a lye is an abuse of signes.

Augustine.

What kinde of lye is most grieuous.

Augustine.

If the three kinde of lyes should be compared together, I meane a pernitious lye, a sporteful lye, and a seruiceable lye: A pernitious lye, should rightfully be counted more detestable, bicause in it are two euyls. One is the abuse of signes: the other is, the hurt of our neighbour. And that both of the minde which deceiueth (which thing is common vnto all lyes) and also of the thing whych is lost. But as for other lyes, although they are not without fault, yet is that not a litle diminished by the good added vnto it, either of delectation, or of helpe. And in deede a sporteful lye, hath in it but a smal and slender nature of a lye: for as much as the falshood is straight way founde out, neither can it be long hydden from the hearers. Yea Augustine writeth that suche lyes are not to be counted for lyes. But as touching a seruiceable lye, the iudgement of it is more darke & hard. For some deny it to be synne: for they say it hath a consideration to thys, to helpe our neighbour, whom we ought in woordes and deedes to relieue as much as we can. Wherefore they thinke, that therby commeth no abuse of signes, for as much as al our thinges ought to haue a respect to the commodity of our brethren. Neither do they thinke that in it is sinne committed against humane societie, when as by this kinde of lye men are made safe, and kept harmlesse. Farther, they say, that where as it is in the holy scriptures written, that God wyll destroy al those which speake lyes: the same is not to be vnderstand of every kinde of lye, but onely of a pernicious lye. Which thing Augustine also in hys Encheridion the. 18. chap. seemeth to graunt. They bryng also the opinion of Plato in his booke de Repub. who although he feared away the people from lyes, yet he gaue Magistrates libertye to lye, especiallye in making of lawes. But in my iudgement, the thing is farre other wyse, neither wyl I easily graunt that a seruiceable

Two euyls in a pernitious lie

A sporteful lye.

Augustine.

Whyther a seruiceable lye bee synne.

Plato.

uiceable lye wanteth the abuse of signes. For Aristotle in his booke περὶ ἑρμηνείας, defining woordes, saith that they are notes of those affections which we haue in our minde. Wherby it followeth, that al they abuse woordes, which signify thinges to be otherwise, than they thinke in their minde. Farther, that reason which they bring of loue, is a very weake reason. For we ought to help our neighbours: but yet by iust and honest meanes, otherwise let vs permit theftes, to be bestowed in almes geuing. But the sentence of the Apostle must abyde firme and stable, which is, that euil thinges must not be done, that therby good thinges may come to passe. Neither do I thinke that true, that by those kinde of lyes humane felowship is not hurt, for as much as take awaye fayth, and there remaineth almost no trafficke among men.

Aristotle.

But as touching that sentence of the holy scriptures, wherin it is said: Thou shalt destroy al them that speake lyes. We graunt with Augustine, that that sentence is not vniuersally spoken, for as long as the power and communion of faith abideth with Christ, so long those sinnes ar not imputed, which otherwise of their own nature should be our destruction. And this also wil I easily graunt of seruiceable and sportful lyes, bicause they are not so much against charity, as are pernicious lyes. But this can no man deny, that in making a lye, we doo against faith. And we must vtterly graunt, that he which lyeth, looseth thereby his own credite, so that afterward he cannot profitably admonithe, reproue, or with fruite geue counsel, as he ought to do. For they which beare him, will easily beleue that he seruiceably lyeth, to cal them again into the way, & not that the thing is so in very dede. This vndoubtedlye was the cause that Augustine was against Ierome, who in a maner attributed a seruiceable lye vnto the holy scriptures. If this (saith he) should be so, the authority of the holy scriptures wold soone decay. For the Readers of them would easily say, that the thing is not so, but that it is so written, to keepe men in doing their duty. Neither ought the authority of Plato much to moue vs, for as much as in that place he very much erred, graunting that in thinges pertayning vnto God, they might fayne fables, which might serue to bring foorth and keepe a good opinion of them. Wythout doubt we may not mocke in matters touching God. Farther, the law of God is equal, and the selfe same, as it wyl not haue the people to lye: so also it prohibiteth the same vnto the Magistrates.

A contentiō betwene Ierome & Augustine.

An error of Plato.

Holbeit they cannot iustly be accused of a lye, which in their talke, ar farre from doublenes. For somtimes it cōmeth to passe that some speake that whych is false, and yet they thought the same to be true. With which men they also ar excused, which haue geuen their promise to do a thing, which afterward they are not able to performe. Bicause at the beginning when they promised it, they wer fully mynded to doo that which they had promised: and therefore they haue not lyed. If so be that afterward they doo not accomplish those thinges whiche they haue said, the same happeneth by some other meanes. And sometimes it happeneth, that he which deliuereth his sword to some man to kepe, falleth afterward mad: wherfore he ought not to restore the sword vnto him, which hath left it with him: bicause a new case (as the Lawyers say) requireth a new helpe. After which selfe same sort Paule is excused, who sayd that he would go into Spaine, when as for al that he went not thither. Paule also promised the Corrinthians to come vnto them, which he performed not: but yet he lyed not: bicause when he spake those woordes, he was determined so to do, but God had otherwise appointed the thing, as Gelasius hath wel written, as it is found in the. 22. question the 2. chap. Beatus. Vndoubtedly the disposition of God dissolueth and breaketh all bondes, as it is written in the. 19. question, the. 2. chap. duæ sunt.

Who are to bee excused of a lie.

But what shal we say to Hiperbolical places which are in the holye Scriptures, which at the first sight seeme lyes? I answer, although there the sentēces in signifieng, hold not the meane, as touching quantitye, yet as touching the sub-

Hiperbole pertayneth not alwayes to a lye.

substaunce it keepeth it. For those superfluous or excessiue speches amplifye a thing, for their nature is not onely to set forth the thing, but also to bring men into admiration of them, which thing by that maner of speche is most aptly attrined vnto. Further more lyes there any place, forasmuch as they breede not in the myndes of the hearers and readers any froward or false sense. I meane therfore is there to be kept, not vndoubtedly of the thing, but of the substaunce. The Euangelistes also are not to be accused of a lye, when as they setting forth the actes of Christ, do not all vse the selfe same wordes. For vnto the truth it is sufficient that a thing be set forth as it was done: it is not required that it be expressed by the selfe same wordes. Yea it is often times done through the gouernes of the holye ghost, that the forme of the narration should vary. For by that meanes those thinges which are not sufficiently expressed in the one, are more amply declared by an other.

But they vse to obiect the childwines of the Hebrues, which although they lyed, yet God rewarded them: The same also happened to Rahab the harlot, or a table keeper. Augustine answereth, that in the childwines the lye pleased not the Lord, but the faith and feare which they had to wards God, and the mercy which they shewed vnto the Israelites. And the same doth the holy history by expresse wordes testify. And no other wyse must we thinke of Rahab. But Gregories opinion I neuer like, who saith, that for the lye which they made, their eternall reward was turned into a temporal reward, because for the celestial blessednes it is said that God builded them houses. But I iudge, that by reason of the true faith, which was strong in them, so that it brought forth loue and the feare of God, which are iust and lawful fruites thereof, although of infirmity they lyed, yet were not they therefore bereued of eternal felicity.

Of the childwines of the Hebrues and of Rahab. Augustine. Gregory.

Abraham also is obiected, who said Sara was his sister. But therin (as Augustine teacheth) he lyed not: he told that which was true, but yet he spake not all the truth. And that is of no man required, to vtter all that is true, which he knoweth. He did not tel that she was his wife: yet because she was his kinswoman, he might according to the maner of the Hebrues truly say that she was his sister. But he seemeth not to be vtterly excused: for although he lied not in calling her sister, yet it seemeth that therein he fel, because in not opening that she was his wife, he put her in daunger of losing her chastity. For he left her naked of that ayde, wherby onely she might haue been defended from commyng into straunge loues. Neither is it necessary that I should labour vtterly to defende Abraham: For he was a man, and by ouer much feare he might easily fall. Howbeit Augustine mentioneth, that Abraham was then in daunger two maner of wayes: one was least he should be killed himselfe, the other was the aduoutery of his wyfe. The first daunger he might auoyde by calling her sister: but the other, namely, lest she should be defiled, he was not able to repell, for although he had sayde that she was her husband, that would not haue serued to haue deliuered her frō the filthy lustes of the Egiptians. Wherefore hee committed vnto God that, which he himselfe could not turne from hym. And in that which hee had in his own power he would not tempt God. This seemeth to be Augustines iudgement. But what I iudge, I haue before declared.

Whether Abraham made a lye of Sara. Augustine. Augustine.

But did not the same Abraham lye, when he said vnto his seruauntes: Tary here, and we wyl returne vnto you: when as for al that he was myuded to sacrifice his sonne which if he had done, he should not then haue returned together with his sonne, but alone? Iacob also by expresse wordes lyed, when he said vnto his father: I am Esau thy sonne. Paule likewyse (as it is written in the Actes) sayth that he knew not that he was the chiefe priest, which commaunded him to be stricken: when as yet (as Augustine testifieth in his sermon de puero Centurionis, and as it is written in the. 23. Question the. 1. chap. Paratus) he knew him well ynough. Paule (sayth he) was brought vp among the Iewes, he had learned

Augustine. Two kindes of men.

and the laie at the feete of Gamaliel, in so ferre as they knewe him to be the chiefe priest from other men. Iehu also manifestly lyed, when he saide that he would worship Baal. Augustine wryteth that there are two kindes of men mencioned in the holye scriptures. For hereby it is manifest that some lyed by God moued so perfect, that although they were not without synne, yet for may not rashly iudge euyl of them, but rather let vs how we may defend those thinges, which in their workes haue a shew of synne. They oftentimes were so moued by the holye Ghost, that God by their wordes and actes would make vpen certaine secretes. Wherefore we must beleue that when times they both spake and also did certaine thinges by prophecy: so Abraham, when he bidde the twoo yonge vnthryfte, that which should be. For with Isaac in sacrifice he resembled Christ the mountaine. And Iacob in saying I am Esau thy sonne, should declare nothynge els, but that hee was the man, to whom the degree, blessing and dignitye was due, which thinges seemed to pertaine vnto Esau that was first borne. Paule also prophecied what should at the length become of the high Priestes, namelye thys, that he should be destroied, like a wall that is pluckt downe and as a thyng altogether vaine and hipocritical. Further (saith Augustine) there were other men not so perfect, but wicked, which in the olde Testament are mencioned either to haue lyed, or els to haue done sounding which semeth synne. Of those men he thinketh, we may not so labour for to defend a good fame and opinion of them. Of this sorte of men was Iehu: for although that he further pleased God, which he executed vpon Achab and his familye, and also his weeding out of Baal, and the worshippers therof, yet for all that he was a wycked king, neyther departed he from the worshipping of golden Calues. Wherefore it is lawfull for vs to graunt, that in lying he synned.

A distinctio to be noted.

And (as I thinke, and before admonished) by this onely distinction, we may easily dissolue this doubt. Namely, that those men were styred vp to lye either by the spirite of man, or by the motion of God. When they dyd it as men, wee will not denye but that they synned: but when they spake so by the inspiration of God, we will marueile at their sayinges and doinges, but let vs not take example by them, or follow them.

Of dissimulation.

Dissimulacion is of two kindes.

But what that we affirme of dissimulation, I answer, that it is of two kindes. One is, which hath a respect onely to deceaue. And that forasmuch as it differeth not much from a lye, it is doubtedlye synne. If one being wicked, doo fayne himselfe to be good and holy, the same man without doubt is an hipocrite: and in that he dissembleth, he haynously sinneth. Whosoeuer also hauing a malitious and enuious hart against any man, doth flatter the same man, and dissembleth to be his friend, he is not without synne, yea he is infected with a detestable dissimulation. But there is an other kinde of dissimulation, which tendeth not to deceaue any man, but seeketh onely to kepe counsels secrete that they bee not hindred. And this dissimulation is not to be repudiated, or to be condemned as a syn, forasmuch (as we haue already declared) that it is not alwaies required, that we shoulde open what soeuer truth we knowe. For Christe being most innocent, tooke vpon him the liefly of synne, & hid his innocency & diuine nature. And that not to deceiue mortal men, but that he might suffer for the saluatiō of men. For if he had bene knowen to haue bene the Lord of glory, they would neuer (as saith the Apostle) haue crucified him. The same Christ fained also before two of his Disciples that he would go further, yet did not that to deceiue them, but therefore a while opened not himself vnto them, to reproue them of their incredulitye, and to inforce them by testimonies of the scriptures. Therewithall also he signified how farre he was from their hartes. Or as Augustine interpreteth it, he shadowed vnto them his departure into heauen. Wherefore it manifestly

What Christ ment by his dissimulation.

appea-

appeareth, that in those dissimulations there was no lye, seing his wordes did well agree with the thyng signified.

Of the dissimulatiō of Dauid.

And Dauid when he fell into a most great daunger before Achin kyng of Geth, chaunged his countenaunce and fained himselfe a foole, and for that he seemed suche a one, he escaped. Here some say that he cōmitted no dissimulation, but that God, to deliuer him, made such a feare in him, that his senses might be taken from him, and so did these thinges which are rehearsed of him in the fyrst booke of Samuel. Wherefore in his Psalme, which beginneth: I wyl alway geue thankes vnto the Lorde, he gaue thankes vnto God for so great a benefite. And therwithall in his act by the inspiratiō of God, he shadowed what Christ should suffer for our sakes, namely that he should be counted as a foole and a mad mā. Either els we answer, that Dauid is not altogether to be excused of synne, if as a man being more afeard than was mete, he sought for this kynde of helpe. But if he by the motion of God did it wittingly and with knowledge, we wil not accuse him of synne, although we may not follow his example. Neither is it lawful, that any man should fayne himselfe to haue committed any crime, which he hath not perpetrated, although Gregory saith that good mynded men wyll there acknowledge a fault where none is. Augustine writeth more truly and soundly of that thing in the. 29. sermon de verbis Apostoli. For he writeth thus saying, If before thou wast not a sinner, thou shalt be made a sinner, namely in saying y thou hast cōmitted that yi which thou hast not perpetrated. It is lawful in deede for every man to confesse himselfe to be a synner in Universall. But this for that crime in special no man ought to confesse in himself, which he hath not in verye deede committed. Farther, we must note, that this is true, that it is not required of vs, that we should open the truth every where, and in all places to speake al that we know: but yet in iudgement the same is not to bee permitted. For when thou art examined in iudgement, there thou art bounde to testifye that which thou knowest truely for the thing, whereof at that time we be demaunded.

Psal. 34.

Gregory.

Augustine.

Whether it be lawfull to lye to preserue the life of our Neighbours.

But there ariseth a more hard doubt, namely, whether it be lawfull to lye for to preserue the life of our neighbour. Augustine of a lye to Consentius saith, If a man should be in verye great daunger of death, & the same man also should know that his sonne also were in the like extreme daunger, which happeneth to dye, and thou knowest of his death: when the Parent shal aske thee, I pray thy sonne or no, and thou art sure that he also wil dye, if thou shalt tel him that his sonne is dead, what wouldest thou do in this case, whether thou sayest, he liueth, or whether thou tellest, I cannot tel, thou wel. But if thou shalt answer, that he is dead, al men will cry out vpon thee, as though thou haddest cōmitted manslaughter, and as though by thy many wordes thou haddest bene the occasiō of the death of this father being sicke and lying at the point of death. Augustine graunteth that it is a hard case, neither denieth he but that as a man he should be moued, & peraduenture it might so happen, that affections would not suffer him to speake that which is in a right. But at the length he concludeth that he should not lye. Also he addeth moreouer, that if thou knowest that any bodye lye with another inordinately, which also threatneth to kyl her selfe, yea and wil do it for very rage, vnles thou fyrst graunt to her wicked lust, whether therfore thou oughtest to be excused to commit any filthye thing against chastitye? I think not. So also saith he, thou oughtest not for y saving of thy neighbours life to offend against the truth. And moreouer what a window it should be made open to lyes, if we should other wise iudge of lyes. For that which one shall thincke to be lawful for life, an other will iudge that he may do the same for money, an other for estimation, or for defending of lands & possessions. And so shal it come

A similitude.

to

to passe that there will be one measure or end of lyes. We maye not (saith Augustine) that any man should kill his owne soule, to saue the bodye of an other man, yea and he affirmeth that we must not lye for the saluation of anye mans soule. Euery lye (saith Iohn) is not of God, but we ought not to speake those thinges which are not of God.

What if murtherers should persecute a man to kill him, & thou knowest y he lyeth ther hidde wher thou presently art, & they demaūde of thee if thou knowest whither he be there or no? he will answere, that if thou be of a valiant courage, & as it becometh a Christian, y maist saye wher he is I know it, but I will not tell it, do ye what ye will. But wha the matter cōmeth into this point, & for the safety of any mans life thou maist make a lie, I wold thou shuldest accounte the thing vnto God, & that thou hast nothing there whiche to doo. Either thou must answer, that thou wilt not betraye him, or els thou must holde thy peace. But by thy silence the murtherer will suspect that he is in thy house, and then thou shalt seme to haue geuen occasion of his thinking. But in bothe doode thou hast not so done. For thou canst not let him to thinke what he will. Wherfore the matter is rather to be counted vnto God, than that thou shouldest make a lye. Howbeit thou must very wel weigh with thy self, manfully, to speake so, that thou say not al, and yet speake not falsly. For in these cases I dyscerne it is not lawfull, yea I iudge it is most lawful to speake doubtfully. And as touching this question, thys is sufficient.

As I deny not but that our Elias manifestly lied, so will I also say that he was stirred vp of God vnto to speake. Those wordes vnaduisedly, although they deceiues Eglon, yet without controuersy they declared that, which was in very deede true, namely the worde of God, & that he had a secret thing to do with the kyng.

Whither it be lawfull for Subiectes to ryse

BVt leauing these thinges, let vs come vnto the third question, wherof for as much as I haue spoken at large before vpon it, I thinke nede to speake of it abundantly in this place, least I should be ouer ful of wordes than is needeful.

Let vs deuide subiectes, as we haue before deuided them, so that some of them are mere priuate men, & others are of such degrees, that the superiour powers in a maner dependeth of them, as among the Lacedemonians were the Ephori, and in Rome the Tribunes of the people. Those which onely are subiect, & counted altogether priuate, ought not to rise against their Princes & Lordes, to displace them of their dignity or degree. The holy Apostles Peter & Paul haue commaunded the same, namely that seruants should obey their Lordes, bothe rough & hard soeuer they be. Further, the Iewes (as it is written to the Romaines) is geuen onely to the powers. And they bothe resist the power, are sayde to resist the ordinance of god. Wel would that the Iewes should obey Nabuchad-nezar, & be wel angry with Zedechias the king, because he fell from him. yea, & Ieremy by the commaundement of God admonished and exhorted the people to pray for the health of the king of Babilon. Daniel also wold not once stretch forth his hād against the anointed of the Lord: when he might haue done it without any difficulty, & to his great commodity. The godly seruitours of Iulian the Apostata, obeyed the same Iulians in fighting and pitching their campes: neither did they at any time (being also armed) rebel against their most cruell tyrant Phocas: who had slaine Mauricius, possessed the Empire by great violence & wickednes, & sent to Rome to Gregory, who bought him as Pope, and gaue vnto him great reuerence. Further more the publike weales of al nations, which in place & dignity are set ouer priuate persons, & yet in very deede stand vnder the superiour power, & by certaine lawes do gouerne the publike weale, as at this day we see is done by the Princes of the Empire, and peraduenture the same also is done in other kingdomes. To these al

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vndoubtedly (if the Prince performe not his couenants & promises) it is lawfull to constrain & to bring him into order, & by force to compel him to fulfil the condicions & couenants whiche he had promised, and that by warre when it cã not otherwise be done. By this meanes the Romanes somtimes compelled the Consul, whom they themselues had created, to go out of their offices. The *Danes* in our time did put down their king, & held him long in prison. Polidorus Virgilius writeth, ỹ the Englishmen somtimes cõpelled their kings to render accompt of the mony which they had naughtely consumed. Neither are we ignorant that Tarquinius the proud, was by the Romanes for his ouermuch cruelty & arrogancy put out of his kingdome. I wil not speake of Brutus & Cassius, which slew Cæsar: but whether they did it iustly or otherwise, most graue mẽ vary in the opinions. And I in examining their enterprise by the rule of the scriptures, do not allow it. Bicause they gaue not vnto him the tyranny or Empire of Rome, but he vsurped it himself by violence and power. And God (as *Daniel* testifieth) transferreth Empires & kingdoms. And although it be lawful to resist tirãnes which inuade a kingdome, yet when they haue obtayned the Empire, and that they do gouerne, it semeth not to belong to priuate men to put them downe. Wherfore forasmuch as the kingdome of the Iewes was suche a kingdome, that in it al men depended of the king (for they were not chosen by the noble men, but by succession the posterity of that family gouerned, which God had also cõmaũded) & therfore in the lawes in *Deut.* & in the .1. booke of Sam. wherein the ryght of a king is constituted, ther is no liberty graunted to any to resist them. Yea & somtimes it happeneth that some of them wer killed. But yet we neuer reade ỹ god allowed the murther of them: yea he punished the murtherers. When God at any time would trouble the kings of *Iuda*: he did it by the Babilonians, Assirians, & Egiptians, but not the Iewes. He onely armed *Iehu* against his Lorde: whyche thing as it was peculiar, so also must not wee take example by it. Hee destroyed Saul also by the handes of the Philistians, and not by *Dauid*.

Neither am I ignorant how manye thinges are decreed of this matter in the Code, & in the digests in ỹ law Iuliã maiestatis. But I studieng to be briefe do of purpose ouerpasse these things. And although I know right wel ỹ the Ethnikes in the old time appointed rewardes for such as killed Tirannes, yet I haue answered that godlines & the holy scriptures do not allow the same. Undoubtedly if it be lawful for the people to put down kings that raigne vniustly, no kinges or Princes should at any time be in safety. For although they raygne iustly and holily, yet they cannot satisfy the people. And so much of this question.

31 After him was Sangar the sonne of Anath: and he smote of the Philistians. 600. men wt the goade of an oxe: & he also saued Israel.

What this Sangar was, or of what tribe or family, the holy scripture doth not declare. But this coniecture is very likely, ỹ when the Hebrues had a long tyme liued in peace vnder Ehud, as sone as he was dead, the Philistiãs began to vexe them. Wherfore Sangar being stirred vp by God, defended the people from cõming again into subiection vnder the Philistians. And among other victories, of the which I think ther wer very many, this is chiefly mẽcioned as a miraculous & wonderful victory. The Hebrues think that this notable act of this Sangar happened in the time of the oppression vnder Iabin. But thei bring no reasons why they should so thinke. Farther, by the holy scriptures it appeareth not how many yeres the Hebrues wer kept by this Judge: yet by Iosephus we may know, ỹ he fought for the Israelites but onely one yere. That which we translate wyth the goade of an Oxe, the Grecians cal ἀροτροπόδι, that is, with the foote or staffe of a plow. The comon translation in latin hath with the plow share. Augustine (as it appeareth by his questions on this place) redeth, beside calues of the kyne. Which clause semeth to haue no sense in it. And he iudgeth ỹ this Sangar in this murther of ỹ Philistians slew peraduẽture many oxen, which ar called calues.

Polidorus. Virgilius.

Of Brutus and Cassius.

Iosephus.

Augustine.

And he addeth that ỹ Egiptians vsed in his time to call all kind of oxen of what age soeuer they wer, by ỹ name of calues. As we (saith he) cal Chickens, all vniuersally as many as ar cõprehended vnder the kind of hens, with out any difference of yeares and age. In the meane time he confesseth that it is not so in the Hebrue, & he hath saide truly: for in ỹ Hebrue bibles we read Melamed. Which word is derined of this verbe Lamad. And that verbe, in the cõiugation Kal, is to learn, but in the cõiugation Pihel, it is to teach. Wherfore Melamed might be turned a teacher of Oxen, namely to be ỹ instrumẽt wherby Oxen in plowing ar guided. And least we should doubt what it is, Kimhi writeth ỹ it is a rod or a staffe, in ỹ end or top wherof ther is fastened a prick. And ỹ Chaldey paraphrast testifieth the same, which in steede of ỹ word hath put this word Peraschi & that word signifieth to prick. Wherfore it is an instrumẽt whereby oxen in plowing ar pricked. Wherfore the word Peraschim signifieth horsmen, or spurres, wherby horses are by the riders vpon them, pricked. And thus much by the way.

Kimhi.

The old writers thinke that in this place is vsed the figure Synechdoche, as though Sangar did not alone kil so great a number of Philistians, but that hee with other rusticall men fought agaynste them, which rusticall men were armed with no other kinde of weapons than with goades of Oxen. In deede I know that the holy scriptures many times do admit chaũge of numbers, which whither in this place it be to be receaued, I do very much doubt. Yea (if I should speake the truth as it is) I thinke the contrary: forasmuch as in this presente hystory me thinketh no vulgare acte is set forth, but rather a wonder or myracle. But howsoeuer it be, this I thinke is godlily and profitablye to be noted: That any thing may serue vs for weapons, when the worde of God is added. A flyng and stones of a ryuer furnished Dauid nobly. The iaw bone also of an Asse was a weapon to Samson, and a naile to Iahel, wherwith she slew Sisera. And contrariwise, what kind of weapõs of kence so euer we deuise, vnles it be strengthened by the word of God, it shalbe vtterly vnprofitable and serue to no purpose. The walles of Iericho, which otherwise were wel fenced, fell downe of their own accord: and the great sword of Goliah the Giant was made to cut the throte of hys own maister. Wherfore it is most truly said in the Psalmes: A king is not saued by much strength, and a horse is a vayne thing to saue a man. But what doo we speake of weapons, when as the same happeneth vnto al creatures? For so long euery one of them is and abideth, as the woorde of God caryeth and vpholdeth them. For althings whatsoeuer they be, do by ỹ onely both abide & consist. Yea and the Sacramentes themselues, taking away the woord of God, are vtterlye nothing. For what do we thinke bread, wyne, or water to haue by themselues, which may be profitable for our saluation, or serue to stirre vp or to strengthen faith? Undoubtedly nothing. Wherefore Augustine hath right well sayde: The word cõmeth vnto the element, & it is made a sacrament. Wherfore in that. vi. hundred Philistians were kylled with an Ore goade, wee must beleue that the same came to passe by the cõmaundement of God, & by the power of his woord.

Pſal. xxxiii.

Auguſtine.

¶ The. iiii. Chapter.

1 And the children of Israel began againe to do wickedly in the sight of the Lord, when Ehud was dead.

2 And the Lord sold them into the hand of Jabin king of Chanaan, which raygned in Hazor, whose captain of warre was called Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentyles.

The cause of the oppression of the Israelites is mencioned, namely, because when Ehud was dead, they began to do euil, that is, to sinne. They abused therfore the quietnes and tranquillity of the foure score yeares, in which they lyued peace-

peaceably, vnder their Iudge, neither declined they onely from the right waye, but also they increased in syn. This is the nature of carnal men, that by prosperytie they are not made the better, but farre woorser.

VVhen Ehud was dead. It cannot be told how easily the people fal from the right way, when as holy Princes are also removed from the same. Wherefore that is not vnworthely to be counted a most grieuous plague when the pyllers both of the Church and also of the publike wealth are taken awaye. But what should be the cause, why there is no mention made of the death of Sangar, I wot cannot easily tel. The Hebrue interpreters saye, that it therefore happened, because he continued but a litle time, and for that cause is scarcely coũted among the Iudges: nether was the deliuery which by him happened, perfect, which is in the next chapter by expresse wordes declared. Farther, it is in dede sayd of hym, that he saued Israel: but it is not added as it is of Othoniel and Ehud, that the land was any yeares at rest vnder hym.

There is no mention made of the death of Sanger.

And God sold them. When al thinges seme vnto the vngodly to be in quiet and at rest, and that they thinke that on no syde anye hurt or euyll can happen vnto them, God euen then vseth by a certayne wonderfull manner to styrre vp great miseries and calamities out of ashes and sparckels, which I wer thought to haue bene long time quenched. Iabin the king of Chanaan was kylled by Iosua (as it is written in his bookes the .xi. chap.) and Hazor his kingly City destroied and burnt with fire. Wherefore none would haue looked that war shoulde haue bene renued againe on that part. But an other Iabin, the sonne or sonnes sonne of him that was killed, tooke courage againe, and inuaded and oppressed the Israelites. But least al that should be ascribed vnto his strength, it is added that God intermedled in the matter, when hee solde the Hebrues vnto him, that is, graunted vnto him to vse them as he thought good hymselfe, euen to all most vile seruices, and that as most abiect bondslaues. And this calamity is amplified by many names. First, by the longnesse of the tyme: for it continued .xx. yeares, when as before Othoniels time they were afflicted onely .viii. yeares. And before Ehud was stirred vp, they serued .xviii. yeares. It is declared that this seruitude was very cruell, bicause Iabin oppressed the Hebrues by strength and violence. And Iosephus writeth that it was in such sort, that they durst not so much as to lift vp their head. And the cause of his so great cruelty was, bicause he remembred that the Iewes in the time of Iosua had killed his Father or Grandfather. And had ouerthrowen the kingly City Hazor, in wasting and burning it wyth swoord and fyre. Farther, the violence and power of his tyranny is by this declared, in that he had so great a number of yron or hooked chariots, and (if we may beleue Iosephus) he went a warfare with three hundred thousand footemen, ten thousand horsemen, and three thousand chariotes, among which .ix. hundred of them were of yron. Neither for al his great host had he ben able to haue brought the Hebrues vnder subiection, vnles God (as we haue before said) had solde thē. And vndoubtedly, it is to be thought that Iabin vsed these .ix. hundred chariots, which the history speaketh of by name, to afflict the region of the Iewes, which he had now conquered, and to the end they should not fal from him.

Why Iadin was so cruel vnto ỹ Hebrues.

Iosephus.

And he dwelt in Hazoreth. Howe raigned this man in Hazor, whē as in the time of Iosua ỹ City was ouerthrowen? To this we answer, first ỹ after ỹ ouerthrow which happened vnder Iosua, ỹ rest of ỹ Chananites fled into a very huge wood which is called Of the Gentiles, & ther bi litle & litle they so increased their power, ỹ thei set ouer thēselues a king, which was of ỹ surname of ỹ first king, namely his sonne, or els his sonnes sōne, which is therfore said to haue raigned in Hazor, bicause he stil retained ỹ title of ỹ place, as very many kings do at this day, which keping ỹ title of certain places do cal thēselues kings of the same places, wherin in very dede they haue no possessiō at all. But the Hebrue interpreters think ỹ Hazoreth was a large & huge wood, which cōtained in it many ci-

ties & Castels. Vnto which sense the Chaldey paraphrast leaneth, which turneth that woorde, munition of Castels. This day also in Germany, there is the wood of Hercinia, wherin are both Cities and very many Castels. And it is called, Of the Gentiles, either bicause a great number of diuers people resorted thither, or bicause those places were built and fenced by the labour of manye Gentiles. We might otherwise also answer, & that much more likely to be true: namely, ỹ the citi of Hazor was after Iosua, reconered & reedified by the Chananites, so that it was the kingly city againe, wher (Iabin either the sonne or els ỹ sonnes sõne of ỹ first Iabin) raigned. And to this reedefieng the times serued very aptly. For from the burning of Hazor there wer passed. 150. yeares more or lesse, ỹ is, eight yeares of bondage, which happened vnder the king of Mesopotamia. 40. yeares of Othoniel. 18. yeres of seruitude vnder Eglon king of Mesopotamia. 80. yeres, wherin Ehud peaceably iudged the Israelites, and. 20. yeres this Iabin afflicted the Hebrues. Wherfore he might easily reigne in Hazor being againe reedified, and this maketh with it, bicause it is not writtẽ of this Iabin that he dwelled in the wood, but that Sisara his captayne dwelt there. For kinges vse not to kepe an house in their kingly citye, but rather to haue them in their borders or in the fieldes, wher they may be prompt and redy to accomplysh thinges to be done.

3 And the children of Israel cried vnto the Lord, for he had .900. chariottes of yron, and. 20. yeares he oppressed Israel very sore.
4 And Deborha, a Prophetesse, the wife of Lappidoth, iudged Israel the same tyme.

Both by the thinges before declared, & also by these which are now spoken of, we may vnderstand the frowardnes of mans nature: for vnles it be by troubles and aduersities bused and broken, it regardeth not God, yea as long as there is any hope of other helpes, it neglecteth God and vseth them. But whẽ thinges ar past all hope and be seperat, then god is required, as a certayne holy ankerhold. Wherfore it is no maruayle, though the Hebrues deferred their repẽtance 20. yeares long. Surely I am persuaded, that they did oftentimes grone and cry. But bicause they lamented not that they had offended god, and wickedly committed sinnes, but only desired him to take away the payne & long punishment, and paraduenture murmured against God, therfore wer not their prayers heard. But now at the last at the. 20. yeares ende, when with fayth and godlynes they prayed vnto God, he heard their prayer, and graunted them their requestes. By this example let vs learne ỹ we must neuer dispaire of the help of god, although it be deferred. We all in deede desire to be strayghtwaye deliuered of our troubles: but god in his counsel thinketh not good so soone to take away his punishments. Wherfore that which he hath decreed we also must patientlye suffer.

When in desperate thinges call vpon God.

Though God deferre his help yet wee muste not dispaire.

Deborah a Prophetesse. God which before to deliuer Israel had chosen Ehud, which had an impediment in his right hande: and then Sangar, a husbandman armed onely with the goade of an Ore: nowe choseth a woman, by whose conduct the Iewes might be deliuered from a most grieuous enemy. Wherefore by these examples he abundantly sheweth that his power is not bounde vnto noble men and to strong men, but hee can easilye vse the weake and feable ones. yea and he sheweth forth his power rather in these, than in the other. Howbeit to declare, that it is all one vnto him, as touching both kynde of instrumentes, sometimes he vseth the strong ones, and other sometimes the weake ones. And when hee taketh the weake ones, he straight waye endueth and adorneth them with his grace and gyftes. For as muche therefore as he had vnto thys ministerye chosen Deborah, beyng weake in kynde, hee strayght waye endewed and adorned her wyth the spirite of prophecye. By whyche grace, and peraduenture manye other mos myracles, she was by God constituted, and by myracles confirmed, as she that was elected vnto so great an office.

God vseth both stronge and weake alyke.

Neyther

Neyther onely this woman was endewed with the spyrite of prophesy: for in the holy scriptures we reade of other women which were likewise inspired by the holy Ghost, Mary the sister of Moses, Hanna the mother of Samuel, Holda in the time of Iosias the king were Prophetesses. And in the new testament Marye the Virgin, Elizabeth the mother of Iohn, and Anna the wife of Phanuel, the daughters also of Phillip the Deacon (as it is written in the Actes of the Apostles) were prophetesses. Neyther do I thinke that we maye denye, that some of those weomen endewed with the spyrite of prophesy, did openly teach the people, in declarynge those thynges vnto them whiche God had shewed vnto them. Forasmuch as the giftes of God are not therfore geuen, that they shoulde lye hidden, but to aduaunce the common edifying of the church.

Weomen prophetesses did openly instruct the people.

And yet hereby it followeth not, that that which God doth by some peculiar priuiledge, we should by and by draw it for an example, because according to the rule of the Apostle we are bound vnto an ordinary law, whereby both in the Epistle to Timothy, and in the first Epistle to the Corrinthians, he commaundeth that a woman should kepe silence in the church. And he assigneth causes of this silence so commaunded, namely because they ought to be subiect vnto theyr husbandes. But the office of a teacher hath a certayne authority ouer those whiche are taught, which is not to be attributed vnto a womã ouer men. For she was made for the man, whome she ought alwayes to haue a regarde to obey, whiche thing is also appoynted her by the sentence of God, wherby after synne committed he sayd vnto the woman: Thy lust shal pertayne vnto thy husband. Farther the Apostle geueth an other reason, drawne from the fyrste faute, because, as he sayth, Eua was seduced, and not Adam, wherfore if women should ordinarily be admitted vnto the holy ministery of the Church, men might easely suspecte, that the deuill by his accustomed instrument would deceaue the people, and for that cause they would the lesse regard the Ecclesiasticall function, if women should be beleued. It ought therfore to be committed onely to men, & that by ordinary right and the Apostles rule. And though God do sometimes otherwyse, yet can he not be iustly accused, forasmuch as all lawes are in his power. Wherefore if sometimes he send any prophetesse, and adorne her with heauenly giftes, if the same woman speake in the church, vndoubtedly she is to be hearde: but in suche sort, that she forgette not her owne estate. Wherefore these two testimonies of Paule which seme to be contrary one to an other, may easelye be conciliated. To Timothe the fyrst Epistle he writeth, that a woman ought in the church to kepe silence: which thinge toward the ende of the first Epistle to the Corinth. he most manifestly confirmeth. And in the same epistle he commaundeth, that a man prophesieng or praying should haue his hed vncouered, but a woman when she prophesieth should haue it couered: whereby vndoubtedly he teacheth that it is lawfull for a woman both to speak and also to prophesy in the church. For he would not haue commaũded, that in this doing she should couer her head, if she should vtterly kepe silence in the holy assembly. The thinge is in this manner to be taken, that we should vnderstande the precept of silence to be a generall precepte, but the other which is for the couering of the head when they pray or prophesy, pertained onely to those which were prophetesses. They vndoubtedly are not forbidden to prophesy, for the common edification of the church, but to the ende by reason of theyr office extraordinarely committed vnto them, they should not forget theyr owne estate and ware proude, they are commaũded to haue their head couered: whereby they myght vnderstande that yet they haue the power of man aboue them. Farther whereas to Titus the ii. chap. it is commaunded that the elder women should admonish the yonger women of temperance, and that they should loue theyr husbandes and children, and diligently looke to theyr family, this is not to be vnderstand of publike doctrine or ecclesiasticall sermons, but of priuate exhortacions, which it is meete, that the elders haue to the yongers.

Why women are commoundded to kepe silence in the church.

Twoo places of Paule conciliated.

Why women prophetesses were commaũded to haue theyr heds couered.

5 And the same Deborah dwelt vnder a Palme tree, betwene Ramath and Bethell, in mount Ephraim. And the chyldren of Israell ascended vp to her for iudgement.

How Deborah iudged the people.

The word of iudging (as we haue admonished) in this booke often times signifieth to reuenge, and to set at liberty. Which signification if we now follow, we shall se that Deborah was appointed vnto the same, namelye to deliuer the Israelites. And as soone as they by the inspiracio of God vnderstode that, they ascẽded to her, to heare of her what they should do, to attayne vnto liberty. But if any man will haue the word of iudgemẽt to signify to set lawes, or to geue sentence of controuersies, I will not be much against it. For so great peraduenture was the oppression of Iabin, that now the Israelites could not vse ordinary iudges. They therfore being taken away, whẽ they saw that Deborah was endewed with the spirite of God, they had rather be iudged by her, than by the Chananites. But Iosephus inclineth more vnto the first interpretation, and he sayth that they beinge oppressed by their enemies came vnto Deborah, whome they knew to be a most holy woman and endewed with the spirite of god, and desired her to pray vnto God for them, which she both did and was heard.

Iosephus.

As touching the ministery of the churche, how women may be preferred, & in what sort they are not apt, we haue before declared. And this we ad now, ỹ whẽ churches, ar newly planted, when ther want men to preach the Gospel, a womã may at the beginning be admitted to teach, but in such sorte, that when she hath taught a while, some one mã of ỹ faithful to be ordeyned, which afterward may minister the sacramẽts, teach & faithfully execute ỹ office of a pastor. But because Deborah was not onely a Prophetesse, but also in setting at liberty, gouerned ciuil things, I might therfore demaund, whether a womã may be appointed to gouern a publ: wealth. But I haue determined to entreat of this question in an other place, namely whẽ I come to ỹ history of Athalia in the bokes of the kings.

The wife of Lappidoth. What this man was we can not by the holy scripture certainly know. The Hebrewes thinke that he was Barak: but this is onelye the reason why they thinke so, because the signification of these names haue great affinity one with an other. For Barac signifieth lightninge, and Lapidh is a lampe, whose plurall number is aswell Lapidim as Lapidoth. And lampes or torches and lightninges are very lyke. Other thinke that thys woman was so called of her handye crafte, for that shee made matches for the candles of the sanctuarye. But that the Rabbines fayned as thoughe God doth neuer bestowe freely hys grace or giftes. For they signify by their fable that she by desert became a prophetesse and a iudge, because her woorkes serued for the tabernacle & that very religiously. Others also write that she was so called, because in that howre, wherin she was endewed with the spirite of prophecy, her face was made shininge, casting forth beames, as the holy history writeth of the countenaunce of Moses. But all these thinges are trifles, and leane onely vnto the interpretacion of the words, neither are they by any meanes proued by the holye scriptures. But there is a certayn coniecture that Barac was not the husband of Deborah, bycause she dwelled in mount Ephraim and he in Kades of Nepthalim. And it is not agreable that the wife and the husband did dwell one so far distant from the other. Vnles ỹ wilt say ỹ Deborah went thẽ onely to mount Ephraim when the people should come vnto her. And if we graũt this, thẽ will it be meruelous, why her husband went not thither together with the other Israelits. Wherfore that way semeth to be the plainer, namely to say ỹ she was the wife of Lappidoth: but therfore she gaue not thys gouernance vnto her husband. For that thing should be gouerned by mans reason, but she did folow the counsel of God as she ought.

Fained tales of the Rabbines.

Of the mariage of ministers.

God despyseth not those which are maried.

This is also very worthye to be noted, that maried folkes are not contemned of God. For of them certain hath he chosen to be Prophetes and those notable

dle prophetes. For Esay is cõmaunded to go vnto a Prophetesse, which both conceiued & also bare to him children. Ezechiel also was maried. Wherfore that Romane Sircius & his like ar not to be hard, whē they forbid the vse of the ministration of holy things to such which are maried: & this godly reason forsooth bring they for it, namely bicause Paule writeth, that they which are in the flesh cannot please God, and in the old law it is in this manner commaunded, be ye holy, for I am holy: and agayn sayth Paule, ye are the temple of God, or ye the holy ghost. But these testimonies now alleged, if they should serue any thinge to their sentence, then vndoubtedly should they declare, that no men whiche are maried can please god, neither that anye are to be counted holye, excepte they be chaste. The temple also of God or of the holy Ghoste shoulde be drawne onely to the clergye. But howe vayne these thinges are, all men so well vnderstande, that they neede none of my labour to expresse them. For who seeth not that the sentences nowe alleged are not spoken vnto this man or to that man alone, but preached vnto all the faythfull: It was the manner of the Ethnickes, to haue their prophetesses eyther Virgines or such as were of sole life, as it is written of the Sibils. They also appoynted certayne priesthodes vnto women, but yet only to virgines, namely the holy thinges of Vesta, and also of her that was called Bona dea.

Sircius is not to be heard.

The maner of the Ethnykes as touching virginity or sole lyfe.

Neyther must we beleue, those maried folkes, which were by God taken to the office of prophecying or to the holy ministery, did streight way forsake their wyues, for neyther God nor yet Christ were authors that any man shoulde deuorce himselfe from his wife. We know in deede that Paule permitteth them which are maried sometimes to be a sunder, whereby they might more expediently geue them selues to fastinges and prayers: but he permitteth not that vnles they be both agreed therunto, and that for a short time, and he commaundeth them to returne to their old estate, lest by the temptacion of Sathan they should be ouerthrowne. Wherfore this sentence which they bring, is not sufficient to proue the necessitye of sole life for ministers, forasmuche as the aduersaries gather more out of it than can be gathered. For the Apostle sayth that sometimes it is lawfull to abstaine from accompanieng. But these men take it to be a commaundement to all sortes of ministers, euer to be vnmaried. Which argument is both weake and vnprofitable, as the art of Logike manifestly sheweth. For we graunt, that it is mete for ministers sometimes to conteyne themselues, and that oftner than other men, but not continually. This they obiect, if other men moderate themselues, making their prayers but sometimes, what shoulde they do, whose duty is alwayes to apply themselues vnto prayers & to the administration of the sacramentes? I aunswere. First, that we much marueile at those which allege these thinges, when as the clergy for the most part neuer almost teach, & distribute the sacraments very seldom, & celebrate that their most filthy & abhominable masse scarce once or twise in a whole yeare. But in ỹ mean time play ỹ whoremõgers & pollute thēselues with adulteries. And they cauile that they cānot marry, bicause of ỹ ecclesiastical degree which they haue takē vpō thē. Vndoubtedly the reasons which they bring do nothing defend this kind of men.

They which were maried & called to the holye ministerye, did not forsake their wyues.

Farther we must marke, that the wordes which Paul there speaketh, belong not to cõmon fasting, or to cõmon & vsual prayers: otherwise it were lawful for none ether to mary or to haue a wyfe, for as much as al mē ar cõmaũded to pray with out ceasling. And there ar sometime certayn solemne prayers and fastings appointed, ether for ỹ auoyding of iminente calamities, or for the chosing of ministers of the Churche, and for such lyke necessityes, in whiche wee muste with the prophet & the Apostle councel & exhorte the husband not to depart out of the bedchãber, & the bride out of her bed. Howbeit I would gladly hear of these new maisters & most seuere cēsors, what they did in ỹ old time in the church of Rome, which they so much alow aboue all other worship, what I say was done when christians did cōmunicate as Ierome & Augustine write was done in their time.

A distinction of prayers and fastinges.

Sometimes fastinges & publike prayers ar commaunded.

At Rome they did cōmunicate dayly.

They indeede communicated, and yet had they wiues. Moreouer what did the high priest Aaron and his successors in the old testament, whose office was both morning and euening perpetually to minister at the tabernacle? For as thē were not the courses of the priests distributed by Dauid, Salomon, and Ezechias. Vsed they not their wiues? Undoubtedly they broughte forth children. But they say, that then it ought to haue bene done, forasmuch as the successiō of the priest hode was by carnall propagation, neither might the priestes be taken out of any other tribe, then out of the tribe of Leui. But nowe that we are losed from that law, and that we may euery where haue ministers of the church, it is mete that they be without wiues. I will aske these men, who was the author, that the high priestes & the priests in the old time should be continued by carnal propagation? It is meruelous if they graūt not that God was the author. I will therfore conclude that they make themselues wiser then god, who is most wise, who also suffred & willed priests to vse matrimony. He might haue taken priests out of euery tribe and commaunded continency. But he would not do it. But these men dare do more then he hath commaunded. Farther let them tel vs whether there were ministers in the primatiue church or no? Undoubtedly there were, yea and those had wiues, & yet for all that they perpetually both taught and ministred. That they had wiues, the histories declare, the Canons do testifye, & these Canons in especiall which ar of the Apostles, wherevnto our aduersaries thinke we must so much leane vnto. For there we reade, that he is accursed, which teacheth that a priest ought to despise his wife.

Of the highe priest of the old Testament.

The ministers of ỳ primitiue churche had wiues and vsed them.

Canons of the Apostles.

I am not ignorant, that there are certayne wily heades, whiche by triflinge wordes do so anoyde the place alledged, as though it were onely to be vnderstād as touching meate and drinke and clothing: for which thinges, they say a priest ought to prouide for his wife when he is seperated from her. As thoughe a wyfe is not more displyased, from whome the due benevolence is taken away, then if she should be neglected as touching meat and drinke and clothing. The councel also of Gangrensis decreed, that he is accursed which putteth difference betwen the oblation of a maried priest from others. Here also (least they should be counted dum) they say that a maried priest, is taken for him whiche was once before maried, and not he whyche is presently maried: whiche they thinke happeneth, when either the wife is deade, or elles if they be seperated the one from the other. But graunt which of these two wayes thou wilt, yet one of the clergy can not be called a maried man. For they are maried folkes, whiche both loue together, and are not seperated one from an other. And that the ministers in the primitiue church had wiues, and vsed them, the history of Nicolaus the Deacon sufficiently declareth. And it is hereby also easely proued, bicause if ministers accōpanied not with their wiues, Sircius, Pelagius, and other Romayn Popes should not haue neded to haue made so many prohibicions, that it should not from thence forth be done, for these tyrans cōplained that it was so done, & therfore to their power by decrees ordināces, & threatnings they forbad ỳ vse of matrimony to ecclesiastical mē: which they should not nede to haue don, if such matrimonies had not then bene in vse. At the length they deny not but ỳ so it was, but they fly to thys, that we must haue a respect vnto the times, & attribute somwhat to necessity. For in the primityue church (as they say) was there a great wāt of ministers, wherfore they were fayne to chose them out of euery state of men, & therfore ther were very many of them which wer maried at ỳ time. But nowe that the church is encreased, we are not vrged with that necessity, wherefore iustly it is decreed that onely vnmaried folkes should be chosen.

Concilium Gangrense.

Who maryed folkes are.

The primitiue church had greate aboundance of ministers.

But I would haue these mē to remember with themselues, that in that first tyme, when the heat of the holy Ghost did so much abound, there were a greate many mo whych were mete for the ministery, thē now ar, by reason of the great aboundance of grace & spiritual giftes. Besides that the church when it was ex-

tended

tended and increased, it then neded many more ministers. Farther an other necessitie oppresseth vs more grieuously, because men at this day are more weake than they were then, which their Popes also deny not. For in the dist. 34. chap: Fraternitatis, Pelagius iudgeth that a certaine Deacon which was to be promoted (whiche had cõmitted whoredome, and yet hauing a wife of his own) should be more gently intreated because in these dayes not onely bodies are febled, but also vertue and maners. If they be not ignorant of this weakenes of our times, which is farre greater than it was in the olde tyme, they ought not from thence to take away the remedy where they perceaue a greater necessitie. Neither is it mete, that they should dissemble the necessitie of this age, whiche obiecting vnto vs the maner of the old Churche, dare lay against vs the necessitie therof. There is on either side necessitie, and therfore if there be a consideration had of the one let there be also a consideration had of the other.

Men are now weaker.

There are some amongst them, which say, that ministers in the old tyme had wiues, and sometimes vsed them but they deny that after they had taken orders it was at any tyme lawfull to mary wiues. Undoubtedly they erre: For in the synode of Ancyrana (as it is written in the decrees the 28. dist: chap. Diaconi) it is decreed, that if a Deacon while he is in ordering, shal deny when the state of cõtinency is required of him and shall testifie that he wil not lyue without a wife, if the same Deacon after he is ordeyned do contract matrimony, he may not be hindred but may freely execute his ministery. By which place we are manifestly taught, that it was lawfull to cõtract matrimony after orders receaued. Which Gratianus sawe well ynough, and therfore he writeth, that as touching that Synode a consideration ought to be had both to the time & place. For it is obserued in the east Church, which in promotions of ministers admitte not the promise of continency, but as touching time he addeth, that as yet this continency of Ministers was not then brought into the Churche: but if thou shalt aske, when that counsell was had, we answere, as it also appeareth by ỹ same decrees vnder Syricius and Innocentius, which liued in the time of Ierome and Augustine.

whether it be lawfull to mary a wife after orders receaued.

Synodus Ancyrana.

Gratianus.

But it is a wonder to see, how Tyranny hath increased, and impiety by litle and litle taken deepe rootes. At the beginning, ỹ Ministers of the Church which contracted matrimonies, were not altogether so seuerely handled. For the counsell of Neocæsariensis (as it is recited in the dist. 28. chap. Presbiter) cõmaunded such to be put onely out of their office, and not from their benefice: for they were still nourished, and receaued their stipendes from the Churche. Neither in the meane tyme will I ouerpasse, that ỹ counsel did cast out of ỹ Church such Priests as were adulterers and whoremongers, namely, in excommunicating them which was very mete and iust, when as our men now a dayes do altogether winke at those sinnes. After that they began not onely to put them out of their offices, but also (as they speake) to remoue them from their benefices, as it is written in the 33. dist. chap. Eos & chap. Decreuerunt yea and those which so maried, they banished either into a monastery, or into some straight place to do penãce, but in our tyme they burne many of them. And afterwarde they raged also against the women, with whom the Ministers had maried, as it is founde in the dist. 81. out of a certaine counsell holden at Toledo, chap: Quidam, where it is commaunded that the women should be sold. And in the dist. 34. chap. Eos, they are appointed to be seruauntes of that Church, wherin the Priest was, which hath contracted with them into seruitude, and if peraduenture the Bysshop could not bring them into seruitude, he should commit it vnto the prince or lay Magistrat. They banished them also sometimes into a monastery to do penance, as it is read in the 34. dist. chap: Fraternitatis. Neither were they content with this cruelty, but the children also whiche were by such matrimonies borne, would they haue to be seruauntes of that Church, wherin their father had ben, & they deprined them of al their fathers inheritaũce. And that is written, in the 15. question the last chap: Cũ multę.

Howe punishments agaynst ỹ clergy which mary haue dayly increased.

Concilium Neocæsariense.

Concilium Toletanum.

They

They do so not punish their adulterous sacrificers and whoremongers, neither their harlottes, nor yet their bastard children: they onely exercise their cruell tyranny vpon the wifes of Priestes and their lawfull children.

At the laste, when they haue almost no other thyng to bring, they sye vnto their vowe as to a holyanchor. They crye out that that must vtterly be kepte, and therefore it is not any more lawfull for Ministers to mary, because when they are ordeyned they do vowe sole lyfe. As thoughe it were not both by the holy Scriptures and also by humane lawes commaunded, that a vowe, promise, or othe shoulde be of no force, if it compell vs to an vnlust or vnhonest thyng. And who seeth not, that it is a thyng very filthy, and agaynst the lawe of God that he whiche burneth in filthy luste, yea and so burneth that he dayly defileth hymselfe with harlottes, adulterers and vnlawfull Vsu veneris, should be forbidden matrimonye? Vndoubtedly the holy Ghost hath commaunded matrimony to all such as can not kepe themselues chaste, yea and the fathers (which in this matter are more enemyes to vs than they should) saye this. Wherefore Ciprian as touchyng holy virgines, whiche had vnchastly behaued themselues, sayeth: If either they will not or can not kepe themselues chast, let them mary. Ierome also feared not to write the same vnto Demetrius, Epiphanius also agaynste the Catharis, sayeth: It is better those whiche can not kepe themselues chast to mary wyues, and sinne onely once, than dayly to woounde their myndes with vnpure actions. But the opinion of this father I do not in this thyng allowe, because he affirmeth that those do sinne, whiche when they haue made a vowe of chastitye do contracte matrimonye, for as longe as they do obeye the voyce of GOD, they charge not themselues with sinne. Neither do I allowe that his reason, wherein he sayth, that one sinne is to be committed, to auoyde a greater, onely this I meane to shewe by his wordes, that matrimony is very necessary to suche as can not kepe themselues chaste. But I will entreate no more of this thing at this present for I haue aboundantly spoken of all this question in my booke of Vowes.

Vow of vnlust thinges are of no force.

Cyprian.

Ierome. Epiphanius.

And the children of Israel ascended vp to her for iudgement. Some affirme that this was done at certayne appoynted dayes, so that the Israelites shoulde come to her house, as to a certayne oracle, and to an interpretor of the lawes of God. Or els then they ascended vnto her, when he was inspired with the spirite of Prophesye. And vndoutedly it is very lykely, that she then called the people together, when she had any thyng to shewe vnto the Israelites in the name of God. And they are sayd properly to ascende, because in passing ouer the mount Ephraim they came vnto her.

6 And she sent, and called Barac, the sonne of Abinoam, out of Cedes Nephthalim: and she sayd vnto hym: Hath not the Lord God of Israel commaunded thee to go, and leade vnto mount Thabor, and take with the ten thousand men of thee childrē of Nephthalim, and of the sonnes of Zebulon.

7 And I wil bring vnto thee, vnto the riuer Kison, Sisera the captayne of the host of Jabin, with his chariots, and his people, and I will deliuer him into thine handes.

8 And Barac sayd vnto her, If thou wilt go with me, I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me, I will not go.

9 Who answered, I will surely go with thee, but this iorney that thou takest shall not be for thine honour: for the Lord shall deliuer Sisera into the hand of a woman. So Deborah rose vp, and went with Barac into Cedes.

Deborah

Deborah vseth the authoritie of a prince, when she citeth Barac vnto her and commaunded him to be called in her owne name. He came from the Citie of Cedes. That was a Citie of the Prieſtes in the tribe of Nepthalim, and alſo a Citie of refuge as it is read in Ioſuah the 19. chap. Hath not the Lorde God commaunded thee. She vſeth an interrogatiue ſpeache: for that very muche profiteth to ſtirre vp mindes, and earneſtly to commaunde any thyng. Some thinke that Deborah had more than once yea often tymes admoniſhed Barac in the name of god to accompliſhe this office and he for feare lingered it. Wherefore ſhe at the laſt openly and before the Iſraelites reproueth them. And it is as muche, as if ſhe ſhould haue ſayde, In very dede it is God whiche hath commaunded thee theſe thynges. That whiche I ſpeake is not myne inuention, I tell thee this thou muſt take in hande by the counſell and will of God. And in theſe wordes of the Prophetelle may be obſerued a maner much vſed in the holy Scriptures, whiche when they geue any precepte, do ſtraight way ioyne therunto a promiſe. When children are commaunded to obey their parentes, length of life is ſtraight waye promiſed. Deborah alſo declareth, that ſhe exerciſed ỹ office of a Prophet amõg the people, when as ſhe Prophecieth what ſhall become of Siſera, and foretelleth a notable victorye, whiche God had decreed vnto Barac. Mount Thabor, whiche is here mencioned, of the Ethniſke writers is called Ithabirius: It is nighe vnto the Aſſirians, Nepthalites and Sabulonites. There the Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, our Sauiour, was tranſfigured before three of his Diſciples, as it is declared in the hiſtorye of the Goſpell. This mount hath by it the riuer Kyſon, whiche by the deſtruction of the Baalites is made notable: for there Helias the Prophete ſlewe the Prieſtes of Baal.

To preceptes are ioyned promiſes.

Mount Thabor is called Ithabyrius.

The riuer Kiſon.

Drawe, and take with thee ten thouſand men. This ſemeth to be a new kynde of ſpeache: but vnto the thing whiche is in hande it is moſte proper. For this Hebrue worde Maſchach, is not in this place to drawe by violence to, but (as all the Rabbines almoſt do interpretate) with perſuaſion to leade, that is, with faire and pleaſaunt wordes to allure them. For without doubt it was a great and perilous worke whereunto they wer called, & for as much as they lyued vnder a Tyraunt, their ſouldiers could not by publique authority be muſtered or gathered together, but muſt of neceſſitie by faire meanes be allured, to conſpire againſt a Tyraunt. By this place we are taught that good and eloquent ſpeaches are very profytable in warreiyke affaires, and that the arte of Rethorike by the lawe of God is not forbidden, but may in hys place profitably ſerue for holy men. Farther this is not to be left vnſpoken of, that thoſe two tribes, namely Nepthalim and Zabulon, were not warreiſke tribes but the weakeſt of all the tribes among the Iſraelites. And yet God commaundeth to chooſe out ſouldiers out of them, wherby we learne that it is a lyke to hym to vſe either weake ſouldiers or ſtronge warriers againſt his enemies.

Rhetorike is profitable in warlike affaires.

The tribes of Nepthalim & Zabulon were of leſſe eſtimation thã the other tribes.

Some man peraduenture will doubte, by what argumentes or reaſons Barac could be perſuaded, to beleue the wordes of Deborah. To whome we anſwere, that he weyghed with hymſelfe, that thoſe thinges whiche Deborah promiſed, did very well agree with the wordes and promiſes of God. For he, as he had threatened, that the Iſraelites when they ſinned ſhould by his commaundement and will be afflicted by outwarde nations: ſo agayne had he promiſed, that he would deliuer them out of the handes of their enemyes, if they faythfully repented them of their wickednes committed, and faythfully from the heart called vpon him. He promiſed that he would fight for them, neither ſhould their weaknes or fewrneſſe in nomber be a let, but that they ſhuld get the victory ouer their enemies. Wherfore for as much as Deborah prophecied that thoſe things ſhould come to paſſe, whiche the Lord had promiſed vnto the people of the Hebrues, it was conuenient, that Barac ſhould receaue thoſe wordes for true and faythfull

The wordes of Deborah were agreable with the holy Scriptures.

Farther the authoritie of the ſpeaker helped therunto. For Deborah was by

God

God constituted in the ministery, not vndoubtedly by an ordinary prerogatiue, but by a certayn singular and principall prerogatiue. And if we should looke vpon the Etimology of her name, we shall thinke that her orations were verye sweete. For Deborah with the Hebrues is a bee, which beast we know is a diligent artificer in makyng of hony. And yet all these thinges had not ben sufficiēt, to make Barac to beleue her, vnles the power of the holy Ghost had persuaded in his mynde those things which were commaunded. For fayth is onely the worke of the holy Ghost, whiche he can worke in the heartes of men without any outward instrument, but he hath decreed for the most part to vse them, I meane the worde and the ministery, not as though he were bound vnto them, but to shew vnto vs, how much we ought to make of these two instrumentes. Neither do I thinke that it is to be doubted, but that this holy woman, was both by miracles, and also by prophesieng of things to come, declared to be the Minister of the true God and the most healthfull Iudge of the Israelites. We therefore ought hereby to learne, that we must altogether heare the Ministers of God, when they set forth vnto vs, his wordes, promises, and also threatninges out of the holy scriptures neither is there any authority in the worlde, whiche ought to be preferred before the ministery of the Church and word of God. Wherefore iustly ought Barac to beleue the thinges whiche Deborah commaunded, although they semed both greuous and heard. For she commaunded him, to moue sedition and tumulte, to rebell agaynst his prince, a priuate man to gather an hoste, and that a litle one agaynst a most mighty king.

Deborah signifieth a bee.

They were heard thynges whiche Deborah commaunded.

Whether Barak were without faith.

And Barac sayde vnto her, If thou wilte goo with me, I wyll go. In this place it semeth might be demaunded, whether Barac were doubtful, and beleued not at the beginning (as he ought to haue done) the wordes of Deborah. And that semeth to some absurde, when as in the Epistle to the Hebrues the .11. chap: Barac is reckened with Sampson, Gedeon Iephthe and others, which by fayth ouercame kyngdomes. And therefore it semeth that his fayth beyng praysed by the testimony of God, ought not by our iudgement to be empared. Wherfore they affirme that he would haue Deborah to go with him, not bycause he beleued not the promise of God, but that he might haue a Prophetesse ready and at hande, whose Counsell he might vse in ordering his warre, in pitching hys Campes, and other chaunces whiche are wonte to happen in warres. And I am not ignorant, that Augustine readeth it, after this manner. Bycause I can not tell in what day the Lorde will prosper his aungell with me, &c. As thoughe he should haue sayd, I wyll therefore haue thee with me, bycause thou beyng endewed with the spirite of Prophesy (whiche hath not happened vnto me) shalte easly knowe, in what daye the aungell of the Lorde will luckely syght for vs. But I do thinke that Barac did somewhat doubt: for Deborah Prophecied in the name of God that bycause of thys aunswere he should be punished. And more ouer (sayeth she) thy glory shalbe taken awaye from thee, and the Lord will sel Sysara into the hand of a woman. And as Iosephus testifyeth she spake these wordes beyng somewhat moued. And a Prophetesse woulde not haue ben angry, neither would GOD haue diminished the glorye of Barac without a faulte. And it appeareth not that he fell into any other sinne besides infidelity howbeit that incredulitye was afterwarde taken awaye by the spirite and grace of God: when at the length he beleued the wordes of Deborah, and obeyed her, and by fayth (as it is written to the Hebrues) he obtayned the victorye. And how often that happeneth vnto men, although they be godly, namely, to doubt at the begynnyng, by reason of the dregges of the olde Adam, there is none whiche hath not experience of it in hymselfe. Afterwarde when they are strengthened with the spirite, there succedeth a great assuredne of faith. And I do not deny that which the first interpretation sayeth, namely that it is very expedient for Captaynes,

Augustine.

Iosephus.

When although they be godly do not straight way beleue.

It is profitable for Captaynes to haue ministers of the worde in their Campes.

to

haue Prophetes and Ministers of the worde of God with them in their warres. For as muche as the lawe of God in Deut. so commaundeth and in the 2. booke of kynges it is written, that Helizeus the Prophete was in the campe, when the kyng of Israell, the kyng of Iudah, and the kyng of Edom went to fight agaynst the kyng of Moab. Wherfore Christian princes, when they take any iust warres in hande, do ryghtly and orderly if they haue Preachers and Ministers of the worde of God with them in theyr expedition. Farther an other commodity came by the presence of Deborah: for thereby godly men vnderstoode, that it was no rashe warre, or taken in hand by humane reason, but enterprised by the commaundement of God, and Counsell of his Prophetesse.

The preſence of Deborah was profitable in ỹ Campe.

But in that it is written that the glory should be taken from Barac, and Sisera deliuered into the hande of a woman, it may be expounded two manner of wayes: either, bycause this victory should not nowe be ascribed vnto Barac, but to Deborah, namely, bicause she should haue the prayse to haue iudged Israel, and to haue set them at liberty, and Barac should not be counted amonge the number of the Iudges. Or els bycause Barac should not kyll Sysera with his owne hande, but Iahell the wife of the Kenite should do it, as it shall afterwarde be declared. And in dede this latter interpretacion semeth to me more naturall and proper.

Of these thynges whiche we haue nowe brought forth, are some most worthy to be noted. The first is, that God might haue deliuered this people the Israelites without the helpe or hoste of ten thousand men, whom yet he therefore choseth to teach vs, that he disalloweth not iust warrefarre. Farther that humane helpes, when they are present, are not to be despised. Moreouer he according to his wisedome vsed the gathering together of these souldiers thereby to prouoke Sisera, that he againe might gathered an host, and come and ouerthrow Barac.

And in that God sayth he will draw Sisera vnto mount Thabor, he teacheth vs, that his drawyng is of force, not onely to good things, but also to euill, in respect that they are paynes and iust punishementes. No man can doubte, but that Sisera sinned in this, bycause with a great violence he contended to oppresse the Israelites, and that vniustly. And yet GOD promised to drawe him to it. Nyuertheles we must marke, that the maner of the drawing of GOD is not a like as touching good thynges and euill: bycause to good thynges we can not be drawen, excepte God do healp our vnderstandyng, and geue vs a good mynd. For by nature we are the children of wrath and vtterly corrupte, but when we are induced to euill GOD nedeth not to instill, any new malice in vs, for as much as we alwayes of our selues haue it ready and prompte to do euill: but onely the doyng of GOD, directeth them to what ende he will, and he so gouerneth them, to make open his glory as he hath decreed. After this sorte vndoubtedly was Pharao hardened, and Sisera now drawen to destruction. God also drewe thole ten thousand men after Barac, for otherwise they would not haue followed him, but this drawyng was after an other maner: for here he vsed the speache of this man, whiche he made to be of efficacy in the heartes of his souldiers: but there to mone and prouoke Sisera he appointed both falling awaye of Barac, and the host gathered by him.

The drawyng of God serueth both to good thynges and to euill.

The maner of the drawing of God is not a like as touching good thynges and euill.

God drew both the men of Barac and also Sisera but by diuers meanes.

This is also to be considered, that by this place is proued, that glory is a certayne good thing, whiche iuste and good men may desire: otherwise Barac, to be punished for his incredulitie, should not haue ben depriued of glory. And glory is certayne nobilencsse comming of thynges well done. For those thynges whiche good men do very excellently of their owne accord, do brede a noble name or glory. Wherfore the matter wherin it cõsisteth are opinions ỹ talkes of iust ỹ wise mẽ. But ỹ end wherunto glory ought to be directed, is ỹ settyng forth of ỹ name of God, ỹ also an exãple which is set forth for our neighbours to follow. And as ỹ brightnes of ỹ name of god, ỹ edifieng of others, ar very excellẽt ỹ good things

Glorye maye lawfully be desyred.

What glory is

The matter ỹ end of glory.

so also is it manifest ỹ the glory which ſerueth vnto thē is a good thyng. Wherefore although glory for it ſelfe is not to be deſired as the laſt ende, yet for thoſe thinges whiche we haue mencioned, ought it not to be neglected. Farther we muſt note that God can bryng certayne thynges to paſſe, whiche yet he will not performe, excepte thynges be done of vs. For he could (as it appeareth by thys place) haue geuen the glory of this victorye and health of Iſraell onely vnto Barac: whiche he would not do, becauſe he refuſed to go alone to that expedicion. Helizeus alſo (as it is written in the 2. booke of kynges) when he was ſore ſicke, and commaunded the kyng of Iſrael which ſtode by him, to ſtrike the earth with an arrowe, and he did ſtrike it onely three tymes, the Prophete was grieuously angry with hym, and ſayde: If thou haddeſt ſtriken fiue or ſeuen tymes, thou ſhouldeſt vtterly haue deſtroyed Syria. But nowe thou ſhalte onely thrice vexe and moleſt it. This maketh agaynſt thoſe, whiche thinke that the power of God differeth not from hys will, as thoughe he can not do thoſe thynges, whiche he will not, when as for all that Chriſt ſayde, that he could haue xii. legions of aungels of hys Father, to defende hym from the Iewes that they ſhould not take hym. GOD therefore could haue done that whiche he dyd not. Wherefore they ſeme not to thinke euill, whiche referre thinges to an abſolute power and not to an ordinary, or definite power.

God can do many thynges whiche he will not do.

A deſtructiō of an abſolut power & of an ordinary power.

But how it is ſayde that Sisera ſhould be ſolde into the hande of a woman, we ſhal not nede nowe by many wordes to declare, and for as much as we haue before heard this ſelfe ſame worde, and howe rightly it agreeth with God is there expounded. This onely will I adde, that he was nowe ſolde of GOD to him, to whome before God had ſolde the Iſraelites, and it is ſayd that he ſhalbe ſolde into the hande of a woman, whiche ſhould haue power and myght to kyll him: for he was killed by Iael, as a litle afterward ſhalbe declared.

10 And Barac gathered together Zebulon, and Nepthalim in Kedes, and he went vpon his feete with ten thouſand men. Deborah alſo went vp with him.

11 Nowe Heber the Kenite, whiche was of the children of Hobab the father in lawe of Moſes, was departed from Cain, and pitched hys tente euen to Elon in Zaananim, whiche is in Kedes.

12 And they ſhewed Siſera, that Barac ỹ ſonne of Abinoam was gone vp to mount Thabor.

13 And Siſera gathered together all hys chariots, euen nine hundreth chariots of yron, and all the people that were with hym from Harozeth of the gentles, vnto the riuer Kiſyn.

It is before ſhewed by what meanes Barac gathered his men together, namely by an oration of much likelyhood and of muche efficacy whiche was of ſo great ſtrength with theſe tribes, that there came of them ten thouſand men vnto him, neither would God (as it appeareth by the wordes of Deborah) haue any more. Hereby we ſee that the Counſels and wordes of men are ſo farre forth fruitfull, as the predeſtination or will of GOD hath before appointed. Wherefore Luke in the Actes of the Apoſtles feared not to write: And they beleued as many as were ordeyned to euerlaſtyng lyfe. Some tranſlate this Hebrew worde Bergelin, footemen, and others, after hym. But as for that matter we will not muche contend: becauſe if they followed the feete of Barac, it is a token, that they alſo were footemen, neyther were the Iſraelites wonte to be of any great force on horſebacke, for as they were by GOD forbidden to kepe any greate number of Horſes. And when they ſhould go vp the mounte, thoughe they had

The counſels of men are to efficacy as the predeſtinacion of God hath ordeyned.

had ben horſemen, they could not haue ben ſo apte in thoſe places. Farther this alſo maketh with it, for ſtrayght way is vſed the ſame kynde of ſpeach, when Sisera lept out of his chariot, & would haue fled away on foote. But therof we will ſpeake in his place.

Deborah alſo went vp with hym. It was before ſayde that ſhe went with Barac vnto Kades: but becauſe he ſhould lede hys hoſt from Kades to the mount, it is properly ſayd that ſhe nowe alſo went vp together with the Souldiers that were collected. And there was no ſmall fayth both in the Captaynes and alſo in the Souldiers, whiche durſte take ſuche enterpriſes in hande, beyng ſo weake and fewe in number. But fayth ſeeth thoſe thynges which appeare not to the eyes of the body. Helizeus the Prophete once prayed, that the eyes of the lad whiche was with hym myght be opened, to ſee the wonderfull number of aungels, whiche very valiantly fought for hym agaynſt hys enemyes. And therfore as many of vs as do beleue in Chriſt, when we are in daungers, ought by conſtant fayth to take holde of that helpe whiche God hath prepared for vs, althoughe with our eyes we ſee it not.

The thynges whiche are nowe by a Parenthelis declared of the Kenite, are therefore in the hiſtory by anticipation ſet forth, that thoſe thynges maye the eaſyer be vnderſtand, which afterward ſhalbe ſpoken of Siſara that was killed by Iahell.

This Heber the huſband of Iahell was of the poſteritie of Hobab the father in law of Moſes, of whome we haue aboundantly ſpoken before. But of this place we learne why they were called Kenites. For Cain was the name of their famely: but thys Heber dwelled a parte from hys kynſemen, neither remayned he any longer amonge them. For the reſt (as it is written in the 1. chapter of thys booke) departed from the Citie of Iericho, followed Othoniell, and lyued in the deſert together with the children of Iſraell. But Heber of whome it is nowe written, went to the borders of Zabulon and Nepthalim, and pitched his tente nere to Cedes. But what was the cauſe of hys departure from hys brethren, it is not preſently written. But we knowe that Loth and Abraham by reaſon of the aboundance of cattell and want of paſture, departed one from an other: and ſeyng the ſame myght eaſly happen vnto the Kenites, it is not vnlykely, but that they were vpon the lyke occaſion ſeparated. Thys worde Tſeenim, (if we maye beleue the Chaldey Paraphraſt) ſignifieth ditches full of water, with whiche that place peraduenture abounded. It is no meruayle that the famyly of the Kenites dwelled in tentes: for ſo muche as the Rechabites whiche came of them, had no where any fyxme abydyng places, and that was wont to be the manner almoſt of all ſhepeheardes, to followe paſture that be plentyfull, in what place ſo euer they be. And thys worde Aeilun ſignifieth ſometymes an oke, and ſometymes a playneſielde. The Chaldey Paraphraſt turneth, it a playneſielde: but it myght be, that there was ſome notable oke or groue of okes in it.

Why the family of Iethro were called Kenites.

Why Heber departed from his kinſfolkes.

The Rechabites were Kenites.

It was ſhewed vnto Siſera onely nowe Barac had gathered together an hoſt and tolde hym that Deborah the Prophetelle of God was there, becauſe that all men had a reſpecte vnto them at whiche was the Captayne of the hoſte. And thoughe a woman were theyr firſte counſeller, of this enterpriſe yet there is nothyng ſhewed hym of her, for the thynges whiche are done by women, are wont for the moſte parte to be referred vnto men. Neither had the Ethnikes peraduenture any regarde to the gyfte of Prophelye wherewith Deborah was endewed. What number of Souldiers Siſera had it is not in thys place expreſſed: onely there is mention made of nyne hundreth Chariottes of yron. But Ioſephus teſtifyeth (as we haue before ſayde) that the Chananites had 300000. footemen, 10000. horſemen, and laſtly 3000. Chariottes. And in that the hiſtorye

Ioſephus.

Auguſtine. now maketh mention onely of 900. it is to be vnderſtande, of hooked and yron chariots, which interpretatiō Auguſtine in his queſtiōs on this place followeth. Farther Ioſephus addeth that this Siſera by the commaundement of Iabin hys kyng directed this hoſt vnto mount Thabor or Ithabyrius.

14 Thē Deborah ſaid vnto Barac: vp, for this is the day, wherin ẏ Lord hath deliuered Siſera into thine hand. Is not the Lord gone out before thee? So Barac went downe from mount Thabor, and ten thouſand men after hym.
15 And the Lord deſtroyed Siſera, and all his chariots, and al his hoſt with ẏ edge of the ſworde, before Barac. So that Siſera lighted downe of his chariot, and fled away on his feete.

Barac is made ſtrong by the wordes of Deborah, and forced to ioyne battail with his enemyes. For that is the power of fayth, to ſtrengthen the weakeneſſe yea if the exhortation of Deborah had not bene, Barak (if we may beleue Ioſephus) by the ſight of his enemies was ſo feared and troubled, that he would haue gotten hym to the ſtronger fenſed places of the hill, but ſhe called hym backe agayne, and by her wordes draue hym to fyght. Beyng therefore ſtrengthened, and confirmed, he forſooke the well fenſed partes of mount Thabor, and came downe to fight with Siſera. This is (ſayeth ſhe) the day. As thoughe ſhe ſhould haue ſayd, no humane power, or warlike might can let ẏ victory, which the predeſtination of God hath this day decreed vnto thee. But a man will aſke howe it is nowe ſayd that Siſera ſhould be deliuered into the handes of Barac, when as before it was foretold, that he ſhoulde be ſolde into the hande of a woman? I anſwere that it is therefore becauſe that the hoſt ſhould be deſtroyed by Barac, and Siſera ſhould be ſo made to flye, that the matter was begonne by the conduct of Deborah, and finiſhed by Iahell, but the fyght and ſlaughter was accompliſhed by Barac. Wherefore in the hyſtory there can not iuſtly be noted any contrariety or diuerſitie.

Ioſephus.

Is not the Lorde? The interrogation whiche the Prophete vſeth, doth not onely ſtirre vp and encourage the heart of Barac, but alſo vehemently commaundeth hym, as the Latine Poete alſo hath ſayde: Shall not armure diſpatche the matter, and ſhall they not followe me through the whole Citie? But here may ſomewhat be doubted, in that our text hath, that the Lorde went forth before Barac, when as the Chaldey paraphraſt turneth it, an aungell. For it ſayeth, Shall not the aungell of the Lorde proſper thee? And vndoubtedly this paraphraſis ſheweth, what was the cauſe why Auguſtine read (as we haue before admoniſhed), that Barac ſayde vnto Deborah go with me, becauſe I knowe not in what day GOD ſhall proſper hys aungell e me. Wherefore we muſt thinke, that the Greke interpretors had theſe wordes of the Chaldey paraphraſt, which afterwarde crepte into the texte, but yet out of place. But as touchyng the matter, eyther is true, both that GOD and hys aungell were preſent and fought on the Hebrues ſide. And vndoubtedly Chriſt was that aungell whiche defended the Iewes and fought for them. Of Malachie the Prophete he is called the Aungell: and in Exodus God promiſed both, that he himſelfe woulde come with his people, and alſo ſend his aungell, for our Chriſt both is GOD and alſo had euer with hym aungels as Miniſters defending the Hebrues.

Auguſtine.

Chriſt was the aungell which defended the Iewes.

And the Lorde deſtroyed Siſera. Thys Hebrew worde Ieham maye haue for hys roote or grounde thys worde Hamam, whiche ſignifieth to make afeard or to trouble. And then ſhall the ſenſe be, God made him afeard, but the ſame worde ſignifieth alſo, to breake, or to deſtroy, although as Kimhi writeth,

ted, his rote may be this word Hom and Him which almost signifieth the same thinge. And in deede God dio both, he terrified the hartes of the Chananites, and strake and brake their host.

Now this slaughter happened, or by what singuler ayde of God the Israelits ouercame, it is not in this place written. But Iosephus affirmeth that a greate violence of tempeste and hayle was cast from heauen into the eyes of the aduersaries, wherewith the Chananites were so hindred in the battayle, that they were not able to defend theselues, & therefore they were miserablye slayne, whē as yet ỹ misery nothing at al hurted the Iewes. For ỹ hayle was onely on their backe, and therfore they? violence against they? enemies was in nothing letted. Iosephus.

With the edge of the sword. It is sayd that God slew them, for he made them afeard, and wonderfully troubled them with the tempest or hayle. Howbeit the victory was so obteyned, that the Israelits also fought: for it is written ỹ the enemies perished by ỹ edge of the sword, by which kind of speach vndoubtedly is declared that they were slayne. This I haue for this cause noted, because God sometimes so maketh afeard his enemies & graunteth victory ouer them, that his people whome he deliuereth, do nothing at all: as it came to passe in the red sea, when Pharao perished there with his host: and when the host of Senacherib was wonderfully destroyed in one night by the aungell. God sometimes destroyeth hys enemies without the helpe of men.

16 But Barak pursued after the Chariotes, and after the host euē vnto Haroseth of the gentiles: & al the hoste of Sisera fell vpon the edge of the sword. And there was not a man left.

17 Howbeit Sisera fled away on his fete to the tent of Iahell the wife of Heber the Kenite. For there was peace betwene Iabin the king of Hazor, and the family of Heber the Kenite.

Againe in this place we haue this worde Bergelin, that is, on his feete. And in deede it appereth ỹ it signifieth nothing els but a footeman. For Sisera thought he could not in that battell be saued in hys chariote: wherfore he determined priuely to flye amonge the rascall souldiours. He now therefore forsaketh and abandoneth his chariot which was prepared vnto him for a defence and ayd. And assuredly whē God taketh away audacity and strength, the thinges which before were weapons, are then made burthens and lettes. Miserable Sisara flyeth, but he escapeth not. He made hast vnto the place, whet god had prepared a snare for him. For the other Canaanits fled to Hazoreth of the gentils, namely vnto the place from whence they came. But Sisera turned his iourny an other way from the rest of the souldiers, neither fled he the right way as the other did. He knew the shorter way, & he gat him to the tent of the Kenits: which he knew was nigh home, and not far from the place wher the battayle was fought. And there he hoped to haue lurked, till the rage of the warre should haue bene pacified.

In that they were all destroyed, it is a token of a perfecte victory. But as concerninge the peace betweene Iabin and the Kenites, in what sorte or manner it was, we haue no certainty. Wherfore to affirme any thinge of it for certaine, it should be rashly done. For it might be that Hebor payed somewhat vnto Iabin for the pastors which he occupied, and contrariwise that the kinge promised him securitie and safety for his flockes, cattel, and family. There may be also very many other things thought & those very likely, but not to be affirmed for certaine.

Whither it be lawful for the godly to haue peace with the vngodly.

This question is now to be discussed and defined, whether it be lawful for godly me to make peace & to kepe it with vngodly. And me thinketh we may saye

that it is lawfull, especially if it be concluded for ỹ peaceable defending & keping of the bondes or borders on either syde. Paul saith, as much as lyeth in you, haue peace with all men. So did the most Christian princes with the barbarous infidles, in making peace sometimes with thē. So Jacob in ỹ olde tyme made a league with Laban. So also did the children of Israel, with their other neighbours, excepting the seuen nations, for God commanded them not to make war with all those nations that dwelled about them.

But if thou shalte demaunde, whether it be lawfull for the godlye when they take a common expedition in hand, to ioyne their army and power with the vngodly. That semeth to be denied. For Iosaphat had euill successe whē in making warre against Ramoth Gilead, he ioyned him self with the king of Israel. Neither sped the same king luckely when he sent shippes together with the king of Israels shippes into Tharsis. For there arose a tempest in Asehon-Gaber whereby happned a shipwracke and so he lost his Nauy. And as it is written in the latter booke of Paralip. God by the mouthe of his prophete reproued Iosaphat, because he had ioyned himself with an vngodly king. The Machabites also made leagueth the Romaines, & Lacedemonias, but what displesure they had therby, they bitterly declareth. But now that we haue manyfested the thinge by examples, let vs confirme it also by reasons. This no mā can deny, that in such bonds, namely consisting of the vngodly & the godly together, the sincere religon and idolatry are mingled together: wherbye it easelye commeth to passe (such is the weaknes of our nature) that the vnpure do infecte the holy ones. And it seldome happeneth but that some impiety cleaueth vnto the children of God. Farther whē they come to handy strokes they muste call vpon God, and when the victory is obtayned, they muste also geue thankes vnto God. And in doinge these thinges, what inuocation I pray you, what sacrifices, what thankes geuinge shall there be? The true god shalbe mingled with Belial, idolatrous rites with lawful rites, and true piety with superstition. These thinges vndoubtedly displease God. For if he would haue thinges after this sort mingled together, why chose he a peculiar people vnto himself? Vndoubtedlye he did it, that the faythfull might liue purely by themselues, and worship the true god sincerely. And seing the matter is so, it is not lawful cōsultedly to haue to do with the vngodly: otherwise the order which god hath appointed should be troubled.

In example of Iosaphat.

In example of ỹ Machabits. The question is confirmed by reasons.

A man might peraduenture say, that Abraham made league with Abner, Eschol, and Mambre, and with they? ayd toke in hand an expedicion, wherin he deliuered Loth his kinsman, which was led away captiue. But they which obiect this example, where find they that these men wer idolatrers? I vndoubtedly do not see that it can be gathered by the holy scriptures. But rather I suppose that they were worshippers of the true God. For God saide vnto Abraham, that he would not straightway geue vnto him the lande of the Cananites, because the sinnes of that nation were not yet full. Wherfore it is not absurde to saye, that these three men were yet there, & vsed worship the true God simply. For asmuch as we know assuredly that Melchizedech also was in those regions, who blessed Abraham, and was the priest of the most high God. But graunt ỹ they wer idolatres as these men will haue them: shall that which was by a certayn singuler prerogatiue lawfull vnto Abraham, be strayght way counted lawful vnto al men to do it iustly and without punishmente, I thinke not. Furthermore we muste mark, ỹ the common wealth of the Iewes was not yet ordained. And Abraham alone could not dwel among the Cananites without some couenāts or leagues made with them. Wherunto thou maiste adde, that God had not yet geuen the law, wherin he peculiarly forbad any thinge as touching this matter.

Of the league of Abraham with the Chananites.

But if a prince, or Christian publ: wealth (as sometimes it chaunceth) should be in daunger, alwaye they desire helpe at infidels handes? They cannot. For if Paule will haue vs rather to suffer wronge and hurt, than that we shoulde go

Whither it be lawful for christians to seeke for helpe of infidels.

to the

to the iudgement seate of the infidels when we are in controuerly with our brethren? how much lesse is it lawfull to vse the helpe of the vngodly, to deliuer vs from other Christianes, which vniustly oppresse vs.

I know that Asa king of Iudah sente money, golde and siluer, vnto Benhadab king of Syria, to make warre against the king of Samaria, that therby he might be deliuered from him, which in a manner oppressed him: Howbeit I doe not thinke that the acte of this kinge (though it had good successe) is to be followed. For he was reproued of God for it. And though it be not expressed in the boke of kinges, yet in Paralipitt is manifestly described. For there we reade that the prophet was purposedly sent of God vnto Asa the king to reproue him greuously for this his acte. Yea and there is an other notable example of like sorte written in the same boke, namely that Amasia did hier against the Edomits. C. thousād Israelites: which the prophet in the name of God grieuously reprehended, and commaunded that he should put away the Israelitish souldiours from his hoste, because that the will and good pleasure of God was vtterly from thē. The kinge answered vnto the prophete: But nowe I haue geuen them an C. talentes for theyr stipend. The man of God answered, that the Lord could aptly and easely repay him as many talentes, and that for so small a losse he should not suffer Idolatrers which were hated of god to be in his campes.

In exemple of Asa the kinge.

In exemple of Amasia.

I will not tel how often the Iewes were forbidden by the prophets, that they shoulde not require helpe of the Egiptians, or of the Assirians.

But to returne to the matter from which we haue somewhat decreased: This Heber the knighte, if he had peace with Iabin, for his limites or borders, or for some pention agreed with him for pasture for his cattle, it cannot be discommended. For almuche as godly men seke not to diuel out of the worlde, & they ought according to the Apostles commaundement to haue peace with all men as much as in thē lieth. But if he had peace, to take in hand any thīg expeditiō, it was vnsure, neither ought it to auoide reuilion. But the thinge whiche we haue in hande was don by Iahel, and not by Heber her husbād. For he ether was not at home, or elles if he were at he home was sick: Wherefore he could not execute this notable acte.

18 And Jahell went out to mete Sisera, and said vnto him, Turne on my Lorde, turne in to me, feare not. And he turned in vnto her tente. And she couered him with a couerynge.

19 And he sayde vnto her, geue me I praye thee, a little water to drinke for I am thirstye. and she opened a bottle of milke and gaue him drinke and couered him.

20 Agayne he sayd vnto her, stande in the dore of the tente and when anye man doth come and inquire of thee, saying: is anye man here? thou shalt say, nay.

21 Then Jahel Hebers wife toke a nayle of the tente, and toke an hammer in her hād, and went priuely vnto him, and smote the nayle into his temples, and fastned it vnto the grounde. For he was faste on slepe and wery: and so he died.

Iahel died guilte and that cruel guilte: but against her enemy, not her own enemy, but one already reiected of God and an oppressor of the people of God. And in what sorte it is lawfull to vse cruel guile against such enemies, we haue before declared. The couering wherwith she couered him, it is vncertayne what manner of one it was, and the opinions of the interpretors do muche differ therein. For some affirm that it was of silk and fine, and other some that it was a thick wollen garment full of heares and lockes hanging in both sides. But the matter is

of no greate importaunce, and consisteth wholy in conjectures.

The cause of the drought of Sisera.

That Sisera was oppressed with thirst we ought not to mervelle, when as he had traveled so farre on foote, and was pressed with so great grief, for both they which are weary and also they that are heavy for the most parte are wonte to be thirsty. For both labor and the affection of sorowe have a power of drying. The woman gave him milke. Peradventure sher dydde it of purpose, to cause him to fall on slepe. Neither was it any hard thing for her to geve him milke to drinke, for she had it in hand, when as she & her whole family exercised the arte of grasinge of cattle. And in that it is sayd, that she opened a bottle, it declareth that she had no smal store of milke, but greate abundaunce therof. But Sisera when he had wel dronke, forgat not yet his owne safety, but diligently admonisheth the woman, what she shoulde answwere, if any body came to aske for him. And that none should have occasion to entry into the tente, he willeth her to abide at the dore, to answwere such as should go by, to the ende that if they sought for him, they should sone departe fro us thence.

A nayle of the tente I take to be that which they use to fasten into the ground to cause the tente being bound vnto it to abide spreade abroade. And in that the woman used a hammer and mallayle, this I gather thereby, that the Israelites whilest they served the Chananites, had theyr weapons taken away from them by the Chananites, that they should have neither sword nor dagger mete to kill a man withall. This holy woman undoubtedly was governed by God, whiche purst accomplish so great an enterprise. For the strengthe of women is not able to atchive these thinges. Sisera being on slepe, died. The causes of his slepe are now sufficiently expressed, namely that he was weary by reason of his journey, he dronke a greate deale of milke, and lay well covered, & he was oppressed with heavines: and it is possible, that he slept but a little the night before.

The cause of Siseras slepe.

The woman came softly or privily, to se whether he were throughly on slepe and when she saw that he was so, with a stout and valiant courage she gave him a strok, Sisera died, and that with ignominy. For God for this cause suffred him for a time to live, that he might not be killed in battayle amonge men, but being on slepe be slayne by the hand of a woman.

22 And beholde Barak pursued after Sisara, and Jahell came out to mete him, and sayd vnto him. Come & I will shewe thee the man whome thou seekest. And he came in vnto her. And beholde Sisara lay on the ground dead, and the nayle in his temple.

23 So God brought downe Jabin the kinge of Chanaan that daye before the children of Israell.

24 And the hande of the children of Israell prospered, and prevayled against Jabin the king of Chanaan, vntill they had destroyed the same Jabin king of Chanaan.

Jahel meeteth Barak and shewe hym therefore the werth him his enemy killed, that he should be no more travayle in seekinge of him. Sisera was not deceaved when he thought that Barak would come to the tente of Jahel, for he came thither in deede, for pursuinge the Chananites euen vnto Haroseth of the gentiles, he salwe not Sisera among them which fell: wherfore he judged he lurked somwhere, and suspected that he had without any more a doe flede vnto the tente of the Leuites, because of the league and peace which he had with them. God therfore brought downe Jabin, yea if ye maye rather, Iosephus, the Israelites destroyed his citye with sworde and fire.

But it seemeth that Jahel in this her enterprise and notable act did violate the lawes of hospitalitye and league, and therfore now resteth, either to condemne her or to quitte her.

Whether Jahel in violating the lawes of hospitality did well, or no.

But

But bicause al controuersye, not a litle dependeth vpon circumstances, that is of the circumstance of the persons, let vs therfore set her before our eyes, and consider with our selues what maner of men the Kenites wer. They assuredly in blonde wer ioyned with the Israelites. For it is written that they wer the posteritye of Hobab the father in law of Moyses. Farther, in the study of piety and the lawe of God they most purely consented with the Hebrues. Neither was they? faythe yde, but of efficacy and worcking. For they leaning their country, followed the Israelites, and God which was their guide thorowe the deserte places. Wherefore at the length when the landes were distributed, they obtayned inheritance together with them in the lande of Chanaan. For these causes, if Iahel went about to set the Iewes at libertye, she did but her dutye, neyther tooke she vpon her any other mans office. What maner of me the Kenites were.

On the contrary part let vs thus thinke of Sisera. He was an oppresser of the people of God, and nowe killed by the power of God, and vtterlye confounded, neyther appeared there in him any token of repentance, but rather would therfore hyde himselfe, that escaping this so present a daunger, he might againe gather a new host against the Israelites. In deede after a sorte her was in league with Heber the Kenite: but (as it is to be thought) not with a pure hart, but onelye to plucke him awaye from the rest of the Iewes, whereby he might haue the fewer enemies, & not be compelled to fight with so many enemies at one tyme. Or els to get of him a great tribute, or some other commoditye which he looked for. Farthermore in this his vnluckye chaunce, he calleth vpon no God, he implorcth not the prayers of others, but onely seketh hiding places, wher he might hide himselfe tyl such time, as the rage and brute of the Conquerers were somewhat slaked: and onely trusted in humane aydes and leagues. By these thinges it easilye followeth, that both Iahel dyd her dutye, and that Sisera deserued so to be killed. What Sisera was.

But as touching the lawes of hospitality, we also do iudge that they by them selues and of their own nature ought to be kept sacred and vnuiolated. Thys vnderstoode Loth, when he would haue abandoned his daughters to the filthy lustes of the wanton Sodomites, to the end they should doo no iniury vnto them which had turned in vnto him. Neither departed that olde man from his example, which receaued the Leuite with his wife as straungers, as it shal be more at large declared in this history of the Iudges. Whose counsell in betraying hys daughters, although I allow not, yet I do very much commend the defending of the straungers. Yea, and the Gentiles worshipped Iupiter hospitalis, knowing by the light of nature, that God had a singular care ouer straungers and gestes. Pythagoras also discommendeth the Swallowes, namelye for this, bicause they easily lodge vnder the couering of mens houses, and yet will neuer be made familiar or tame vnto their hostes. There were also somtime certain mischeuous houses, in which no man might anye more inhabite (as probable authors haue written) and that bicause in them the lawes of hospitalitye had bene violated. And contrarywise wher hospitality hath bene wel and faithfully kept, not onely Angels, but God himselfe also somtimes hath bene an acceptable gest. Christ also at the end of the world wil say: I was a straunger and ye lodged me, commending his in the sight of the whole world, for the vertue of hospitalitye. And it is manifest, that men in the old time decreed that betwene the gest & the host ther should be great frendship. Lastly God in the law commaunded, that the Hebrues should not despise the Egiptians, or vtterly expel them from them, & that namely for this, bicause at the beginning they shewed hospitality vnto their elders. Wherfore we must affirme that by the vniuersal and ordinary lawe, the lawes of hospitality ought to be kept inuiolated. And this ought also to be firm, that in lawes, no friendships, are so honest and so iust, but they are to be broken if God commaund otherwise. For al these thinges ought so long to be of force, as Lawes of hospitality ought ordinarilye to be kepte vnuiolated. Pythagoras. Mischieuous houses. When God commaundeth, all lawes of friendshyp are to be broken.

as the wil of God shal allow them. Wherefore, forasmuch as God had now re-iected Sisera and the Chananites, and would haue them destroyed, no couenants could iustlye be kept with them. For we must rather obey God than mans reasons. And of this wil of God Deborah was both a prophecier and an interpreter. She had declared that Sisera was now reiected of God, and had openly foretold that he should be sold into the hand of a woman.

After this maner the Leuites when they had slaine their friendes & kinsfolkes followed Moyses: to whom Moyses in the name of God said, ye haue consecrated your handes, so farre was it of that they were reproued for violating the bondes of kinred. Ieremy also, when by the commaundement of God hee had pronounced that the Moabites should be killed, he cursed those which had withdrawen themselues from that murther. Hee is cursed (said he) which doth the woorke of the Lord deceatefully. In the lawe also it is commaunded, that none should be spared which entised any to idolatry, no not the Father, nor the Mother, no nor he or she which sleepeth in thy bosome. Who seeth not here that most strayghte bondes of kinred are to be contemned, if the wil and woord of God be against it? Abraham was commaunded to kyl his sonne, and that his onely sonne, as touching whom he had receaued a most large promise. The promise of God and fatherly kindnes seemed to be against his precept, and yet against these thynges, the woord of God urging him, he ought to haue killed his sonne. So must we think, that al men, although they be nigh of kyn vnto vs, ar sacrifices vnto god, as many as he commaundeth to be slayne. Wherefore in Esay the .xxxiiii. chap. it is written: The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozra. But they which wyth a preposterous clemency wyl against the woord of God be merciful, let them remember what happened vnto the king of Samaria. He, when he had spared Benadab the king of Siria, contrary to the commaundement of god, he was in this maner reprehended in the name of god by the Prophet. Thy soule shalbe for his soule.

What happeneth vnto them that be preposterously gentle.

Wherefore Iahel in this place is not to be blamed, forasmuch as she obeyed the counsel of god, and was excellently commended in the song of Deborah, as wee shal straightway see. And vndoubtedly this her woorke came of a great fayth and singular obedience. I know that some thinke, that the act of Iahel is to be commended, in that she killed Sisera, and had so ready a mynde to set at libertye the Israelites: but yet they condemne the lye which she made, and the promise wher in she promised that she would kepe and defend him. For she said: turn in to me, turne in to me, I pray thee my Lord, be not afeard. By which kinde of speech she seemed to promise him not to betray him to his enemies. I also would affirme the same, but that I see that god was the gouernour of this whole enterprise. I haue before taught, that it is lawful to vse guile, and that euil guile against our enemies, and that certaine proditions are iust. But I added, that there should be mingled no promises nor ayes, nor othes with them. But al these thinges are to be vnderstand by the common law. But if god shal styre vs vp to doo otherwise, there shalbe no blame layde in vs, if we obey him: so that we be very assured that god will haue it so to be done. And this is not to be left out, that some thinke, that Iahel at the beginning, when she called Sisera vnto her, thought of no guile or fraude towardes him: but that she was minded to keepe hym safe, as she had promised: but afterward she chaūged her purpose, bicause god had shewed her, that she should otherwyse woorke.

¶ The .v. Chapter.

1. THen sang Deborah, and Barak the sonne of Abinam the same day, saying:

2 Prayse ye the Lorde for the auenging of Israel, and for the people that offred them selues willingly.

The

The ditty or song which is here written, belongeth to a demonstratiue kind of oration: for it comprehendeth both prayses and dispraises. Prayses chiefely of god, which was the principal author of this victory: for in ouercomming Sisera, it is mencioned that he vsed the ayde of the Starres of heauen, and of the tempest. Deborah also and Barak are praysed, lykewyse Iahel, and also these selue weake and vnarmed men of the tribe of Zabulon and Nephthalim, which obeied the Oracle of god. On the contrary part Sisera is dispraised as a most cruel enemy of the people of god: they are sharpely rebuked, which beleued not the word of god, but despised the commaundementes of Barak and woordes of Deborah: & hauing a regarde to their owne weakenes, and not so much esteeming the goodnes and promises of god as they shuld haue done, they refused the battayle appointed them of God.

Of Musicke and Songes.

This song is a song of victory, such a one as Moyses sang when Pharao was drowned: and as Hanna the mother of Samuel made by the inspiratiō of the holy ghost, when she had brought forth Samuel: and such a one as the Maydens of the Iewes openly sang in companies of players and daunsers after the victory of Dauid against Goliah. And in lyke maner in the newe Testament, Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon gaue thankes to god in their songes. The Ethnikes also when they had obtayned victories, were wont to appoynt supplicatiōns for certayne dayes, which in deede was nothing els, than to geue thankes vnto God. Wherefore being moued with the occasion of this place, I thinke it good somewhat to speake of Songes and Musicke, as much as belongeth to piety. Fyrste, from whence they had their beginning, and to what ende they were instituted. Secondlye, whether they may be kept in the Churches. Lastlye, what kinde of songes and measures are profitable and healthful. A song of victorye.

As touching the first, we must vnderstand that the men of the olde tyme were wont with common voices to sing certain solemn ditties, both when they gaue thankes to god, and also when they endeuoured to obtayne anye thyng of hym. Wherefore Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, and Horace, and such like Poetes which vsed the Harpe, wrote most part of their hymnes for these vses. And in the Romane publike wealth, the Priests of Mars, which were called Salii, caryed shields, and sang holy verses throughe the Citye. Furthermore, it was the maner, that Musicke and verses were had, when the prayses of noble men were celebrated, chiefly at feastes: whereby they which stoode by, might be admonished to to imitate their noble actes, and to detest suche vices, which were contrary vnto their vertues. Moreouer, they vsed them to recreate the myndes, and to comfort suche as wer pensiue for the dead. For in burials they sang Epitaphes. And contrariwise, when anye great cause of ioye happened, it was expressed by Musicke and Songes. Wherefore in weddinges they wer wont to syng wedding songes. Al these thinges, if they be done moderatelye and in due time, maye be both borne withal, and also commended. For Musicke and Songes contayne three kyndes of good thinges, honest (I say) profyte, and pleasantnes. For although synging of it selfe delighteth the myndes of men, yet when woordes are ioyned vnto it, which are of a iust number, and bound by certaine feete (as we see verses are) it is then made much more pleasaunt. And vndoubtedlye Poetry had hereof hys beginning, and I cannot deny but it is a gyft of god: but I wouldе wyshe thys that it be kept pure and chaste among men. And that I for this cause say, bicause certayne vncleane and vnpure men haue most filthily defiled it, applying songs and verses to wantonnesse, wicked iuels, and euery filthy thing. Whose verses, although they be eloquent and good latine, yet they are vtterly vnwoorthye for Christian eares, neither ought they by any meanes to be taught vnto yong men, who being themselues prone inough to vices, needе no newe fyres or mocions to Poetes vsyng the harpe. Salij. Epitaphes. Επιθαλαμια. Poetry a gyft of God. Against wanton songes.

moue

mone and enflame them. Verses of this kinde, may iustly be called the Sirenes of tender mindes: wherwith yong men being infected, it is scarce possible, but that they shal suffer shipwracke.

The godlye much vsed holy songes.

But holy songes the people of God muche vsed. For the Hebrues in Moyses time, when they tooke vp the Arke of the couenaunt, in their remouing of theyr tentes, sang this song: Let God arise and destroy his enemies. Neither did they set it downe without some godlye song, as it is wrytten in the booke of Numb. Furthermore, in the Tabernacle & in the Temple which was built by Salomõ, the Leuites at houres appointed wer present & sang holy himnes before ỹ Lorde in the hearing of the people, & whẽ they gaue thanks vnto God, they most swetelye celebrated certayne notable benefites which he had bestowed on his people, and they adioyned prayers and added sentences to the information of the manners and lyfe of godly men. Householders also, when they sat down in their houses, or rose from a feast, did sing certain himnes, whẽ they kept solemne daies among their household, according to the cõmaundement of God: & so in geuyng thankes to God, they deliuered euer in maner by hand, his notable woorkes to their posterity. Which laudable custome our Lord Iesus Christ semeth to haue followed, when after the Paschal supper, in the night wherin he was betraied, he went out together with his Disciples into the mount Olivet, when thei had said an himne. And of what force holye musicke is to pacifye the affectes of the mynde, Helizeus testifieth, who being in minde somewhat moued agaynste the king of Israel, cõmaunded one that plaied on an instrument to be brought vnto him. Dauid also in playing before Saul, bridled the violence of the euyll spirite wherewith Saul was oppressed.

An example of Helizeus.

Musike doth in a maner rauishe ỹ whole man.

But why Musicke seemeth so to rapte men in a maner wholye, the reason is plaine. For there are certain pleasures, which onely fyl the outward senses, and there are others also, which pertain onely to the minde or reason. But musick is a delectation so put in the myddest, that both by the sweetenes of the sounde it moueth the senses, and by the artificialnes of the number, and proportions, it delighteth reason it selfe. And that happeneth then chiefly, when such woordes are added vnto it, whose sense is both excellent & learned. Pythagoras opinion was, that they which studied his doctrine, should be brought on sleepe with a Harpe, and by the accordes thereof also wakened, whereby they might quietly enioy the time both of sleeping and waking. And it is a common saying (as Cicero affirmeth) that rockes and wildernesses do geue a sound, and cruel beasts by singing are asswaged and made to stand stil. I will not speake, howe the Poetes fable, that when the walles of Thebes the Citye were built, the stones of their owne motion came together with the sound of the Harpe. And no man is ignorant, what the same Poetes haue written of Arion and Orpheus. And who knoweth not how much Dauid here & ther in his Psalmes praiseth both Musick & songes. And among Christian men Tertulian in his Apology teacheth that the faithfull did very often make suppers, wherin after they had moderatly and honestly refreshed the body, they recreated themselues with godly songes. And in an other place, when he commendeth Matrimony, that is of one and the selfe same religion, he sayth: that Christian couples doo mutually prouoke them selues to singe prayses vnto God.

Pithagoras.

Cicero.

Tertulian.

Whether singinge may be receiued in the Church.

But now that we haue sene the nature, beginning and vse of songes and musicke: ther resteth to inquire, whither it may be vsed in Churches. In the East part the holy assemblies, euen from the beginning, vsed singing, which we maye easily vnderstand by a testimony of Plini in a certain Epistle to Traian the Emperor: where he writeth that Christians vsed to syng hymnes before daye vnto their Christ. And this is not to be left out, that thase woords wer written in that time that Iohn the Euangelist lyued, for he was a line vnto the time of Traian. Wherfore if a man shal say, that in the time of the Apostles there was syngyng

The east churche.

Plini.

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in holy assemblies. Be thai not stray from the truth. Paule, who was before these times, unto the Ephesians sayth: Be not filled with wyne, wherein is wantonnes, but be ye filled with the spirit, speaking to your selues in Psalmes, Himnes and spirituall songes, singing in your hart, geuing thankes alwaies vnto God, for all thinges, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ. To wyne the Apostle setteth the spirite as contrarye: and forbiddeth the pleasure of the senses, when in steede of wyne he will haue Christians filled with the spirite. For in wine (as he saith) is wantonnes: but in the spirite is both a true and a perfect ioy. Dronkerdes speake more than inough, but yet foolish and vayne thinges: speake ye (saith he) but yet spirituall thinges, and that not onely in voyce, but also in hart: for the voyce soundeth in vaine, where the minde is not affected. They which be filled with wine, do speake foolish, filthy, and blasphemous thinges: but geue ye thankes to God, alwaies (I say) and for all thinges.

To this ende vndoubtedly ought Ecclesiastical songes to tend vnto. To the Colossians also are written certaine thinges not disagreing from these. Let the word of the Lord (sayth the Apostle) abound plentifully in you: teache and admonish ye one another in Psalmes, Hymnes, and spirituall songes, singing in your hartes with grace. By these wordes Paule expresseth two thinges. First, that our songes be the word of God, which must abound plentifully in vs, and they must not serue onely to geuing of thankes, but also to teache and to admonish. And then it is added, with grace, which is thus to vnderstand, as though he should haue said, aptly and properly both to the senses, and to measure, and also vnto the voyces. Let them not syng rude and rusticall thinges, neither let it be immoderately, as doo the Tauernhunters. To the Corinthians the first Epistle the. xiiii. chapter where he entreateth of an holy assemblye, the same Apostle writeth after this maner. When ye assemble together, according as euerye one of you hath a Psalme, he hath doctrine, he hath a toung, he hath reuelation, he hath interpretation, let all thinges be done vnto edifieng. By which wordes is declared that Syngers of songes and Psalmes had their place in the Church.

The west Church. Augustine.

But the west Churches more lately receiued the maner of singing: for Augustine, in his. ix. booke of Confessions testifieth that it happened in the tyme of Ambrose. For when that holy man together with the people watched euen in the Church, least he should haue bene betrayed vnto the Arrians, he brought in singing to auoyde tediousnes, and to driue away the time.

What maner of measure the ecclesiastical song ought to be. Augustine.

But as touching the measure and nature of the song which ought to be retained in Publicke in the Church, these thinges are worthy to be noted. Augustine in the same bookes of Confession, both confesseth, and also is sory, that hee had sometimes taken, because he had geuen more attentiue heede vnto the measures and tunes of Musicke, than to the wordes which were vnder them spoken. Which thing hereby he proueth to be synne, because measures and singing were brought in for the wordes sake, and not wordes for Musicke. And he so repenteth him of his fault, that he exceedingly allowed the maner of the Church of Alexandria vsed vnder Athanasius, for hee commaunded the Reader, that when he sang, he should but lytle alter his voyce, so that he should bee lyke rather vnto one that readeth, than vnto one that syngeth. Howbeit on the contrary, when he considered, how at the beginning of his conuersion he was inwardly moued with these songes, namely in such sorte, that for the zeale of pietye he burst forth into teares, for this cause I say, he consented that Musicke should be retained in the Churche, but yet in such maner, that hee saide he was readye to chaunge his sentence, if a better reason could be aligned. And he addeth ý those do synne deadly, as they wer wont to speake, which geue greater hede vnto musicke, than vnto the wordes of God. To which sentence vndoubtedlye Ierome assenteth, as he hath noted vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians. Gregory also of Rome, in the Synode of Rome was of the same opinion. And both their wordes

The manner of the churches of Alexandria.

Ierome.

Gregory.

are written in the Decrees, Dist. 92. in the chap. Cantantes, and in the chapter, In sancta Romana. In which place are read in the glose two verses, not in deede so eloquent, but yet godly.

Non vox, sed votum, non cordula musica, sed vox
Non clamans, sed amans, cantat in aure Dei.

That is: Not the voice, but the desire: not the pleasantnes of musick, but the voyce
Not crying, but louing, syngeth in the eare of God.

And in the wordes of Gregory, this is not slightly to be passed ouer, in that he saith: Whilest the swetenes of the voyce is sought for, the life is neglected: and when wicked maners prouoke God, the people is rauished by the pleasauntnesse of the voyce.

The abuses of Ecclesiasticall Musicke.

But now let vs declare the cautions which are to bee obserued, to the ende we maye lawfully and fruitfully vse singing in the Church. The first is: That 1. in Musicke be not put the whole summe & effect of godlines, and of the worshipping of God. For among the Papists they do almost euery where, thinke ỹ they haue in the churches fully worshipped God, whē they haue long & much soong and bleated. Farther, we must take heede that in it be not put merite or remissiō 2. of synnes. For there are very many Priestes and Monkes, which for this cause do thinke they haue very wel deserued of God, because they haue soong very many Psalmes. Yea and the Pope also, Cardinals, Bishops & Abbots, when they haue heard songes of Masses and Euensonges, do oftentimes pronounce vnto the people indulgences of synnes. This vice also is to be taken away, that sin- 3. ging be not so much occupied in the Churche, that there bee no time in a maner left for to preach the worde of God and holy doctrine, as they doo almost euerye wher. For they so chaunt all thinges with singing and piping, that there is no part of the time reserued for preaching. Wherby it cōmeth to passe, that the people depart out of the Church ful of Musick and harmony, but yet hungarisshnes and lacking as touching heauenly doctrine. Moreouer, so riche & large stipendes 4. are appointed for Musicians, that either very litle, or in a maner nothing is prouided for the Ministers which labor in the worde of God. Neither may that bro- 5. ken & quauering Musicke be lawfully retayned, wherewith the fingers by are so letted, that they cannot vnderstand the wordes, no though they wolde. We 6. must also take heede, that in the Church nothing be soong without choyse, but onely those thinges which are contained in the holy scriptures, or which are by iust reasons gathered out of them, and do exactly agree with the worde of God. For if there should be a window opened vnto the inuentions of men, it were to be feared, least Ecclesiastical Musicke should at the last be chaunged into trifles and fables. Yea, we already see, that there are brought into the assemblye verye many fooliish sequences (as they call them) and fayned Hymnes, and manye o- ther thinges also which doo styre vp vnto the hearers rather a laughter and a wearynes, than a true fayth. Neither doo I speake these thinges as though I

Hymnes of Ambrose.

would dispraise the Hymnes of Ambrose, and other (whiche are of that kynde, for almuch as by them I iudge that the faythful maye be both instructed, and also admonished. The Symbole of Athanasius seemeth also to bee allowed, and the

The Symbole of Athanasius.

Psalmes of Augustine against the Donatistes, and also the Psalmes of Chrisostome (of which the Ecclesiasticall history of Eusebius maketh mention in the 7. booke) if they were remayning. For whatsoeuer thinges were written in them,

The Psalmes of Augustine.

The Psalmes of Chrisostome.

we must beleue that they agree with the holy scriptures, and that they doo aduaunce the edification of the faithfull in the Churche. But contrarywyse the Psalmes of Valentine (of which Tertulian maketh mencion) ar alsone al things to be condemned. And with them the most corrupt Psalmes which were soong in the Temple in the honour of Paulus Samosatenus, as the history of Sozome-

The Psalmes of Valentine.

Psalmes in the honour of Samosatenus.

nus declareth.

But

But now to conclude the matter, I affirme that godly & religious songes maye be retained in the Churches: and yet I confesse that there is no precept geuen in the newe Testament of that thing. Wherefore if ther be any Church, which vpon iust causes vseth it not, the same Church cannot iustly be condemned, so that it defend not that the thing it selfe of his own nature, or by the cõmaundement of God is vnlawful, and that it do not for the same cause reproue other Churches, which vse singing & Musicke, or els exclude them from the fellowship of Christ. For the Church of Alexandria (as it is before said) vsed either very little singing, or els almost none at al. For they saw the infirmity of the people to be so great, that they gaue more heede to the harmony, than they did to the wordes. Wherefore if in these dates we shal perceaue, that the Christian people do runne vnto the Churches as to a stage play, where they may be delighted with piping & singing, in this case we must rather abstaine from a thing not necessarye, than to suffer their pleasures to be cockered with the destruction of their soules. But now I thinke it good to returne vnto the history.

Ther is no precepte geuen for the hauing of Musicke in the Churche.

Then sang Deborah and Barak. It seemeth that Deborah alone made thys ditty: for the spirite of prophecy had perfed her, and not Barak. Howbeit hee is ioyned with her, bicause euen as in the battayle he was the Captaine, so also among the singers, and those which gaue thankes vnto God, he was the chiefe.

Who made this song.

In that day. We may thus enterprise, that in the selfe same day of victorye, this song of victory was both made and also song: which lyketh me verye well, that we might hereby learne straight waye to geue thankes for the benefites receaued. For to deferre it, as some do, it can scarcely be defended from the vice of ingratitude. Neither can the maner of certaine men be commended, which to obtayne anye thing at Gods handes cease not with moste importunate vowes to pray vnto him, but when they haue obtayned their request, they scarce returne vnto God, to geue him thankes sometymes at the last.

It is vicious to defer thanks geuing.

The Ethnikes (as we gather by good authors writers of histories) when they had gotten the victory, did straygbtway syng hymnes in praises of their Gods: & if they vsed so great a study gratified their false Gods, howe muche more ought we for the benefites which we haue receaued, without any tarying to offer thankes vnto the true and liuely God, whom we worship.

Cõquerers did straightwaye syng hymnes vnto their gods

Prayse ye the Lord for the auenging of Israel. Bicause this Hebrue worde Perag is doubtful, therefore the sense therof may be taken diuers waies. First, it signifieth to make naked & to spoyle, as it is put in Exodus, when Aaron tooke golden ornamentes of the Israelites, to make the molten Calfe. For he was reproued of Moyses, bicause he had with ignominy made naked the people. Wherfore according to this signification the sense of the dittye is: Geue thankes vnto God, which first made you naked both of strength and of his ayde, when we wer geuen ouer vnto the Chananites. Furthermore, geue hym thankes, bicause he hath afterward made you prompt both to take in hand warre, and also to recouer your liberty. Ether of these actions of God is to bee praysed, for they turned to good to his people. For the defection calleth them backe to repentaunce, and the deliuery deliuereth them from a grieuous yoke. Let god therefore be prayse, which both leadeth to hel, and bringeth from hel. Neither must we geue hym thankes onely for prosperous thinges, but also for aduersity. Also thys worde Perag signifieth to reuenge: and by this meanes forasmuch as reuengemẽt may be referred to two thinges, the sense of it also may be taken twoo wayes.

To the elect it is profitable both to be cast down, & also to be deliuered. We must geue thankes vnto God for prosperity & aduersity

The first is: That god in oppressing the Israelites, and deliuering them to the Chananites, reuenged the iniury that was done vnto himselfe, wherein they dyd grieuously offende hym, when they fel to impietye and Idolatrye. Neyther doth thys latter sentence vary any thyng from the first. Forasmuch as by thys way also Deborah commaundeth to geue thankes vnto god for the former afflictions. For to the godly aduersitye also turneth to good.

For the Saintes when they haue fallen, are wont by scourges wherewith they are punished to be called backe againe to repentaunce, which repentaunce God poureth in them by diuers and many vexations. The third sense is, which is euery where, and almost receaued of al men: That they should geue thankes vnto God, which at the last had reuenged the iniuries of the Israelites. For they were before long time, & that grieuously oppressed by the Chananites. And then by the spirite of God they were made willing and prompt, which before were such abiectes and cowardes. Two thinges therefore are expressed, namely, that God confounded the Chananites, in reuenging the euyls whyche they had done vnto the Iewes, and also that he strengthened them in the battaile. If God reuenged them, they by them selues coulde not reuenge themselues. If he made them willing, they themselues were not such. Wherefore free wyl is put down, and the goodnes of god commended. For euen as we doo not aske of god those thinges which we haue in our own hands and power: so for these things when they happen vnto vs, we geue him no thankes.

We do not aske those things of God whiche ar in our own power.

3 Heare ye Kinges, hearken ye Princes: I, euen I wyll syng vnto the Lord, I wyl syng prayse vnto the Lord God of Israel.

Why she calleth Kynges in special, there maye be manye reasons alledged. The first is, because all the Iewes were called in a manner Kynges. For God made that nation both a kingdome and a priesthoode vnto himselfe. They were all therefore so called, euen as we of Christ are called Christians, or anoynted, of our onely head Christ, whych was chiefly annoynted wyth the oyle of righteousnes and grace.

An admonitiō to Magistrats

Farther, he maketh an Apostrophe to kinges, because that shee song these woordes not onelye for her time, but also hauing a regarde to the tyme to come: wherefore by her, all Princes and Magistrates are in especiall admonished, because they being puffed vp with pryde and ryches, both thinke and also affirme that the people should looke for safety at their handes. But now they ar taught by the woord of God, that it is he which defendeth and keepeth, although sometimes therunto he vseth the helpe of them that are preserued. Lastly, Deborah speaketh to straunge kynges, whiche had determined wyth them selues to destroye the Israelites, and exhorteth them diligently to weigh wyth themselues the thinges which God hath done, and to marke howe hee knoweth to auenge hys people in due tyme.

I, euen I (sayth she) wyll syng. The repeating of the pronowne of the first person, is not onely vsed of Poetes, but also of Orators: nether doth it onely adorn the oration, but also moue the affections, and stirreth vp men vnto admiration. Virgil saith: I, euen I am present which did it, turne your weapon against me. Cicero also saith: Ah I miserable man the goodes, the goodes I saye of Gnaius Pompeius, were most cruelly by the voyce of the cryer. &c. This nowe is, as if Deborah should haue sayde: I although she a woman, yet a Prophet. I although a woman, yet a sauiour of Israel wyl syng vnto my God.

Virgil. Cicero.

They vse to put a certayne difference betwene these two latin woordes canere that is, to syng, and psallere which is also to syng: but because that difference is not alwaies obserued, yea, one is taken oftentymes for an other, therefore I willingly ouerpasse it.

4 Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, whē thou departedst out of the fielde of Edom, the earth trembled, the cloudes also dropped water.

5 The mountaynes melted before the Lord, as did that Sinai before the Lord God of Israel.

In

In the ditties and peryodes of songs and of the prophets this is a common vse, that the latter part differeth not from the fyrst, as touching sence, but obtayneth the same thing, the wordes being somewhat chaunged: which thinge also in the prouerbes of Salomon is easy to marke. And I doubt not that the same is done vpon iust causes, Forasmuch as of the holy ghost nothing is done rashly or vnprofitably. The sentences also which are entreated of in those bookes, are verye graue, and therfore by that tarying in them, our dulnes is holpen. For it quickly passeth over the sence of the firste parte: therfore the latter parte being all one with the fyrst, maketh vs to geue more attentiue heede. Farthermore our hardenes is so greate, that to one stroke it vseth not to geue place. Wherefore it is no meruayle if God strike it with a double stroke. And when the wordes are chaunged, the efficacy and wayght of the sentence alredye spoken, is more and more expressed. The want of humayne speache is holpen, whiche want is suche, that at one speaking, the whole signification of a wayghty sentence can not be opened. Therfore by that repitition, that which is not expressed by the fyrst wordes, is expounded by other wordes which serue for the same thing.

Why in the peryodes of the holy scriptures one sentence is repeated.

God therefore, by whose conduct this victorye was obteyned, is to bee praysed: which is by very good reason done, forasmuch as his benevolence towardes Israel is proued to be no strange or newe benevolence. Wherefore Deborah celebrateth him as an old and auncient patrone of the Iewes. From the time (sayth she) wherin the Israelites at thy cõmaundement, walked. 38. yeres by diuers writers (as it is written in the. 2. of Deutronomy) about mount Seir, and then at the length by thy will departing from thence, they went forward to the land of Chanaan, thou nobly takest in hande their cause. For thou goyng with vs in a piller of fyre, and of a cloud, so fearedst the Chananites our enemies, that they wer not able to resist vs, which were otherwise weake and feble. Before when we went abonte the mountayne, they lined in securitye, and stoutlye contemned vs. But when thou leddest vs out of those places, such a feare came vpon them, that euen the earth seemed to tremble, and the heauens and cloudes caste downe great tempestes and showres. And it was so greate as though the mountaines should roule down greate heapes of water, to the inferior valleis. By these allegories Deborah discribeth the feare that was driuen into the Amorites and Chananits. And it is no maruayle (saith she) if at thy sight they wer so troubled, whē as this Sina was not able to abide ẏ discending down vpō it, whē in old time thou gauest ẏ law, for it was altogether shaken, & it wōderfully trembled. Let the prudēt reader mark that there wanteth this particle Caph. Whiche is a note of a similitude, whiche should be here put. This Sinai is written simply: whē as we must vnderstand eūs as this Sina in the old time was moued, so they at our cōming were fore afrayd & trembled. To mount Seir or Edom, which is now mentioned, in the. 30. chap. of Deutronomy (where almost the same thing is written) is Pharan added, namely a mountayn lying hard by it, and the like thing is red in the Psalme. The Rabbines of the Hebrewes do bring trifles, and say that God did therfore come from Seir when he would geue the law, because he would firste haue geuen the lawe vnto the Edomites: which when they refused, he went vnto mounte Sina to the Hebrewes, which receaued the law, with a willing and glad hart. But these fables are not drawen out of the holy scriptures, but spring out of their own inuention, which immoderatly cõmend their own nation, as though they by their own iudgement & byright will, had deserued to receaue the law of God. But others thinke, that God when he came to Sinai, was seene to haue descended from those mountaynes of the Edomites, as though he should beginne to goe from thence vnto the Israelites. This also is but a weake reason. The fyrste interpretation fitteth best, for as touching the byttory, when God caused the Israelites to passe ouer beyond the mountayne, then were the Chananites fore afeard, especially when Og, and Sihon the kinges were slayne.

A farned thyng of the Rabines.

6 In the dayes of Sangar the sonne of Anath, in the dayes of Jahel the highe wayes were vnoccupied, and the trauaylers walked thorough byewayes.

7 The townes of Israell were not inhabited, they decayed, vntill I Deborah rose vp, which rose vp a mother in Israell.

Hetherto is God commended as the auncient defendour of the Israelites, but now is set forth this present victory. And is handled by comparison because it is declared that God had now graunted farre greater things than before he had geuen, when Deborah was not yet stirred vppe. For Sangar (of whome we before entreated) although he obteined some victorye ouer his enemies, and did somewhat for the safety of the people, yet he did not perfectly set the Hebrewes at liberty. Neither performed Jahel a full deliuery. For in their time y high ways also were not then safe, and men were compelled, eyther not to go forwarde, or els to trauaile thorughe byewayes and vnknowen places. And thinges were come to that poynte, that villages, and townes whiche were not fenced and inclosed with walles, were cleane forsaken. Wherfore marchandise, husbandrye, & iudgementes were hindred, and the Jewes were compelled to kepe themselues in cities well fenced, except they would haue ben made prayes vnto the Chananits. And this misery indured frō the oppressiō of Jabin to the dominion of Deborah.

But it may seme meruellous, why he maketh mention of Sangar & Jahel both together. Some thinke that she iudged Israell after Sangar. But for almuche as the holye scriptures write not so, I dare not affirm it, I thincke rather that shee was named with Sangar for honours sake: as though she should haue sayde: Although God hath by her notwe killed euen Sisera, and that hytherto God hath loued her, yet as longe as shee hath liued vnto this presente daye, the calamity of Israell hath endured, neither was it taken away. This Hebrew worde Perzon in the singular number signifieth, villages, and townes without walles and fenses: and therefore it is construed with a verbe of the plurall number, namely Chadelu. Farther we muste note that this verbe Chadelu is twise repeated, for it is put both in the beginninge and in the ende of the sentence, as in that verse of Virgil: He demaunded many thinges of Priam, & many thinges of Hector.

Virgill.

She sayth that she rose vp as a mother in Israel, because she was stirred vp not to raigne as a tirant. Certayn do sometimes fight for theyr country, and do seme as though they would set it at liberty, but afterward the same men doe oppresse it no lesse than enemies. Cesar semed to haue deliuered the frenchemen and the Germaines from the yoke of the Romaines, but he vtterlye oppressed the publike wealth, that is, the liberty of the people. The same thing went Marius and Silla aboute.

Cesar.

Marius Silla.

What is the property of a lawfull prince.

And here is touched the duty of a lawful and good prince. And that is to haue a fatherly minde toward his people. Wherfore Senatours were called fathers, and they wer named Patres conscripti. That is, appointed fathers, whose families also were called Patritiæ. And assuredly in the old time it was counted an excellent and a most noble title to be called a father of his country, for Tully esteemed it to be so honorable vnto him, that he sayd: The city of Rome called Cicero the father of the country.

8 When he chosed new Gods, then was ther warre in the gates, if there were a shield or speare sene among 40000 of Israell.

These wordes are expounded two manner of wayes, and that not vnaptlye. First, it may be sayde, that warre did then straytly trouble the Jewes, and that the enemy also besieged theyr gates and cities, when they declined vnto Idolatry. According to which interpretatiō the election is referred vnto Israel, and this

this woꝛde Elohim, shalbe the accusatiue case, so that there is a reason shewed of the misery wherewith the Hebꝛues were afflicted. Undoubtedly they were therfoꝛe bꝛused and made afeard, and also not one of many thousandes which durste take a shield, oꝛ shake a speare, bicause they had polluted themselues with idolatry. And Deborah testifieth this to be so true, that she may confirme it euen with an othe. Which this particle (Ki) which is here put declareth moꝛeouer we maye in this soꝛte interꝑeate it: I Deborah after that I was stirred vppe of God, there was warre in the gates, either of the tentes, oꝛ els bicause the Hebꝛew souldioꝛs which before kept themselues within, wer now gone foꝛth of the gates: bycause god hath now chosen newe thinges, that is, he hath bꝛoughte in a newe shewe and foꝛme of thinges longinge vnto the Israelites. Dure menne durst do nothing hetherto, which now durst foꝛth and assayle theyꝛ enemies. It is god therefoꝛe, whiche hath chosen newe thinges: And this woꝛd Elohim in that sense shalbe the nominatiue case. The things which god hath now wꝛought, are not vnwoꝛthely called new thinges: Foꝛ it is a rare and an vnaccustomed thinge, that armed souldioꝛs should be vanquished of vnarmed mē. And the Hebꝛues were so without weapons, ỹ not among xl. C. men was found so much as one shield oꝛ speare.

This Hebꝛewe woꝛd Aim is a particle of one that sweareth, and is very much vsed in the holy scriptures. I haue swoꝛne in mine anger, if they shal enter into my rest. Also: Loꝛde if I haue done this, oꝛ if there be iniquitye in my handes &c. The reason of this kinde of speach is, bycause they which do so sweare, doo begin an execration, and sometimes they perfoꝛme it not. If, say they, they should adde, I do it, let this oꝛ that happen vnto me, let me perysh, let me dye, let me suffer cruell punishment, and such like. But sometimes they fully expꝛesse it.

9 My harte is set on the gouernors of Israell, and on them that are willing amonge the people, ꝓꝛayse ye the Loꝛde.

10 Speake ye that ryde on white asses, ye that dwell by Middin, and that walke by the way.

Deborah by an eloquent distribution turneth herselfe to diuers kinds of men, & exhoꝛteth euery one of them to ꝓꝛayse the Loꝛd. She maketh mention of pꝛinces before the other, and sayth that hir harte is set on them, namely bicause she feruently desireth them to be thankful vnto God, and to ꝓꝛayse him foꝛ the benefits which they haue receaued. She calleth them Mekekei, bicause to them pertained to make both decrees and lawes. Afterwarde she speaketh of all those, whiche of theyꝛ owne will and accoꝛd had offred themselues vnto the battayle.

Ye which ryde on white trim asses. Almost al interꝑetours vnderstand this to be spoken of merchantes, which ryde to and fro to fayꝛes and marketes. And in deede asses are very much vsed in Syria: foꝛ there the asses be stronge, and mighty and of a good bigge stature, and do go pleasauntly. Asses are vsed in Syria.

V Whiche dwell by Middin, some vnderstande it thus, that they whiche are iudges should be pꝛouoked to ꝓꝛayse GOD. Foꝛ (saye they) as thee had before stirred vp marchants and rich men to ꝓꝛayse God, so now she calleth vpon iudges to do the same. Foꝛ as before marchants were hindred from their trades, also were iudges letted from exercising iudgementes. Foꝛ they being oppꝛessed of theyꝛ enemies could not minister iustice. But it is better that by this woꝛd Middin be expressed some certayne place, which paraduenture was grieuously oppꝛessed by the enemies than other places wer. Oꝛ els bicause theyꝛ marchandises wer wont to be much occupied, which being now set at liberty & in safety, the inhabiters of that place are peculiarly stirred vp to ꝓꝛayse God. And lastly this seemeth to pertayne to the common people. V Which walke by the way. Namely on foꝛte. Foꝛ other, either they did ryde, oꝛ wer caried vpon asses, foꝛ that they were

rich and noble men. All ye (sayth she) Schichu, that is tel, and shew. But bicause that verbe signifieth also to meditate, we will thus expound it: with a redye and an attentiue minde tell or shew. Or els it is sayd, Ye which walke by the way, to declare a certayne cause why they ought to geue thankes: as though shee should haue sayd: All ye, which I haue mentioned, therfore geue thankes vnto God, bicause nowe ye may walke by the way freely.

11 For the noyse of the archers appeased in the places wher water is drawen, there shall they reherse the righteousnes of the Lorde, hys righteousnes of his townes in Israell, then did the people of the lord go downe to the gates.

When she had nowe prayed God, because he had restored the common highe wayes free vnto the Hebrewes, she addeth now an other benefite which he had bestowed on them, namely in that thei might without feare draw water, which before was in a maner wholy letten them. This thing vndoubtedly, although in other places it seemeth to be of no greate value, yet in Syria where is wonderfull greate scarcetye of water, it ought to be counted for an excellent gifte. The welles or fountaynes whiche were without the cities by the streates and highe wayes, could stande the Iewes in no steade, by reason of the Chananites whiche kept away al thinges. For the horsemen which were archers, hidde them selues priuely neare such waters, and assayled those which came forth to draw water there. Many of them they led away captiues, and with theyr noyse and cry, they feared away in a manner all from drawinge of water. We haue nowe escaped (sayth Deborah) the horrible and barbarous noises and cries of horsemē, which were archers vsed to crye with an horrible voyce when they assayle theyr enemies, Jeremy in the. 4. chap. testifieth. And the whole city (sayth he) fled away at the cry of the horsemen, which they made whilest they bended theyr bowes.

Water is a verye necessarye thing in Syria

After that is setforth an other singular benefite, namely that ỳ little townes and villages, which wanted fences, and were not inclosed with walles, and seemed to be desolate and emptye by reason of the enemies which besieged them, ar now by the help of God reedefied and restored. Wherfore she concludeth that for this cause also, god must worthely be praised. Lastly is added, ỳ the people of god might now assemble at the gates of ỳ cities, frō the which before they were altogether prohibited. The iudgement place in the old time was wonte to be in the gates wher thei executed lawes. But by reason of warres and oppressions it seemeth that iudgements ceased, which thing how great a misery it bringeth to the publike wealth, they do manifestly vnderstand, which are not ignorant that in iudgementes in a manner the wholepoiner of the publike wealth is contayned. But why the Hebrewes executed these thinges in the gates, thys seemeth to me to be the cause, bicause they thought those places most meete to be chosen, vnto which not onely the citizens, but also the rusticall and husband men might easely come. And ỳ vndoubtedly could not be better done in any other place, then in the very gates of the cityes. Geue thankes therfore vnto God, sayth Deborah, bycause all these thinges by his ayde haue nowe recouered theyr olde forme and order.

Why thei geue iudgements in the gates.

12 Arise, arise Deborah, arise, arise, singe a songe. Up Barak, and leade thy captiuity captyue, thou sonne of Abinoam.

Forasmuch as Deborah stirred vp in name all the Israelites to geue thanks vnto god, by an eloquēt figure she now stirreth vp herself, ỳ thereby others might be

be pricked forward, and endeuour themselues by her example to prayse God. Go to, Go to, Deborah, go to, go to sing a songe. This without doubt, is, the manner of saintes in their Psalmes and songes that they neuer satisfie themselues in praysing God, they alwayes thinke that they are to colde, and for that cause euery where they vse suche stirringes vp of themselues. Here R. Salomon doteth, when he writeth, that Deborah did to much boast of her selfe, and therfore when her spirite began to ware faynte, she endeuored her selfe by such stirryng vp to kindle it agayne. If these thinges are spoken by the spirite, as in very dede they are, there can no sinne be in them without a great faulte. Wherfore let Salomon go whether he will with his fables. Leade thy captiuitie captiue. She exhorteth Barac to triumphe & with a certaine pompe to boast of his captiues. For by that meanes it semed that the honor and name of God should more and more be illustrated, when all men vnderstoode, that the Chananites were now captiues vnto the Hebrues who before thought that they would either vtterly destroy the Hebrues or els take them prisoners. This is the punishement of the iust lawe called the law of the like, that they should iustly suffer those things, which they vniustly went about to do vnto others. Farthermore the Rabbines haue here noted that the songe is peculiarly ascribed vnto Deborah, because she was a Prophetesse: but the triumphe was geuen vnto Barac, because in the battayle he had fought agaynst his enemies.

A fayned exposition of R. Salomon.

13 Then they that remayne haue dominion ouer the myghty of the people: the Lord hath geuen me dominion ouer the strong.

Agayne the victory is by a comparison amplified, not as it was before, with the euils and discommodities wherwith the Israelites were oppressed, but the conquerers are very aptly copared with the which were ouercome. They which were ouercome wer vndoubtedly of great renowme, valeant, expert in warres, & noble, but our men seme to be like remnants, for fewe came vnto the battayle and those fewe were of fewe tribes. Besides that those few whiche came were men despised and of no reputation. For that commonly suche are remnātes, namely to be both small in number, and also vile and abiecte, if it be compared with other, whose remnant they are. Howbeit these remnantes, what maner of men so euer they were, they had the dominion, and were gouerners ouer the noble men.

The Lord hath geuē me dominion. This is added by correction, lest any man should thinke that any thing in this battayle is attributed vnto mans strength. It is the Lord himselfe which ouercommeth and hath dominion. Neuertheles hath done this by me. That worde *Li* may be thus vnderstand, as though she should say thorough me: or as God would ouercome by her: or the ioy, approbation and pleasure is noted which she conceaued in mynde at thys greate honour of God.

14 Out of Ephraim was there a roote of them agayne Amalek, & after thee Beniamin agaynst thy people, out of Machir came rulers, and of Zebulon they that drawe with the penne of the writer.
15 And the princes of Isachar were with Deborah and Isachar: so Barak was sent on his feete in ỹ valley: in the diuisions of Reuben were great thoughtes of heart.

Vergill and Homere rehearsed the order and number of the ships captaynes & people, which wer helpers vnto those princes whom they praised: so now Deborah rehearseth those of ỹ people of Israel which came to take in hand this warre.

A roote

Deborah was of the tribe of Ephraim.

A roote of them, that is a prince of Ephraim. This I thinke pertayneth to Deborah her selfe: for as it semeth, she was of Ephraim and iudged the people vnder the oke of Ephraim as is before sayd, and without doubt this warre was taken in hand by her conduct and admonitions. But this semeth somewhat darke, in that it is sayd that the battayle was appointed agaynst Amalek, but by a figure or figurative kinde of speache, we must by Amalek vnderstand the Chananites also. Howbeit I am not ignorant, that by this roote of Ephraim, some vnderstand *Iosua*, who was both an *Ephraite*, and also fought agaynst Amalek, as it appeareth in the boke of Exodus: and they suppose that in these thinges which follow, therefore is made mention of ỹ tribe of *Beniamin*, to declare & shew forth that *Saul* whiche should come of the tribe of *Beniamin* should within a while afterwarde finishe the warre agaynst the Amalekites whiche thyng we read was done in the first booke of Samuel. This exposition, as I do not abiect, so also I do not easely allowe it: bycause I do not thinke that the actes of *Iosuah* are now rehearsed, neither can I be perswaded that Deborah by the spirite of Prophecy, did Prophecy of those thinges whiche should come to passe in the tyme of Saul. I will omit therefore that interpretation, and returne vnto myne owne. Some of the tribe of Beniamin did at the beginning layne themselues vnto Deborah, although (as I iudge) they were very few of them. But out of Machir (which was a noble family of the tribe of Manasses) came some notable men. Zabulon also was not without some Doctors, Lawyers, & Scribes, whiche were better with a pen than with weapons, and that is signified, in that it is sayd. They whiche drawe with the penne of the writer, that is, whiche were exercised in drawyng the pen. And the tribe of *Isaschar* is wonderfully commended, for from it came princes, yea euen at the beginning. Furthermore it is added that Isaschar was as Barac. For as Barac was sent vnto mount Thabor, so it semeth ỹ Isaschar with his footemen was sent into the valley, and there he the on ethe side inuaded the enemies, when the battayle beyng begon the Israelites were in daunger, there the Israelites behaued themselues valiantly. Wherefore iustly are they in this place exceedingly praysed. The complices therefore of this warre are mentioned, namely, Ephraim, Beniamin, a part of *Manasses*, Isaschar, Zabulon, and Nepthalim. But there is nothing spoken of *Iuda*, Simeon, Leui, and Gad. Afterward are reprehended Reuben, *Dan*, Aser, and peraduenture al of the tribe of *Manasses*, as we shal hereafter see. Wherefore they aboue named which aided in the battayle, were worthily called remnantes, bycause they were both fewe in number and also of no reputation.

In the litel brookes of Reuben. The tribe of Reuben is reproued bycause it detracted the battayle. They dwelt beyond Iordane in the pastors, and it semeth, that by reason of their shepe and cattell they had no regard vnto the publicque wealth. The places of the Rubenites are not vnworthily called riuers: for they had gotten fertile pastors by the riuer of Iordane. He attributeth vnto the great nesse and wisedome, but he accuseth them for this, namely, bycause they had so great a care vnto their owne thinges. Such a thing semeth here to haue come passe, as is that whiche is set forth in the parable of the Gospell, namely, that diuers which were bidden vnto the wedding refused to come, bycause some would go proue a yoke of oxen, some had bought a Farme, and other some also had maried a wife. And of the remnantes which were gathered out of the stretes & high wayes, was the wedding fulfilled. So also ment it to passe in our dayes, when kynges, Emperours, Princes, Noble and mighty men of this world do therefore despise the profession of the Gospell, bycause they preferre their owne commodities before religion and heauenly thinges.

16 Why abydest thou among the shepefolds, to heare the bleatings

of the flockes? in the diuisions of Reuben were greate thoughtes of harte.

17 Gilead abode beyond Iordane: but why doth Dan remayne in shipes? Aser sat on the sea shore, and taried in his decayed places.

Ruben is described both by the arte of a shepheard which he exercised and also by the places of pastors whiche he inhabited: and therwith all it is shewed that they were great men, and men of a wise understandyng, peraduenture to reprehend their swelling and pryde, as though they would not obey the commaundementes and conquest of Deborah being a woman. This is the nature of byg bemindes, that they thinke that al things that they do, are wel done. But in that it is added, To heare the bleatinges of flockes: it may be vnderstande plainely as though the Rubenites had more minde to the bleating of cattell, than they had to the regarde of the publicque wealth, but some vnderstād Allegorically, saying that the Rubenites sat styll among the shepefoldes by the fertile pastors of Iordane, although they heard they lamentations and complaintes of the flockes of Israel, that is of the people of God, with whiche lamentations and complayntes they earnestly implored theyr ayde.

Gilead abode by the riuer of *Iordane*, or beyond *Iordane*. Some thinke that the Galaadites were reprehended together with the Rubenites, because they also with their cattell abode by Iordane, and neglected this battayle. Vnto the tribe of *Manasses*, vnto whiche the Galaadites pertayned, when ỹ land of Chanaan was deuided, obtayned the region beyond *Iordan* together with the Rubenites. They which thus expound it, are encombred with a certain doubt, because it is before sayd that *Machir* came: and he was both the sonne of *Manasses*, and also possessed the mount Gilead. Therfore if Gilead came as it is before sayd, why is he here reprooued as though he came not? Peraduenture they will answere, that Manasses had two children *Machir*, & *Iair*, of which children euer two families deriued, of whiche either possessed parte of Gilead. Therfore it might be, that Machir, of whom before is mencion had, came: but Iair is now reprooued, whiche together with the *Rubenites* neglected this battayle. But other, with whom I agree, do thus thinke, that the thinges which are now spoken serue to aggrauate ỹ crime of the Rubenites as though it should haue ben sayd ἀνθυποφορικῶς: Thou *Ruben* hast bene doubt dwelleth by the riuers of *Iordane*, and there dwelleth Gilead also, who came for all that to the battayle. Therfore all excuse both of dwellyng and place is cut of from the Rubenites. And it semeth that this sentence should be spoken by a certaine interrogation. Did not Gilead also dwell by the riuers of *Iordane*? Therfore cease Rubē to excuse that whiche thou hast naughtly cōmitted. Two sonnes of Manasses.

VVhy doth *Dan* go to the shippes? This can not be vnderstand of shippes lōging to the sea, for as much as the lot of the *Danites* fell not by the sea side: but we must vnderstand it of the shippes of Iordane. Not as though Dan did altogether dwell by Iordan, but (as they say) this tribe was so feared with the sight of the hostes, ỹ they fled vnto their shippes, to passe ouer to ỹ Rubenites. And that, euen as it was filthy and vncomely so also is it now iustly & worthily blamed. The situation of the Danites

Aser sat on the sea shore, and in his decayed places. Aser is also blamed, who semeth to haue excused his absence: first because he dwelled far of, ỹ is, by the sea shore: secondly because his Cities and Townes were decayed and vnfensed. And therfore would he tary at home, for feare lest if he had gone, his enemyes should easely haue had occasion to inuade his borders. For, for as much as he possessed places whiche were weake, he thought that if he were absent, his neighbours would easly berine him of them. I do not doubt, but that it was greuous and troublesome to those tribes so to be reprehended, which yet the holy ghost would haue done: partly that they being admonished, might repent: partly ỹ other and

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we also beyng by this example stirred vp, myght nowe refuse to obey the worde of God yea thoughe it be with daunger: whiche if we shall not performe, as these men are now reproued, so also shall we in the last day of iudgement, not onely be reproued with ignominie and irreconcilable hatred, but also we shall be damned for euer.

18 But the people of Zebulon haue ieoparde their soules vnto the death, and Nepthalim in the high places of the field.

The prayseth the tribe of Zebulon and Nepthalim for their desertes, because they had put forth to reproche their soule, that is their life. For other men counted the fooles, because so few and vnarmed men durst rashly take in hand warre against so many and well appointed souldiers as they thought. Or, They put their soule to reproche, because they nothing esteemed their life, and in a manner counted it as a vile thing, putting themselues forth into most certaine daunger of death, if they should looke vpon mans iudgement. Howbeit they are for y same cause very much to be commended, because they preferred both God and also his worde before their owne life. And it is added, In high places of the fielde, or els in high fieldes, because those were souldiers led vnto mount Thabor, from whiche place they might easely behold y whole host of their aduersaries. But although they beholde them, yet were they not so feared, to leaue of their enterprise.

19 The kinges came and fought: then fought the kinges of Chanaan in Thaanach and by the waters of Megiddo: they receaued no gayne of money.

Nowe is described the forme of the battayle or victory, The sayth in the plaine number that kinges came and fought: because peraduenture Sisera had very many other rulers ioyned with him, who although they were not there in person, they had for all that their bodies there. Or els by a figuratiue kinde of speach the plural number is put for the singular number, as is this sentence of y Poet. *Virgil.* But we haue gone a great space of the sea. Cicero also sayth, we haue receaued the people, we seemed to haue ben riuers in the tribe of Manasses whiche had by them two Cities of the same names, not farre from mount Thabor. We must thinke therfore that the hoste of Sisera possessed all the playne grounde whiche laye betweene these two Townes. And those repetitions, for one verbe serue to adorne y sentence or long. *Cicero.* Nichamin Are Nichamin, that is they fought then, they fought as Cicero also sayth: No man looketh vpon the matter, no man considereth the reason, &c. so y betweene two wordes repeted he putteth this one worde (no man) This word also Melachim that is kinges is repeted. For it is sayd that the kynges came, and that they fought as Cicero also sayth, This O fathers appointed is found to be your acte, and not myne, and vndoubtedly it is a most noble acte: but not myne (as I haue sayd) but yours. *Cicero.*

They receaued no gayne of money. This may we thus vnderstand, they came to inriche themselues with the spoyles of their enemies: but that came not to passe according to their expectation. But others interprete these wordes more subtelly saying, that the enemies so deadly hated the Israelites, that they had no regard to the gayne of the praye, but they would fight vnder Sisera against the Israelites euen without wages, that is as it is sayd, without meate and drynke & harnesse. Some referre it to this, that they thinke those enemyes of the people of God were such bloudsuckers, that if in the battayle they had gotten any of the Hebrues, they would take no raunsome of them, but straygbt way slay them, being such as desired not the pray, but onely thirsted for their bloud.

They

20 They fought from heauē, the ſtarres from their courſes fought againſt Siſera.

She maketh mencion of the helpe that came from heauen & from the ſtarres, by the will and gouernment of God. But how that came to paſſe, is not expreſſed. But it might be, that fire was ſent among the enemyes, or that haileſtones thundring and lightninges (as Ioſephus affirmeth) afflicted the Chananites. Per aduenture alſo the winde ſo ſtirred vp the duſt in the face of the Chananites: (as Leui writeth happened vnto ꝑ Romanes in the battayle of Cannenſis) that they could vtterly ſee nothing at all. *Liuius.*

The ſtarres from their courſes fought. That is from their degrees and ſtations, leaſt any man ſhould thinke that they deſcended from heauen, or departed from their courſe.

21 The riuer Kiſon ſwepte them away, the riuer of auncientes, the riuer Kiſon, O my ſoule thou haſt marched valiauntly.

To the helpe of the heauen and of the ſtarres, the riuer fauorably ioyned it ſelfe: for it ſwelled, when as otherwyſe it was wont to be but ſmall. Wherfore it was ſo encreaſed, that it both choked and ſwept away many of the enemyes. But this worde Goth ſignifieth not by any meanes to ſweepe, but as it happeneth when a houſe is ſwepte or made cleane with broomes, for then what ſoeuer is vncleane, it is together with the duſt caſt forth. So in this deſtruction, they whiche were counted noble, were in the ſame ſorte ſwepte awaye, as if they had bene duſt and filthe. This worde Riuer is often repeated in this verſe, whiche vndoubtedly is pleaſaunt, when it is in due place done: whiche I therfore ſpeake, leaſt any ſhould thinke theſe repetitions to be to no purpoſe. Yea and Cicero alſo writeth in ſolute oration: When I ſhall come againe into Italy with Appius Claudius, and ſhall come againe by Cn. Pompeius: I therfore when I ſhall come againe, &c. And this Kyſon is called Kedumim as thoughe it had two names, and were called by both the names, or els becauſe there peraduenture was ſome other riuer ſo called, which riuer becauſe it ran into Kyſon, gaue it alſo his name. But ſome tranſlate that worde of Auncientneſſe, namely of Counſels: becauſe God himſelfe had before the foundacions of the worlde were layd, created and appointed that riuer to this purpoſe, to be an ayde vnto hym in this victory in tyme to come. It chaunſed not ſo, that the whole hoſt of Siſera was drowned in that riuer. For how could that be, when there was an incredible number of ſouldiers, and the riuer of ſo narrowe a breadth? But as it is to be thought, ꝑ chiefe rulers & captaynes which entred into ꝑ water in their horſes & chariots, for drowned: which thing whē the other ſouldiers ſaw, their courage was ſore daunted, & alſo they turned themſelues to flight. And we ſee this to come to paſſe oftentimes in warres, ꝑ thoſe thinges whiche of their owne nature ſeme to be of no great value, do much profit either this party or ꝑt in ꝑ victory. This ayde without doubt hath ſome affinity, with ꝑ drowning of Pharao, but ꝑ the caſe is not ſo well cōpared with a little riuer: neyther did a part of Phareos hoſt perish in the ſea, but the whole hoſt was ouerwhelmed in it. But all theſe men (as we haue ſayd) were not drowned in Kiſon. Farther the rashnes of the Egyptians ſemed greater then theſe mens, when as it is much more fooliſhe to enterpriſe to paſſe ouer the ſea, then to wade ouer a riuer.

22 Then were the houſes of the horſes broken with the ofte beating together of the mighty men.

Here is ſet forth the third calamitye, namely ꝑ their horſes hooſes were bro-

hem. By nature in bede the horse hoofes are myghty and strong, neither are they easely cloven, but the spurryng of them forwarde to ruine was so great in thys conflict, that they were worne awaye. This worde Sos, that is a horse, is spoken in the singular number. And that number is also vsed of our men both Poetes and Orators, in steade of the plurall number. For we saye that Fraunce hath *Virgil.* ouercome Spaine, and Virgill sayeth: The stoute Romane was no lesse valiant then his fathers. When the hoofes of the horses were broken and torne, the horsemen could neither mouue the Hebrues, neither yet were they able to saue themselues by flieng away. The Hebrues because they wante a superlatiue degree, therefore to expresse it, they double both nounes and verbes: as it is here sayd Miũharoth Deharoth that is of great and very often leappynges. Wherefore the repetition of one selfe same worde serueth not onely for the adornyng of the sentence but also to expresse the vehemency of the signification. There are therfore three, discõmodities now rehearsed, which came vnto the Chananites, namely one from heauen, an other from the riuer, and the thirde of the hoofes of the horses beyng broken.

23 Curse ye Meroz (sayd the aungell of the Lord) in cursing, curse the inhabiters thereof, because they came not to helpe the Lorde, to helpe the Lord against the myghty.

She curseth the Citie of Meroz which was great and nyghe vnto the place where the battayle was fought, because they would not ayde them which labored, beyng also desired of them thereunto. Deborah curseth not the Cities and tribes which dwelt farre of, because they, although they had no true excuses, yet had they some, suche as they were. But these men which dwelt nere at hande, saiyng thing it selfe, and were called: for as much as they would not heare, they iustly and worthily fell, vnder these sharpe and sore curses.

Said the aungell of the Lord. This she therefore putteth in, least she should seme to speake of anger, as though she should haue sayd: Euen God himself hath commaunded me thus to sing. Other vnderstand by the aungell Barac, and that peraduẽture not ill: for it might be, ỹ he went to ỹ Citie to fite it by to fight, who when he sawe the citizens to be so wilful & obstinate, by the impulsion of the spirite of God, he in this maner curssed it. As touching ỹ compositiõ, she maketh ỹ cõclusiõ with ỹ helpe of Lord, & beginneth ỹ next clause wt the self same wordes, *Virgil.* as doth Virgill: O ye Perides do as these noble thynges to Gallus, to Gallus I say, whose loue doth dayly so much increase towardes me.

What is to be iudged of cursinges & bannynges.

We haue at large before handled the place of cursinges, wherefore now I will not speake much of it. The summe is: That it is not lawfull for a man, to curse any mã, for the satisfieng of his owne anger. For when our owne matters are in hand, we must loue our enemies: & we must blesse thẽ which curse vs. But when God doth sometimes certainely make manifest, that he will haue some destroyed, they which are so admonished of his will, can not but allow it, for by the spirite wherwith they are inspired, they will also the same thing ỹ God will. And after this maner Dauid & other Prophetes burst forth oftymes into cursinges of the enemies of God, which self same men for all that, as they were men, by naturall compassion which is not vicious, were not a litle sory for the destruction of the enemies of God. So Samuel, Dauid, Ieremy, yea & our sauiour himself, wept & lamented ỹ fall of vngodly me. Neither is it to be doubted, but ỹ desires of this kinde were very acceptable to God, so as much as they proceede from charity, howbeit when we see some men cruelly to rage against the godly men and Gospell of God, & with all their mẽbers do, that if it were they will may be auenged, or their strength confounded, that they shunne not accomplyshe all the things which they appoint to do. Which things if they can not be obtained, this is of the Prophetes to, ỹ God would geue vs strength & myght to suffer all such things which may aduãce his honor & glory. And we must diligẽtly weigh,

that

that this curse was therfore stirred vp agaynst the citie Meroz, bycause they denyed to helpe ỹ people of god. What thē is prepared for those, which do not onely not helpe the seruauntes of Christe, but persecute, greue, and cruelly vexe them? Farther we must marke, that it is sayd: these came not to helpe the Lord, as though God neded their ayde: and that coulde not be as touchyng hym selfe: howbeit God in hys people wanteth helpe, and in the members of Christ when they are vexed, Christ himselfe is vexed. Wherfore he will say in the last day of iudgement: I was hungry, and ye fed me, I was thirsty and ye gaue me drinke &c. Wherfore let vs hereby learne to obey whē God calleth vs as did the Israelites whiche are commended of Deborah, neither neglected they to take in hande the battayle. Let vs learne also to helpe those that are in nede, especially when they followe their vocation. Math. 25.

24 Iahell the wife of Heber the Kenite shalbe blessed aboue other women, aboue women shall she be blessed in tentes.

When she had cursed the wicked Citie, by a contrary phrase she addeth a good prayer: as the City Meroz was worthy to be cursed, so of the contrary was Iahel to be commended. Christ in the last daye of Iudgement wyll not onely saye: Come ye blessed of my Father: but on the contrary parte, he wyll adde: Go ye cursed. Here is in hys place a parte of the salutation of the aungell Mary, as it is described in Luke: Blessed art thou aboue women. Whiche clause is here twise put for the greater mouing. But in that in this repetitiō it is added, In tentes, it may be thus interpreted, For this cause let this woman be praysed, bycause she dwelleth in tentes. So that by a wonderfull, compendiousnesse of one worde, the slaying of Sisera is noted, which happened not in the campes, but was done in ỹ tente. Or els we may say that Iahell is to be praysed aboue other womē dwellyng in tentes. For the family of the Kenites dwelled not in houses but in tentes. Wherefore she is praysed aboue all the women Kenites, which are signified by this worde tentes.

25 He asked water, and she gaue him milke, she offred him butter in a cup of the mighty.

Iahel is here praysed for her prudence and strength: but the mother of these vertues is fayth. It was prudence to call the enemy vnto her, handsomely to couer hym, and to geue him milke to drynke. Also to finde out a hammer and a nayle, and to chose out his bed among the rest of the members whiche she would strike, and among the partes of the bed to smite thorough the temples. Her might and strength is hereby knowen, bycause a woman durst enterprise suche a notable acte, and feared not to assayle such and so greate a Captayne, but had a full confidence that she, notwithstandyng that she was a woman, should be able to kyll hym. Peraduenture thou wilt saye, the Scripture maketh no mencion here of fayth. I graunte that it doth not by expresse wordes: but when it is sayd she shalbe blessed or praysed, her fayth is noted. For we be al by nature the children of wrath, neither are any blessed with faythfull Abraham, but by fayth, as the Epistle to the Galathians testifieth. For what vertues Iahell is praysed.

He asked water, and she gaue him milke. That he might the easelyer and soner fall on sleepe. Why mencīō is made of butter, this (as some say) is the cause, bycause out of that milke the butter was not yet cherned. And in dede of that kind of milke a mā may drinke a great draught, for as much as beside the quenchyng of thirst it hath also a certaine sweetenesse.

She vsed the cup of noble men. Whiche namely was a very great one. For noble mē were wont to drinke out of large and wide cuppes. Cicero also agaynst Anthony sayeth. If so be that it had happened in the Supper tyme among thy greate cuppes, who woulde not count it filthy &c. Yea and they were wonte in Cicero.

bāquets of noble mē, at ꝯ latter end to bring forth great cuppes. Wherfore this
witty woman, to the end she would prouoke him to drinke a very depe drought,
Kimbi. vsed a cup apte for the same. R.D. Kimbi expoundeth these thinges, as though
she gaue him not onely drinke, but meate also. For he thinketh that when he
had dronke, the woman did set butter before him to eate. Whiche exposition if
we receaue, we must then put out this word cup whē as that is vsed for drinke,
and not for meate: vnlesse by the maner of a cup we vnderstand such a kynde of
vessell wherin meate also is wont to be put.

26 She put her hand to the nayle, and her right hand to the worke-
mās hammer: with the hammer smote she Sisera, she smote of his
head, wounded him, and persed his temple.
27 He was bowed down betwene her feete, he fell downe, he slept
betwene her feete he bowed hymselfe, and fell: and when he bowed
himselfe, there he fell downe, destroyed.

That whiche is translated, She put her hand, in the Hebrew it is put in the
plurall number, Taschlechauah, and yet the speache is but of one, namely of *Ia-
hel*, whiche semeth can not aptly be done. Wherfore some do so expound it, that
the two extreme letters of that worde are added by this figure Pleonasmos, so ꝯ
the nomber may be reduced to vnitie, that *Iahel* be sayd to put her hande to the
nayle. Other thinke that the plurall nomber, ought not to be referred vnto Ia-
hel, but vnto her strength & might, which extended her handes to these thinges.
There are some also whiche to vndoo this heard doubt, say ꝯ the handes should
be interpretated moued or put to, in the passiue voyce. For the right hand was
put to the hammer, & the left hand vnto the nayle. Lastly, ꝯ order of the wordes
whiche semeth to be troublesome, of some is thus construed: Her hande vnto the
description. nayle, namely her left hande: and her right hand to the workemans hammer, put
themselues that is, desired or gaue theselues vnto it. And this is a verye trim de-
scriptiō, wherby this thig done is manifestly set before our eyes, neither maketh
it vs onely in our mindes to see the woman, holdyng in her hand the hammer &
the nayle, but also it sheweth vnto vs one certayne part of the body whiche was
striken, namely the hed, and in the hed, the very temples, bycause they are easely
pearsed. And vndoubtedly that membre was striken of her, which beyng broken
or persed, the whole body is vtterly lest vnprofitable. Farther, there are here de-
scribed certain motions, which are proper vnto such as perish sodenly, & by a vio-
lent kynd of death. For whē he was very sore woūded, & by ouermuch payne in
a maner astonished, he bowed his body twise or thrise. For he went about to rise,
and wanting strength he fell downe agayne, and miserably lay betwene the feete
of *Iahel*. So God throweth down and putteth to shame the arrogant and proude
enemies of his people. For what thing can be thought to be more filthy, then for
such a great captayne to be spoyled of his host, to lye lurkyng, dronke, and snor-
tyng, and so to be killed of a woman?

28 The mother of Sisera looked out at a windowe, and cried thor-
ough the latteice: why is his chariot so long a commyng? why staye
they the wheeles of his chariots?
29 Her wise and noble Ladyes answered her. She also cōforted
her selfe.
30 Haue they not founde, & they deuide the spoyles: euery man hath
a mayde or two: Sisera hath a pray of diuers coloured garmētes: a
praye of sondry colours made of needle worke, of diuers colours of
needle worke on both sides, for the chief of the spoyle.

In

In the laſt part of the ſonge, to the end we might manifeſtly ſee, to how great a confuſion and ignominy the enemies of God came vnto, and from how great a hope they fell, the perſon of the mother of Siſera is brought in, and the wordes both of her, and of other noble women which wer together with her, ar ſet forth. She might haue ſayd in few wordes: The mother wayted, that her ſonne ſhould returne with glory and laden with ſpoyles, whome the wretched woman knew not to haue ſo myſerably periſhed. But if ſhe ſhoulde ſo haue ſayde, the oration would haue bene ſlender and cold. Wherefore to make it of efficacye and vehement, ꝯ talke of the women is put here. Which maner alſo was very much vſed amonge the Ethnike writers, and it is reade alſo in Eſay the. 14. chap. where is expreſſed the talke of kinges and princes which were deade, with which they receaued the king of Babilon being miſerablye deſtroyed and diſcendinge downe vnto them. Neither do the holy writers lye when they fayne ſuch thinges, forasmuch as they write not to deceaue, but to declare ꝯ thing more openly. The motherly affection, & vehement naturall loue of the parentes towards the children is here expreſſed, which for the longe abſence of their children are very muche carefull, and are many wayes afflicted. It is ſayd therefore that the mother of Siſera, whileſt he deſired to returne, beinge troubled euen herſelfe oftentimes, looked out at the windowes or thorow the lateſſes beyonde the windowes, to ſee if ſhe could ſee him returninge. And this ſhe did not without crieng and lamentation, ſuſpecting by this his long tarying that euill had happened vnto him. But the women which ſtode by had a great deale better hope, for they interpreted ꝯ tarying of Siſera in ꝯ good part. Terence in Adelphis hath notably wel writtē. It is much better, ꝯ thoſe things happē vnto vs which our wiues in our abſēce ſuſpect of vs, then thoſe thinges whiche our parentes ſuſpect. For when a man taryeth longe in a place, the wife ſayth with her ſelfe he loueth, or is loued, he is a dronkinge, his minde is pleaſed, and he is in ſo good caſe, that he forgetteth to returne home. But the parentes when their ſonnes return not in time, by and by they are afraid, leaſt they haue had ſome fal, leſt they be a cold, or haue broken ſomethinge, and till ſuch time as they returne they are wonderfull carefull. Neither do I rehearſe theſe thinges without a cauſe, becauſe the old tranſlation, writeth ꝯ that moſt wiſe princeſſe of womē which talked together wyth the mother of Siſera, was Siſeras wife. Wherfore it is no maruelle if ſhe were in better hope then his mother. But becauſe heuy thinges are not pleaſaunte, and euen by the inſtincte of nature we fly from them, therefore they which vpon ſuſpicion are he up do eaſely receaue comfort. Wherefore it is now written, that the mother of Siſera was ſo ſatiſfied with the wordes of ꝯ woman whiche comforted her, that ſhe herſelfe with the ſame wordes aunſwered her ſelfe. When ſhee was pricked wt ſorow & brauines. The ſome of the comfort was, that the victory was altogether on Siſeras ſide, but his returne was differed to diſtribute the ſpoile whiche they had taken, and forasmuch as the ſame diſtribution ought iuſtly to be done, namely to geue vnto euery one according to his eſtate, labour, and deſert, and for that in ſo greate an hoſt very many thinges are to be deuided after ſo noble a victory: it could not therfore be done in a ſhort time.

A figuratiue ſpeech is not to be accuſed as a lye.

Terence

Thys Hebrew word Racham, ſignifieth not properly a maid: but yet ſo muſt we tranſlate it, becauſe that womā being an enemy of the Iewes ſpeaketh with greate contempt of the Hebrew women, and nameth them by the ſecrete parte of the body, namely by the belly and womb. It is ſpoken by the figure Sinechdoche but very bitterly. For ſhe ſignifyeth that they were vnchaſte, and appoynted to vnhoneſt vſe. And forasmuch as the more noble rewardes are wont to be geuen vnto princes and the beſt thinges to the captaine of the whole hoſt, therefore ſhe ſayth, to euery man ſhalbe geuen a mayde or two, that is, the praye of the raſcall ſouldiours ſhalbe bondmen or bonde women he geuen. But to our Siſera ſhalbe geuen the moſt worthieſt thinges, garmentes I ſay of diuers colours and needle

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Plinius. worke. Plini in his 8. booke the. 48. chap writeth that the men in the old time vsed to dye their wolle and garmentes with such sundry and pleasaunt colours, because they would imitate the most beautifull coloures of floures and herbes. And the same writer attributeth vnto the Babilonians the inuention of diuers coloures in garmentes, and euen as garmentes of siluer which were found out in Asia vnder Attalus the king, were called Attalical, so those garmentes whiche were by the *Phrigians* wrought with the nedle, beinge set out with golde and sundry coloures and pictures, wer called Phrigionical. And for that these workmanshippes wer in the old time had in estimation, god would haue the holy tabernacle, and the high preistes garmentes wrought with nedle worke. And this is not to be passed ouer, that by the ciuile lawes it was not lawefull for euery man to weare such precious garmentes. Wherfore it is sayd now in this song, that garmentes of sundry coloures, and such as were wrought with the nedle ar attributed only to the prince. In the Code de vestibus oloberis, lege, Auratas, It is

Lawes for apparell prohibited vpon great punishmente that any other men shoulde were precious garmēts. And it is no doubt, but that in the old time there wer lawes for apparel, which at this day lye vtterly voide. These womē spake as they knew ỳ maner then vsed, for they were not ignorant of the custome in war, wherby princely garmentes wer not distributed to priuate men, but vnto captaynes and emperors. Farthermore we musse consider that the elders vsed greater discipline in

Discipline of warre amonge the elders. their camps, than at this day our men do. For when a town or city was sacked, euery man had not that which he by violence tooke: al thinges wer brought vnto the king or Emperour, and not vndoubtedly that he only should haue them, but that he should part them according to the labor, dignity, and quality of the souldiors, which manifestlye appeareth in the decrees, 23. question the. 5. chapter Dixerit aliquis. They are the wordes of Ambrose in his booke of Abraham the Patriarche. And the same thing is most playnly taught, Dist. the. 1. chap. Ius militare. This hebrew word Tsoari signifieth properly a necke or neckes in the plurall number, but in this place by translation it signifieth a captayne or prince.

31 So let al thine enemies perish, O Lord: But they that loue thee let them be as the Sunne when he riseth in his strength. And the land had rest. 40. yeares.

The thinges which are now mencioned, the holy Ghost doth therfore speake them by *Deborah*, to expresse with a great emphasis and signification, that those thinges do happen vnto the vngodly which they be afeard of: & the things which they hope happen cleane contrarye. Therfore the songe is nowe concluded with an elegant exclamacion, and consisteth of thinges contrary: So let all thine enemies perish O Lord, as *Sisera* hath fallen. This her Apostrophe or turning to God stirreth vs vp, that we shuld with a singular affectiō embrace God ỳ author of so great & notable acts. *Deborah* also in this speaking, declareth, that she setteth not forth her own cause, for she sayth not, let my enemyes perish, but thine. But they that loue thee, let them continually encrease in al kind of good things, as the sunne increaseth from his rising, vntil it be none wherin he is most strong ether from the spring time to the highest of sommer. She addeth not, Let them that loue him be saued as the Antithesis or cōtrary position required. For these two are contraries, namely to be saued, and to perish. But let them be encreased, saith she, & strengthened, as the sunne increaseth from his rising vnto his strength. By thys conclusion the vse of example is taught vnder the forme of a prayer. Sisera is ouerthrowne, but the people of Israel is encreased with a notable victory: so therfore shall it come to passe and happē vnto vs. We shalbe deliuered if we be godly, & they which do persecute vs for Christs cause, shal perish. Wherfore it is profitable, by exāples to gather out rules of the gouernmēt of God, which rules ỳ knute let vs apply vnto our own thinges. This perfourmed Dauid, as touching

thing this selfe same history, in his psalme, where he sayth do vnto them, as vnto Middian, as vnto Sisera, & Iabin at ỳ riuer Kyson. Wherfore ỳ some of this history is to set before vs ỳ severity of god toward his enemies, & again his clemency towards the godly. And therfore it behoueth ỳ the severity of his iudgements breath in vs a fear, and that by fayth we take hold of his goodnes and clemency.

The syxt Chapter.

1 AND the children of Israell did evill in the syghte of the Lorde: and the Lorde delivered them into the hands of Middian seuen yeres.

2 Wherfore the hand of Middian prevailed against Israel, frō the face of Middiā the children of Israel made them dennes in the mountaines, and caues, and stronge holdes.

3 For when Israell had sowen, Middian came vp, and Amaleke, and the sonnes of Kedem came vp agaynst them.

4 And camped against them, and destroyed the fruite of the earth, euen till thou come to Haza: neyther lefte they anye foode in Israell, neither cattell, nor oxen, nor asses.

5 For they went vp and theyr cattell and came with theyr tents as grashoppers in multitude: so that they and theyr camels wer without number, they came I say into the land to destroy it.

Deborah and Barac were deade: by the authority of whiche princes the people of the Hebrewes were kepte in their dutye and religion. But after theyr death, they fell agayne vnto sinnes, and especially vnto idolatry. But yet they are not counted to haue turned so heynously from God, as they did before: for it is not written: And they added to do evill. Farther their punishment was not so long, for they serued the Madianites onely seuen yeares. Moreouer it is not sayde, that God sold them, as he did before, but that he delivered them. I confesse that these conjectures are but small: but yet not so small, that they shoulde seeme vtterly to be despised. Two thinges are principally entreated of in this history, the affliction of the Hebrewes, and theyr delivery by Gidion. But because eche of these partes haue their causes, therfore we must also entreate of them. For euen as affliction springeth of sinne, and delivery beginneth of repentance: so was it mete, that first it should be declared that the Israelites had sinned, before mention be made that they were delivered vnto the *Madianites*, and theyr repentaunce must first be shewed, before their setting at libertye be spokē of, wherfore these things shal in suche order be spoken of, and shalbe noted in theyr places.

The principall pointes of thys history.

The order of thinges to be spoken of.

First of all it is written, that Israell sinned, to the end we might vnderstande that they were iustly punished. The kind of theyr synne (as we shall afterwarde see) was idolatry. And the punishment which followed was their delivery vnto the *Madianites* to be vexed of them. And what these Madianites were, I thinke it good in few wordes to declare. Madian (if we may credite Ierome) was a citye so called of a certaine sonne of Araham whome he begat of his last wife Ketura. It lieth beyond Arabia toward the South, in the desert of the Seracens, not far from the Sea called Erithream. And these people were called *Madianites*, and peradventure by an other name more in vse with the Ethnikes, namely *Maudrenites*. From thence Moses hadde his wife and of them also came the Kenites, whiche went together with Moses into the land of Chanaan. And lastly from thēce those black men ar thought to haue theyr offspring, which in our times wander euery wher, and of some are called Egiptians: they dwell in tentes: and beinge very the-

What the Madianites were. *Ierome*

wiſhe men, they liue all alwayes of other mens goods.
But what theſe Madianites were, it ſkilleth not much to know, let this conte̅ vs, in that by the hiſtory it is declared, that the people of God wer by them verye grieuously afflicted. And the Iſraelites to auoyd the miſeries made them Caues ſo? ſo doth this Hebreiue woorde Manaharoth ſignifie. And dennes. It is in Hebrew written Mearoth. But what difference there is betwen theſe two woords, as muche as I can gather by the Hebrewes, I wyll declare. Thoſe fyrſte places were in bankes of hilles, and were ſo called bicauſe from the vpper partes, they had certayne chinckes and holes, which were like windowes, ſo that throughe them they had light ſufficient within. And the ſame places were very handſome ſo? men to dwel in them. R. Leui ſayth, that through thoſe holes o? clifts, which were like windowes, ſpies, when they ſaw the Madianites comminge, did vſe either by kindling of fiers, o? by ſome other token, to geue knowledge vnto the Hebrewes, wherby they might gather their ſtuffe, fruites & cattels into the dennes & leade them away from the enemies which wer comming by. Fo? dennes wer not in mountaynes, but places vnder the earth in the fields being dark & wout light, wherein men did not dwel, but they might after a ſo?te hide their things and goods. But caues in latin are called Specus, a ſpeciendo, which is to behold and to looke vpon, bycauſe out of them as out of highe places they whyche were there, vſed to looke through. They made alſo fenced places as bul warckes and caſtels, which might be openly ſene, but that they could not be conquerred. And not only the *Madianites* inuaded the Iewes, but with them were the Amalekites and alſo the childzen of the eaſt, whome Ioſephus calleth Arabians. They ſuffred the Iſraelits to be in peace and quier, ſo long as they tilled and ſowed the earth, but when the fruites were ripe, they inuaded them, and deſtroyed and waſted their fyeldes. And the Iſraelites do aptly ſet fo?th the nature of ſinners, whiche when they put little confidence in god, & haue almoſt fo?gotte̅ him, then they fly vnto mans inuentions, helpes and munitions: which yet ſuffyce and wo?theye ſtande them in no ſteade: fo? ſtrayght way it is ſayd.

What differēce is betwene a caue and a den.

Ioſephus

6 Wherfo?e Iſraell was exceedingly impouerished by the Madianites, and the childzen of Iſraell cried vnto the Lo?d.

Neyther caues, no? dennes, no? ſtrong fenced caſtels could helpe the miſerable Iſraelites. Fo? ſinners muſt not onely take heede of outwarde enemies, but they muſt chiefly fye from the anger of God, from whiche vndoubtedly no man can auoyd by caues, dennes o? munitiõs. And as long as that endureth, theſe humaine helps do not defend frõ outward enemies. And if any man wil not beleue this, let him call to memo?ye the breadth of the walles of Ecbatanis, which as it is written in ỹ boke of Iudith the .v. chapter) was thyrty foote broad, and ſeuenty foote bygh, and had in it an hundzed Towers, and yet all thoſe thinges could not withſtand thoſe which beſieged it. And of Babilon alſo it is written, that the walles of it was an hundzed foote in bigth, and eighty fote in breadth, and it is ſayd to haue bene ſo large that it might haue bene a prouince rather then a city, and yet it was conquered and vtterlye ouerthrowen. Suche thinges men goe about when they withdraw themſelues from God, theſe their bo?nes are erected againſt God. Theſe thinges do leade vnto deſperation the afflicted, which thynk not vpon God, as though tirannes by whome they are oppreſſed could neuer be plucked out of ſo ſtrong and wel fenced places. But in Abacuk the prophet ſuch madde building are wonderfully laughed to ſcorne of the ſpirite of God, and Abdia in the name of God threatneth the childzen of Eſau, that they? neſt ſhould be throwne downe to the ground, howe ſoeuer it ſeemed vnto them that they had ſet it in heauen.

Of munitions and caſtels.

Ecbatanis.

Babilon

But

But what more notable example nede we to seeke for, then that tower, whiche men straight after the flood, began to builde, as though they would defend them selues against God, if he againe should go about to destroy the world wyth waters, but the Lord from heauen laughed to scorne their made furiousnes, as it is amply set forth in the booke of Genesis. God wanteth no excellent politike deuises: for first, from such, which so much trust to munitions, when they thynche they shall stand them in most steede, he vseth to take awaye the courages of the bold, and al promptnes, & so to strike them with madnes, that he vtterly maketh them voyde of wisedome. Wherfore he debilitateth their harts, & their strength faileth them. Yea, and they seme to be made afeard and verye sore abashed, euen of the very stones, beames and walles of their Castels. I could here easely shew thinges, whyche haue in our age happened, but that I must haue respecte to bee briefe. Reade the .2. chapter of Barucke.

What then? Are not Cities or Castels to be fenced? I deny not but that that may be done, but I would haue Princes which do in such sorte builde, first to be acertained of this, that no thinges created can defend or succor men, vnles with them be ioyned that power of God, whereby with his becke hee ruleth and gouerneth the world: and when hee withdraweth that, whatsoeuer men go about or enterprise, it vtterly happeneth contrarily. And euen as out of breade, wyne, or other meates we ought not to looke for nourishment, if God do drawe backe vnto himselfe that his power and operation, which hee daylye lendeth to those thinges: so also without it, ther is no defence to be had out of munitions, walles, being otherwise neuer so strong, and Castels very well fenced. Wherefore before we begyn munitions, we must put our confidence in God, and we must lay the most profitable foundation of holy prayers: and pray vnto God, to keepe vs chiefly in true and sincere godlynes, to cal vs backe from synnes, and daylye to geue vnto vs a perfect repentance. Lastly, we must desire, that when a iust and holy man shal haue neede to haue the vse of such munitions, hee would vouchsafe to bestow vpon them that his most mighty and healthfull power. Which selfe same cogitations and prayers we must vse both in meate, drinke, apparel, or any other thing, when we begin to receaue them. Whither it be lawful to fence cities & castels.

And the children of *Israel* cryed. Now shalbe declared the deliuerye of the Israelites, but firste is set forth their repentance and inuocation. Nowe at the length the Hebrues flie vnto the sure rockes, vnto the safe dennes, and vnto the true Castels. For the rocke or castle best fenced, (as we reade in the Prouerbes) is the name of the Lord. In that rocke Dauid escaped al aduersities.

7 And when the children of Israel cryed vnto the Lorde, because of Midian.

8 The Lord sent vnto the children of Israel a Prophet, who sayd vnto them: Thus saith the Lord god of Israel, I haue brought you out of Egipt, I haue brought you (I say) out of the house of bōdage.

9 And I haue deliuered you out of the handes of the Egiptians, & out of the hand of al that oppressed you, and haue cast them oute before you, and geuen you their land.

The maner whereby the Israelites wer stirred vp to cal vpon God, is in this place set forth. They were turned vnto God by the impulsion of faythe, whyche was stirred vp by the preaching of the woord of God: for he had sent vnto them a man which was a Prophet, not legions of Angels, not a multitude of souldiours, not armour, neither warlike engins. He directed vnto them a Preacher & Minister of the woord of God. And this ought not to seme absurd, if this verbe Vaiischlah be interpretated in the signification of the preterplaperfect tense, for as much as it is a thing very much vsed in the holy scriptures. And yet I denye

not

not, that this place may be vnderstand an other way: namely that the Israelites in dede cried first, but yet with a certaine violence stirred vp by troubles and miseries, which violence by it self, could not be allowed of God, nether had it obtained any thing at his handes, except it had bene adorned with a true faith & perfect repentaunce: for the bringing to passe wherof, God not forgetting his mercy, sent them a Prophet or Preacher meete thereunto. Howbeit the first sense, which cõsisteth al the preterpluperfectanes, pleaseth me very wel: although I deny not but that both waies may be admitted. Farther, some thinke that these thinges ar to be vnderstand by Synechdoche, so that it is ment that not one prophet, but very many prophetes were sent of God. But I iudge that it is written of some one certaine prophet, which was of great authority among the Hebrues. And I am not ignorant that some thinke this prophet to haue ben an Angel: which I allow not, forasmuch as he is called both a man and a prophet. And I finde in no place of the holy scriptures ỹ Angls wer called prophets: although on the contrary we rede in them sometimes that a prophet was called an Aungel, as it most manifestly appeareth of Malachi. But let vs marke this rather, that oppressions and aduersities, which often times happen, do geue good occasion of profitable sermons: for as much as the hearers by such veration ar made much more attentiue. The Hebrues thinke that this Prophet was Phineas, of whom also they saye that it is written in the first booke of Paralip. the. ix. chap. that he liued in the time of Dauid, when as for all that the same place may otherwise bee expounded. But who hee was, it maketh no great matter. We must rather marke the argument of the sermon, whiche is in fewe woordes touched. First, the benefites of God are rehearsed: their deliuery I say out of Egipt, whereby they were delinered from seruitude most grieuous: his defence against those which went about to oppresse them: and lastly, the possession of the land of Chanaan. God had now faithfully performed al these thinges, as hee had promysed vnto their fathers. Whereby it manifestly appeareth that the couenaunt made with the fathers, was on his part kept vnuiolated. Let vs note in these woordes, that God at that time was by this title praised, namely bicause he had deliuered his people out of Egipt: for his nature otherwise is most farre remoued from the mindes of men, neither can it any other way be known, but by the effects. But of this thing I haue inough spoken, as much as semed sufficient. Wherefore it is manifest that the Preacher which was sent from God, doth beate into the Hebrues the benefite which they had receaued, namelye both to stirre vp in the Israelites the knowledge of the true God, and also to shewe forth his truth endued with constancy.

Affliction make open the waye vnto profitable sermons.

10 And I sayd vnto you: I the lord your God. Fear not the gods of ỹ Amorites, in whose lãd ye dwel, but ye haue not obeied my voyce.

Now is added what God againe required of the Hebrues, namelye that hee shoulde be their God, and that they shoulde not feare the gods of the Amorites, or not worship them. For in this woorde feare is verye often comprehended all maner of worshipping and religion. For what should they worship straunge gods, when they were the peculiar people of the true God, by whom they were deliuered from the house of bondage, that is, out of a prison or dungeon most hard, and afterward in their iourney they were deliuered both from the Amalekites, & also from the Moabites, & from Sihon and Og the kinges. Wherfore forasmuch as they had receaued these benefites of their God, it was neither lawful nor meete that they should worship straunge gods.

Two principal synnes of the Israelites.

Ye haue not obeyed my voyce. Two most grieuous crimes of the people are reprooued, wherof the latter dependeth of the first. First they beleued not his word, & then they obeyed it not. Vndoubtedly they which beleue not the thynges that God setteth forth, do not also obey his cõmaundementes. And contrarywise, they which do truly beleue, do willingly and without compulsion obserue

his

his commaundements. Although the wicked actes of the Hebrues were sundry and manifolde, yet onely one is reproued, namely Idolatrye, because in it almost al the other sinnes are comprehended. For if we commit synne there, wher God is called vpon, and if we sinne in that thing wherein we seeke to be reconciled vnto god, what goodnes can ther be in any other of our actions? If thise things be corrupted in vs, which are taken for holy thinges, what maye be iudged of other workes which are counted prophane? Wherefore forasmuche as in these thinges the Hebrues grieuously fel, we must vnderstand that they also sinned in all other thinges.

11 And the Angell of the Lorde came, and abode vnder the Oke, which was in Ophra, that pertayned vnto Ioas the Abiezerit: and his sonne Gideon threshed wheat to prepare his flight frō Midian.

When by faith the sinnes of the Israelites were forgeuen, and that they had called vpon God and repented, their deliuery is set forth, wherby they were deliuered from the outward bondage of the Madianites. Which without doubt God would haue done by Gideon the Iudge, for the which cause hee raised hym vp to deliuer ỹ Iewes. And this brought he not to passe, til such time as things were almost come to vtter desperation: al humane helpes wer taken away, and the Israelites trusted onely to flight. Wherfore Gideon is not called, but when he gathered some wheate to hide, least the Madianites shoulde violentlye take it away. And that is ment by this Hebrue woord Lehanim, that is (if thou turne it woord for woord) to prepare his flight. For he would hide that wheate from the Madianites, were it neuer so litle, that with it he might some what sustaine both himselfe and his houshold. He which appeared vnto him, was in very deede an Angel, as it shall afterwarde by manifest tokens and argumentes bee declared. He came to Ophra, but to that Ophra which pertayned vnto Ioas the Abiezerite, which is three score miles, because there was also an other Ophra in the Tribe of Beniamin, wherof is mencion made in the booke of Iosua. And ỹ doubt not but ỹ the Angel came vnto Gideon in the shape of a man, for he abode vnder the Oke: and (as we shal heare) he spake vnto hym. Ioas the father of Gideon was of the family of Abiezer, which in the booke of Numb. and in Paralip. is reckoned among those that were of the Tribe of Manasses.

Gideon was of ỹ tribe of Manasses.

And Gideon at that tyme threshed corne in the wyne presse. The Hebrues haue two woordes, Dasa, which signifieth to threshe, but yet then when we occupy to threshing beastes. The other woorde is Chabat, which is also to threshe, but yet with flayles and without beastes. Wherfore it is noted that Gideon vsed this latter kinde of threshing, that he might the better hide that which he had: and therfore it was in a wyne presse, where forasmuche as wyne was wont to be pressed, no man did easily suspect that any wheate was there threshed. Let vs marke in this place, that the excellent men in the olde time, when they had gotten any treasure, either from holy seruices, or from ciuil rulings, they spent it at that leasure, either about husbandrye, or about the arte of shauing beardes. For they would not consume their liues with pleasures, sumptuousnes, gloting, or drunkennes. And this we not onely learne in Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Gideon, and other holy fathers, but also it manifestly appeareth by the histories of the Romanes. For there we reade that Curius and Serranus and such like, were elected for the chiefest Magistrates, when in the fieldes they were at plough, and tylled the grounde. And the earth also at that tyme (as Plini saith) brought foorth her fruites more plentiful and aboundant, when it was handled with the handes of Emperors most noble. Not withstandinge, because the earth was enioyed with any feare, but because wise men, as they did wisely to gouern weighty affaires, so also for husbandrye, when they were occupied about it, they exercised it with

Two maners of threshing.

farre greater diligence then did the rude men. Our Gideon without doubt had seruauntes, whom he might haue commaunded to haue wrought what woorke so euer was to be done, yea and his father (as we shall afterwarde heare) was a man of power among the people. And for all that he was suche a one, yet he despiseth not rusticall woorkes.

12 Then the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto him, and sayd vnto him: The Lord is with thee, thou valiant man.

A salutacion vsed of the godly

Here is expressed a moste auncient maner of salutacion, wherein they sayde: The Lord is with thee. We reade in the booke of Ruth, that Boaz vsed it, when he came vnto his harnest men. The Angell also in this manner saluted the blessed Virgin. Yea, and the Church of Christ by the Minister saluteth the people in the holy seruices, and saith: The Lord be with you. The angel called Gideon a strong man, not by that strength (as it is thought) wherewith he was before endued, but by the strength which should afterward be geuen him, for the accomplishing of thinges. Although it might easily be, that Gideon was a man skylfull in feates of warre. But the first interpretatiō agreeth better. Howbeit Augustine in his questions vpon this place, thus readeth this particle, as though God hym selfe should be called a strong and warlike man, as if he should haue saide: That God which is mighty & warlike, is with thee, or be with thee. Neither ought it much to moue vs, because this woord Man is added, forasmuche as it is after the same maner writtē in the song of Exodus. For God may so be called by a Metaphore. But the first exposition is more receaued, and seemeth more simple.

Augustine.

13 To whom Gideon answered: O my Lorde I praye thee, is the Lord with vs? why then is al this come vpon vs: and where be all his miracles which our fathers told vs of, and sayde: Dyd not the Lord bring vs out of Egipt? But now the Lorde hath forsaken vs, and hath deliuered vs into the hand of the Madianites.

The hebrue woord Bi signifieth in me: and is spoken by the figure Eclipsis, as though it should haue bene, looke lowingly vpon me. And therfore they turne it, I praie thee: which is a particle of one that exhorteth. The nexte woord is Adonai, by which name Gideon called him which appeared vnto him, not by a religious or deuine title, but by a common title, which is applyed also to prophane men. For he vnderstood not that he was an Angel: he thought he was some Prophet or holy man. Gideon perswadeth himself that God was not with him, when the Israelites were afflicted with so great miseries. For he vnderstandeth the saying of the Angel, as though he had said that God was not onely with hym, but also with all the Hebrues. And it is no doubt, but that the nature of man thinketh that God is not with those which are afflicted. The saintes after this maner seemed to expostulate with God. Wherfore in the Psalmes it is written: Arise O God, why turnest thou thy face away from vs? why hast thou forgotten me and such like. This is a grieuous kinde of temptacion, wherunto if a man geue place, and be therwith ouercome, he grieuously sinneth. For he transgresseth the first precept: I am the Lord thy God. But, beinge farre that sentence is from the truth, this hitherto declareth. For when Gideon thought that God was absent from him, then was he present and talked with him.

God is not supposed to bee with those whō the are afflicted

Where be al his miracles? These woordes may be vnderstande two wayes. The first way is, as though Gideon would reason by contraries, saying: When God was with our fathers, he did marueilous thinges for their health: but now hath he deliuered vs vnto the Madianites, neither deliuereth he vs by his excellent power: therefore he is not with vs. The other interpretation is, as if by a certain godly expostulation he should say: Wher doth God now restrain these his

marueilous

marueilous wooꝛkes: Why ſuffreth he the benefites which he ſo plentifully beſtowed on our fathers, ſo much now to want? Undoubtedly whileſt we ar thus foꝛſaken, al theſe thinges, as it ſemeth, are fruſtrate of their end. Theſe thinges manyfeſtly declare, what is the temptation of godly men in aduerſities & troubles: Foꝛ the deuil, the fleſh, and the woꝛld go about to perſuade them, that they are nowe foꝛſaken of God, and that they in vayne put their confidence in hym. Which kinde of temptation alſo was moued vnto Chꝛiſt, when vpon the croſſe he cryed: O my God, my God, why haſt thou foꝛſakē me? Foꝛ none (as I think) would beleue that the ſame had happened vnto Chꝛiſt, vnleſſe the Euangeliſts had wꝛitten, that he being vpon the croſſe vſed ſuch woꝛdes. And this temptacion would be therefoꝛe ſuffer, to the end that (as it is wꝛytten in the ſeconde to the Hebꝛues) he myghte be lyke vnto vs in all thynges wythout ſynne. Wherefoꝛe Eſay teſtifieth: Hee hath in deede boꝛne our infirmities, and caryed our ſoꝛꝛowes.

What temptation is counted grieuous to the godly.

14 And the Lord looked vpon hym, & ſaid: Go in this thy ſtrength, and thou ſhalt ſaue Iſrael out of the lande of Madian. Haue not I ſent thee?

The Angel looked vpon Gideon, when he had ſpoken theſe woꝛdes: Foꝛ peraduenture whileſt he ſpake them, he looked not vpon him: but then he beheld him, when he ſent him to delyuer the Iſraelites. But in that he ſayth In thys ſtrength, it is expounded two maner of waies. The Hebꝛues ſaye, that by the ſight of the Angel he was fylled with ſtrength, and therefoꝛe it is ſayde: go thou in this ſtrength, which I haue nowe geuen thee, and thou ſhalt deliuer Iſrael frō the Madianites. Neither is it anye ſtraunge thing, that God doth chaunge thoſe whom he choſeth to any function, and endueth them with ſundꝛy gyftes. Foꝛ we rede that it ſo happened vnto Dauid and Saul, when they were called to bee kynges. And it is expꝛeſſedlye wꝛytten in this booke that Iephthe and Samſon were adoꝛned with the ſpirite of ſtrength. That ſtrength alſo may here bee noted, which God vſed in helping the fathers, when foꝛ them he wꝛought myꝛaculous thinges in the tyme of Moſes and Ioſua. Gideon had demaunded where thoſe marueilous wooꝛkes were now become, and therfoꝛe the Angel anſwered him: Go in that ſtrength, whereby thoſe thinges in tymes paſt were wꝛought, and by it deliuer Iſrael. By which woꝛdes the Angel declareth, that hee ſhoulde not by his own ſtrength bꝛing to paſſe the thinges which he had commaunded him, but by that power of God, which was geuen the fathers in the olde tyme. And this ought not to ſeme marueilous, that the Angel is called the Lord. Foꝛ that is foꝛ this cauſe done, either bicauſe he did it & ſpake it in the name of God, oꝛ els bicauſe he was in verye deede the ſonne of God, which ſo appeared. The calling of the Iudges is therfoꝛe ſo diligently deſcribed, that wee might vnderſtand that pꝛiuate men are not able to attempt matters and affaires of ſo great waight, vnleſſe a certaine authoꝛity had bene geuen them of God. Foꝛ to gather an hoſte, and to take weapons againſt thoſe whyche haue the chiefe rule of thinges, vnto ſuche as are weake and deſtitute of al ayde, it is altogether daungerous. Wherfoꝛe ther is required an aſſurednes and vndoubted calling, which cannot be had, vnleſſe fayth go befoꝛe, whiche conſiſteth of the woꝛde of God, when it is rightly vnderſtoode. The Aungell vſeth an intoꝛrogation when hee ſayth: Haue not I ſent thee? Bycauſe this maner of ſpeaking is verye apt to augment a commaundement.

The Angel ſetteth himſelf the Lord.

15 And he ſayd vnto him: O my Lord, wherby ſhal I ſaue Iſrael? Behold my tamilye is the pooꝛeſt in Manaſſes, and I am the leaſt in the houſe of my father.

God sayd not that he would deliuer Israel, but he declared that it shoulde be done by Gideon, who therefore marueileth, forasmuche as he saw that he wanted all such thinges as were requisite to so great a woorke. For warre coulde not be made by a poore man, and one of the base sorte, suche a one as Gideon perceaued himselfe to be: when as to the accomplishing therof wer required power, ryches, and especially authority. Wherfore Aristotle to ciuil felicitye, hath ioyned outward goodes, and that namely for this, bicause they are necessary instrumentes of actes most noble.

Why God appointed tribunes, Centurions and Captaines ouer ten.

Of hys Myllenary or thousand, he therfore maketh mention, bycause God in the publike wealth of the Iewes (as we rede in Exodus) instituted thys maner, namely ỹ by tribunes or thousands, & hundreds the people should be gouerned: For it could not easily be, that by a few Magistrates, an infinite number of people should be numbred, and so gouerned, that their maners, liuing and ordinaũces might diligently be looked vpon, whych one thing chiefely pertaineth to gouerne well & rightly. For when euery man is permitted vnto him selfe in these thinges, he both abuseth his liberty, and also easily transgresseth the lawes, bycause he is not noted. Wherefore God in hys people woulde for that cause haue rulers ouer ten, and ouer hundredes, and also ouer thousandes, least that publike wealth (if the people were necligently looked vnto) shoulde fal to ruine, and ware woorse and woorse. That band of a thousand, wherof Gideon was one, he declareth to be the poorest among all those of the tribe of Manasses. Farther, he saith that he was the least in his fathers house or family, and therfore he saw not, by what meanes he could set at liberty the Hebrues. Some say that Ioas the father of Gideon was at that time a tribune or ruler ouer a thousand men, & that his sonne ment him, when he said ỹ his family was the poorest among the tribe of Manasses. This sentence I disalow not, forasmuch as afterward it shall easily appeare ỹ Ioas was of some authority amõg his people. But whither this word Alpi, signify him or no, I wil not rashly affirme, forasmuch as the first exposition, is both apt and also wel agreeth with the woordes of the history.

Whyther Gideon synned in gainsaying the Angel.

Many holy men seme to haue resisted the promises and callyng of God.

This must we rather note, wither Gideon in obiecting these things sinned or no. Vnoubtedly if we looke vpon the holy scriptures, we shal finde very many other, which sayd that their infirmity striued against the vocation and promises of God. Abraham sayd he was an. 100. yeare old, and therfore he desired that Ismael might rather liue before the Lord, than that he should waite for a sonne of Sara which was both old and barren. Yea, and she also when she heard that a childe was promised her, she could not keepe herself from laughing, bycause she alredy felt her selfe vnapt by nature to beare a childe. Moses also, that he might not be sent vnto Pharao, alledged the impediment of his tong for a let. Farthermore Ieremy sayd: Ah Lord, I am a childe, and I cannot speake. The blessed virgin also sayd vnto the Aungel: How can this be done? forasmuch as I knowe no man. There might peraduenture also be mencion made of others, but these are now sufficient. And I doubt not but that some of these whom I haue touched, fell in speaking these woordes. For God was angrye with Moses, when hee so obstinately excused the office which he had committed vnto him. Saras laughter also was reproued. But I know that the other were praysed for their faith: for Abraham, bycause he beleued the promyse, was iustified, and Elizabeth sayd vnto Mary: Blessed art thou which beleuedst: for the thinges which the Lorde hath sayd vnto thee, shal be performed. The difference betweene these is hereby to be taken, bycause some did in suche sorte aske an excuse, for that they beleued not the woord of God, neither could they be perswaded to agree vnto God whyche sent them, or made promise to them. Wherfore forasmuche as they synned, God was not without a iust cause both angrye with Moses, and also reproued Sara. But there were other some of them, which beleued the woorde of God, and yet for all that they put foorth certayne questions, not in deede to resist, but to declare

What is the difference betweene those whyche seeme to resist God.

clare what thinges seemed to be a let vnto they? calling, or to the thynges commaunded them, and in demaunding these thynges, they desired nothing els, than that they might be instructed of the way & maner, which they ought to vse, and they required to be confirmed, least those thinges which seemed to be a let, might plucke them backe, either for waiting for the promises, or els from fulfilling the thinges cõmaunded them. Howbeit these men can not be seperated one from an other, by the woordes which they spake, when as almost they spake all one thing. But by the purpose and thought of the hart they are seperated: for if they spake and excused those thynges of incredulitye, they ought not to bee counted without blame: but if they beleued, and desired onelye to bee confyrmed and instructed, we ought not to diffame them as guilty of incredulity. But who shal discerne these thinges in them? Surely God which knoweth the harts and conscience of euery one of them. And we know that the fayth of Gideon is commended in the .xi. to the Hebrues. But whither that were straight waye geuen him, when he heard the woord of God, or whether it came vnto him after some tarying and wrastling with humane reason, we are ignorant.

The same woordes are allowed in one, that are disallowed in an other.

16 Then the Lord sayd vnto him: Bicause I wil be with thee, and thou shalt smite Madian as it were one man.

Cease of (saith he) these humane reasons, and haue no regarde to strength, riches, and authority: if these thinges should ciuilly be done, thou mightest iustlye require them. But now thou shalt vse my power and might. Thou shalt saue Israel, not by thine own might, but bycause I wyl be with thee. So God answered vnto Moses when he detracted his message. So was it also said of Iosua, I wil be with him. After that maner was Ieremy answered, when he cryed that he was a childe, and could not wel speake. I wil be with thee (saith the Lorde) thou shalt accomplish al these thinges to whatsoeuer I wil send thee. Gideon therefore is instructed of the way or maner of the victorye, namelye, that God would haue the handling and charge of it: and that chiefly by these woordes: Thou shalt destroy the Madianites as it were one man. For vnto God it is as easy to ouerthrowe an infinite number, as one man. And the same thing as touching the marueylous murther of the Madianites, then vndoubtedly tooke effect, when they smote one an other with their own swordes, and by the impulsion of God they wounded one the other.

17 The he answered him: I pray thee, if I haue found fauour in thy sight, then shew me a sygne, that it is thou that talkest with me.
18 Depart not hence I pray thee, vntil I come vnto thee and bring my sacrifice and laye it before thee. And he answered, I wyll tarye tyll thou come agayne.

He therefore desireth a signe, least he should thinke him selfe to be illuded by a ghost or spirit. For he was not content with words, but he would haue an assured signe of the talke nowe had. But this sentence: That it is thou that talkest wyth me, semeth to be spoken by the figure Eclipsis, so that we must vnderstand, in the name of God, least peraduenture I might thinke, that the woordes which thou speakest, are the woordes of a man, and not count them for the Oracle of God. These thinges were not done when he was a sleepe (as it appeareth by the history) but when he was waking, although God, as we shal afterward heare, appeared also by night vnto Gideon. He requireth a signe, bicause it is the parte of a godly man to trye spirites, and not rashlye to beleue euery spirite, especially when any newe and vnaccustomed woorke is commaunded: and that, whych otherwyse is not thought to bee lawfull, there no man wyll easilye assent, except he be fullye perswaded that hys callyng is of God. But when doctrine now

This diuine happened to Gideon being waking, & not sleeping.

receaued, and confirmed by holye scriptures is set foorth, or woorkes required, which in them are commaunded, we muſt beware that we require not signes, for asmuch as we are bound to beleue and obey them. But of this thing we wil more largely intreate afterward.

19 Then Gideon went in, & made redy a kid, & vnleauened breade of an Ephah of floure, & put the flesh in a basket, & put the broth in a pot, and brought it out vnto hym vnder the Oke, and presented it.

This place may be enterpreted two maner of waies. One way it is thought that Gideon would haue made redy a dinner for the man of God: for such a one did he take him to be. Therfore for honours sake he desired to refresh him wyth meate in his iourney, & to talk with him at leasure for the shewing of the signe. And he thought not that God or an Angel was present with him. Wherfore he thought to folow the example of Abraham & Lot. And in dede the things which he presented, partained rather to a dinner, thã to a sacrifice. He erected no alter, neither prepared he the fat to be burnt, nor the shoulder and the brest to be lifted vp, nor the blood to be shed. The other interpretation is, that he would therfore bring him a sacrifice, that in that oblation he might obtayne a signe, as to Abel the fauour of God was declared when he was offring sacrifice. And the authors of this sentence beleue that this doth nothing let that Gideon sod the flesh, forasmuch as that kind of sething was sometimes vsed in peace offrings, as the first booke of Samuel testifieth. Of the interpretours of this place this latter sentence seemeth to be receiued: for they iudge ỹ Gideon intended to offer sacrifices: But I rather allow the first sentẽce as touching the feast, although I know that the Angell contrary to Gideons purpose vsed that meate to a sacrifice, and in it gaue the signe, which a little before was desired of him. This hebrew word Mitsoth signifieth vnleauened cakes. But the roote of the word may be Natsa, whiche is to hast, or to make speede. For the Elders were carefull to prepare meate for straungers with as much speede as might be. Wherfore they straightway baked new bread, bicause peraduenture their houshold bread was somewhat hard and stale. Therfore, to ỹ end they might the sooner refresh ỹ weary, they vsed swete cakes, which were very soone baked. This measure Ephah was not a measure for liquide thinges, but for thinges dry, and (as the Hebrues affirme) it held three peckes, and a pecke contained. 144. egges. And ten Ephas made one Corus. Certaine Rabbines fable that there is therfore mencion made of sweete breade, bycause this thing was done in the time of Easter. But how trifling this is, hereby we may gather, bicause it is wel knowen that swete bread were by the commaundement of God vsed, not onelye for sacrifices at Easter, but also at other times, especially such as wer to be burnt at the altar of the Lord. But if we shal say that Gideon prepared not a sacrifice, but rather a feast, we haue alredy shewed the reason, why he brought swete bread. Gideon is vtterly to be quitted of ydolatry. For his wil was not to do sacrifice vnto the Aungel of God: bicause his purpose was eyther to set meate before the mã of God, or els to sacrifice vnto the lyuing God, by the hand of the Prophet, whom hee counted to bee farre better than himselfe.

Flesh in sacrifices was sometimes sod.

Why the Elders vsed so often swete cakes in their feastes.

The measure of an Ephah.

20 And the angel of God said vnto him: take the flesh & the vnleauened bread, & lay it vpon this stone, & poure out the broth: & he did so.

21 Then the Angel of the Lord put forth the ende of the staffe, that he held in his hand, and touched the flesh & the vnleauened bread, & there arose vp fire out of the stone, & consumed the flesh & the vnleauened bread: so the Angel of the Lorde departed out of hys syght.

They which thinke ỹ Phinias the sonne of Eleazar was this mã of god, which

appea-

appeared vnto Gideon, affirme ꝑ the same man was also afterward called Elias. And euen as when Achab reigned in Israel, he obtained fire from heauē, whereby the burntoffring was consumed, whereupon he had poured water and that aboundantly & very many times: so likewise now out of the rocke, by the power of god he raised vp a flame, whereby ꝑ meate which was put vpon it was burnt, whereupon he had before caused the broth of the fleshy to be poured. I confesse indede that ther is some similitude betwene these two actes, but therwithal I see many thinges to be causes, whereby the one differeth from the other. Farther, I vtterly reiect this fained tale, wherin they faine that Pinhas was present eyther there or here. Wher, by reason of the great distance of times: & here, because (as I haue expounded, & the wordes of the history do manifestly testify) it was eyther god himself or an angel, which talked with Gideon. Augustine in his booke De mirabilibus sanctæ scripturæ, teacheth that the signe, which is here geuen, doth aptly agree vnto that which was demaūded. For it was shewed, that by the wōderful power of god, without mans labour and sight, the enemies of the people of the Iewes should be ouercome, euen as by the might of god aboue the ability of nature fire came forth, wherwith without mans healpe or industry those hostes were consumed. But Ambrose very elegantly writteth the Allegorye of this place, in the Prohemie of his booke de spiritu sancto, which I to auoyd tediousnes do ouerpasse. This one thing onely I will admonish you of, ꝑ our giftes are then acceptable vnto God, when wee offer them vpon the rocke, which is Christ. Where our actions are by the fire of the holy ghost purged, & that which otherwise of his own nature is vncleane, is of God receaued as holy.

Augustine.

Ambrose.

All thinges that wee offer, are to bee offred by Christ.

And the Angel of the Lord departed. By this sodain departure Gideon vnderstood that it was an Angel whom he saw, wherefore he was sore afraide, as the wordes of the history which follow, do manifestly declare.

22. And when Gideon saw, that it was the Angell of the Lorde, he sayd: Alas my Lord God, shall I bycause I haue seene an Angell of the Lorde face to face?

This is spoken by the figure Ecliptica: for when Gideon sayth: Alas my Lorde God, shal I bycause I haue seene an Angel of the Lord: there should be added, dye. Thou shalt euermore perceaue that the old fathers, after that they had seene god or behelde his Angels, were very sore afraid, yea & so astonished, that they feared present death to come vpon them. And no maruail, for they were not ignorant, what God answered Moses, when he desired to see his face: Man shal not see me and liue. Iohn Baptist also (as we reade in the first of Iohn) sayth: No man hath seene God at any time. And Paul to Timothy hath confirmed the same writting. No man hath seen God, neither can he se him: for he is inuisible, because he dwelleth in the light that no man can come vnto. And that also which we Gideon speaketh, Mannah the father of Samson (as we shal afterward heare) shal speake. Iacob likewise, after he had wrastled all night, thinking that he had striuen with a man, when he vnderstood that he was an Angel, marualed how he escaped aliue and safe. Haue I seene the Lord (sayth he) face to face, and is my life saued? As though that ꝑ was in a maner impossible. Moses, and the Prophetes, when the Lord discended to mount Sina to geue the lawe, were so striken with feare and dread, that they sayd vnto Moses: Haue thou (we praye thee) to doo with God: least, if he go forward so to speake before vs, we dye. To this seemeth that also which is written in the same booke of Exodus, when the couenaunt was then made betwene God and the people, and Moses recited the conditions, and sprinkled the people with ꝑ blood of the sacrifices which were offred, he brought forth the Elders vnto the mountain, where they saw God sitting in his throne with exceding glory and maiesty. But after the recital of that vision, it is sayd: Neyther did God extende hys hande vnto them: which declareth that it was a newe and

The fathers by seyng of god & of angels were made afrayde.

vnaccustomed sight, that men should se god, & haue their life still whole & sound. Wherfore that altogether is mentioned as a thing geuen by a singular prerogatiue. Ierome also testifieth, that Elay was vnder this pretence killed of the Iewes, because he said that he had sene God sitting vpon his throne, as it appeareth in the .vi. chap. of his booke. They caueled that he lyed, forasmuch as God cannot be sene of men, which yet remain still a liue. Wherfore they condemned him for a lier, as though in prophecieng he had taught y people not the things which the Lord had shewed him, but his own inuentions. This they fained against the innocent prophet, when as besides it they had no other cause against him.

Ierome.

And there are the like examples in the new testament: when our Lord manifested in mount Thabor to his Apostles a certain sparke of his maiesty & glory, he was altogether changed before them, & he shined with an incredible brightnes & light, with whō Moses & Elias straight way present, & the voice of the father sounded from heauen. These thinges because they many waies ouerpassed the faculty of mans sight, the eyes of the Apostles were not able to beare them: wherfore they fel downe to the earth, & were as it were dead. Peter also, whē in fishing at the cōmaundement of Christ he caught an incredible number of fishes: for before his worde he had long laboured in vaine, maruelling at the straunge sight, and vnderstanding that God was in Christ, he was so afeard of himself, that he said vnto him: Lord, I pray thee depart from me, because I am a sinfull man, and cannot without danger suffer the presence of God. Paul also declaring his rauishing vnto the third heauen, where he vnderstoode thinges deuine, whyche in worde he might not expres vnto me, inquireth whither it were in the body, or without the body, I cannot tel. Verely he durst not affirme that those thinges happened vnto him, whilest he had the vse of the body, & senses of this life. Wherefore it manifestly appeareth, that Gideon was not without a cause astonished.

But why the beholding of God or of the Angels seemeth to bring present destruction vnto men, he must needs shew therreason. Peraduenture that happeneth by reason of the grosnes of the body, which (as the sect of Plato affirme) is to vs as it were an obscure & darke prison. Wherfore forasmuche as by it we are letted, so that we cānot see things deuine, if peraduēture at any time we behold them, by & by we remember that the ioyning together of the body & mind is now dissolued, & that we shal straightway dye, & that therfore deuine things are set before vs to behold, because now is at hand the seperation of the soule frō the body.

Plato his sect.

Aristotle.

For Aristotle in his Metaphisics testifieth, y the powers of our vnderstanding are in such sort vnable to vnderstand things deuine, which of their own nature are most euident, y lykly they may bee compared vnto the eyes of the Owles or Battes, which cannot looke vpon the brightnes of the Sunne, and lyght of the day. They which thus thinke, doo in deede say somewhat, but not so much as is sufficient, to expounde the thing manyfestly.

The body remoueth vs not from the beholding of God.

The body from the first creation was not therfore geuen vnto men, y it should be a let vnto them to know God, neither that it should restraine our soules as in a certain blinde & darke prison: for in the goodnes of God, which created the bodily nature of man, should be accused. And that the thing is thus, the Scripture of Genesis proueth, which testifieth that God was very familiar with our first Parentes, though they had bodies: for he led them into Paradise which he had planted, he shewed them the trees whereof they might eate, and for certaine trees he gaue them in that they should not touche them, he set all creatures before Adam, to cal them by what name he lyked. Wherefore the body was not a let, wherby the first man could not be familiar with God. Sinne vndoutedly remoueth vs from the light of god. Therof cometh our blindnes, darknes, blindnes & ignorance as touching things deuine. For this cause we are turned into Bats, Moles & Owles. But God of his owne nature may be seene, yea he is the lyght it selfe, but that the blot of synne is put betweene. Peraduenture thou wylt saye, that

Synne seperateth vs frō god

that is now sufficiently declared, that sinne is the originall cause of our blyndnesse but we him not yet shewed, why we are so afeard at ꝑ sight of god. yea by cause of sinne happeneth all this also vnto darke men, besides ꝑ by reaſō of their darknesse they are oppressed with ꝑ diuine light, beyng of sinne accused by their conscience, do flye from the iudge who is no lesse mighty then iust. For they vnderstand that God himselfe is such a one, that by reason of his puritie and iustice he will suffer no vncleane or filthy thing before hym. Wherfore to haue God present they thinke nothing els, then that their punishement prepared for them and the paynes which they haue deserued are at hande. For this cause our first parentes when they had sinned straight way hid themselues, and at the voyce of God were so afeard, that they determined to hide themselues among the trees of paradise: which vndoubtedly came of a troubled conscience for as much as God of his owne nature is both quickning and also the author of all consolatiō. Wherfore it is manifest that these terrors and discommodities, came not by hys defaults, but thorough our owne wickednesse.

Because of sinne men flye from the sight of God.

Of Visions, or in what sorte and how muche God may be knowen of men.

NOw the matter geueth occasion, somwhat to speake of visions of things deuine, and in what sorte and how much God may be seene of men. That least our disputacion should want either methode or ordre, I will first set forth certaine distinctions which I perceaue are needfull.

Distinctions which serue to the questiō put forth.

First, the knowledge of God is supposed to be offred vnto the senses, or vnderstanding. Or els we thinke that it commeth of nature, either els by a prerogatiue, and reuelation which passeth nature. Farther the knowledge of the substaunce, nature, and (as I should say) of the very essence, is separated from that knowledge which consistath of tokens, testimonies, argumentes and signes of the diuine presence. Lastly we must speake, either of that knowledge, which appertaineth vnto this our life, or of that onely which is looked for after this worlde. I will begyn therfore at the senses: and of the knowledge of them: this I suppose, that the nature, substaunce, and essence of God can not be comprehended by the senses. For those thinges haue no affinity with God which are vnderstand by senses, but are from him most farre distant. And to say the truth the qualities, which long to any certayne generall woorde, and are reckened for accidences, do stirre vp the knowledge of the senses. And for as much as God, which he is most simple, is not subiect to those, he can not therfore be knowen by the senses. And this to be true is by certaine experience perceaued which euery man taketh of his owne iudgement. For it is most certain, that no man hath by his senses perceaued hym. Nathelesse the Anthropomorphites perswaded themselues that God might be knowen by the senses, as men which did attribute vnto god a humaine body: but their opinion is vtterly reiected. For the holy scriptures testifieth that God is a spirite, and it also putteth a manifest difference betweene a spirite and a body, when our sauiour sayth: Feele and see, because a spirite hath neither flesshe nor bones. And there is none which vnderstandeth not, that a humaine body and his members, can not consiste without flesshe & bones. Farther their foolishnesse hereby appeareth, because there is not a body founde, which is euery way pure and simple: for let it be as equall as euer will, at ꝑ least way it hath partes, whereof it is composed. And that all composition is agaynst the nature of God, euen the Ethnike Philosophers perceaued.

The nature of GOD is not knowen by our senses.

The errour of Anthropomorphites.

But leauing the Anthropomorphites, we must speake of certayne other, whō Augustine in his Epistle ad Paulinam, de videndo Deo, maketh mention of. They as the Scriptures testifie and the right faith teacheth, do beleue that God is altogether most simple, and that he wanteth a body. But they deny that he can not

Augustine.

be sene with the eyes of the blessed, in that blessednesse whiche we wayte for. And therfore they say we are deceaued, bycause we measure the state of the lyfe to come by those thinges, whiche we see here to be done and to happen. Wherfore say they, although the dull eyes of our body are not able here to see God, the aungels or spirites, yet when they are confirmed in felicity, they shall see them, but not in dede by their owne nature & power, and the sharpenesse of their sight shalbe so illustrated, that they shall see euen the very essence of God. These men peraduenture erre lesse than the Anthropomorphites: but yet they erre. For how soeuer our eyes shalbe confirmed whē we shalbe in the blessed state, they shall for all that remayne eyes, and shalbe bodily eyes: wherfore they shall not exceede the nature and latitude of their obiectes. In dede they shall then easely abide a vehementer and larger light, than we in this can in seing suffer, neither shall they be hurte by those colours wherwith they are now offended, but yet they shall not attayne vnto the essence of god. For there are no bodies whiche in the blessed resurrection shalbe so nobled, that they shall either be made spirites, or els ceasse to be bodyes. Wherfore neither to the body of Christ is this geuen, that after his resurrection it were turned into a spirite. For this were not to haue the body rise agayne, but to be abolished. Wherfore they, whiche thinke that our eyes shalbe made so perfect, that they shall beholde the substaunce of God, do not beautifye them, but in very dede destroy them. The Anthropomorphites do sinne agaynst the nature of God, in that they cloth it with a body: but these men do iniury vnto the nature of man, which persuade themselues that it shall not abide in the blessed resurrection. Our sentence therfore abideth and is true, as well of this lyfe wherin we presently lyue, as of the life which we wayte for to come.

Our bodely eyes do not beholde the essēce of God neither here, neither in ỹ lyfe to come.

But thou wilt aske, what then sawe the Patriarches and Prophetes, to whō we read in the holy Scriptures that God many tymes appeared? I answere, that as touching the outward senses, they sawe onely certaine images, similitudes and formes, whiche were offred sometymes vnto them by god and by his aungels, whereby it was shewed both that he was present with those fathers, & also spake vnto them, heard them and admonished them of thinges healthfull. But these things, namely the presence of god or of the aungels, also the wordes and significations, the sense it selfe vnderstand not, but by reason, and in minde they were gathered by those thinges, whiche the iudgement of the senses receaued. Wherfore the Chaldey Paraphrast, when in Exodus it is writē, that god came to mount Syna, affirmeth, that god himselfe came not simply, but translateth it, that the glory of god came: as thoughe he should haue sayd, certaine noble and wonderfull signes were there sene, by whiche god testified that he himselfe was there present: whiche self same thing he doth in Esay the 6. chap: where he writeth. I saw the Lord sitting vpon his throne which was highe and lifted vp. But what maner of similitudes and images they were, which offred themselues as tokens of the presence either of an aungell or of god, it is easy to be gathered out of the holy Scriptures. The burnyng bushe appeared vnto Moses, the cloud, the piller of fire, the smokes, voices, thundrynges lampes, lightnings, the propiciatory: the arke of the couenaunt, Vrim and Themim, and sondry formes euen of men, whiche either did, or spake, or in some maner of sorte shewed themselues either to Prophetes or to other men. All these thynges I saye, were signes and tokens of the presence both of God and of the aungels. And the same thinges were sene of the fathers, either when they were slepyng or els whē they were waking: & sometymes by the spirit of god or industry of the angels at the cōmaundement of god, ỹ phantasy or imagination of mē receaued forme by such similitudes and figures. Wherby those thinges whiche god would shewe, were no lesse expressed in the myndes of the vnderstanders, than if they had ben perceaued by the outward senses.

What the Patriarches and Prophets saw.

In what thigs God shew him selfe to the Prophets.

Prophets sometymes se thinges printed in imagination and sometymes outwardly.

Wherfore in expounding the Prophetes it is true, that very oftentymes we

stand

mãd in great doubt, whether ẏ thing were so done outwardly, or rather so appeared to ẏ Prophet to be done in mind. And in certain of thẽ by reason of the circũstances of the matter, we are compelled to graunt that it was onely a vision, as Ierome testifieth of the breeches or hosen of *Ieremy*, whiche at the commaundement of the Lord he put in a rocke by the riuer Euphrates: and he suffred them to remayne there so long, till they were rotten: and then he was commaunded to take them, and to put them on agayne. And this vision happened whilest the city of Ierusalem was grieuously besieged by the Chaldeyans, whẽ the Prophet could not go and come to the riuer Euphrates. For at the same tyme, when he would once haue gone to Anathoth, where he was borne, he was taken euẽ as he was going out of the gates, and accused of treason. In like manner the same *Ierome* affirmeth, that that was onely done by a vision, whiche is written in Ezechiell, of the bread baked in the doung of an ore, and how it lay many dayes vpon one and the selfe same side. To these may be added the eatyng of the booke, and such like, whiche either humane nature, or circumstances of the matters and tymes, suffred not so to be done, as it is writtẽ. And as touching the preaching & expressing vnto the people, that things which ẏ Prophetes had in their myndes, a thing sene by phantasy or imagination, was all one, and had as much efficacy, as if it had outwardly bene sene. But yet they fled not vnto the visions of the mynde, when the thing it selfe might outwardly be done. For seyng God can vse both wayes, he hath sometymes taken this way, and other sometymes that way, as it hath pleased him, and as he hath iudged mete and profitable for vs. But in all these things, me thinketh the sentence of Ambrose is to be holden, which intreating of these images, sayeth: That they were such as will did chose, and not such as nature hath formed: whiche vndoubtedly maketh agaynst those, whiche will haue prophesieng to be naturall, as though by the power of the heauens, or some certain instinct of nature, or temperature of humors such images & sights offred themselues to be sene, of the outward senses of the Prophetes, or to be knowen inwardly by imagination & phantasy. The will (sayth Ambrose) namely of god or of an aungell, would those thinges, and aboue other thinges chose them, and not the power of nature formed them.

Ierome.

Ambrose.
The visions of Prophets were not naturall.

But there is an other doubt which in dede is not to be left vnspoken of, namely whether god himselfe at any tyme shewed himselfe vnder these images or formes: Or whether onely aungels alwayes appeared, which wrought & spake with ẏ Prophets, sometimes in theyr own name, & other sometyme in the name of gode Ther haue ben some which said ẏ god himself neuer appeared, but by angels in ẏ name of god all those things were accõplished which are written to be either spoken or done in those visions. And they contend that they haue certayne testimonies in the Scriptures which make with thẽ: among which one is found in the Actes of the Apostles, where Stephen expressedly calleth him an aungell, whiche talked to Moses out of the bushe, when as for all that he is in Exodus named God. Farther Paul to the Galathians testifieth that the lawe was geuen in the hande of a Mediator, be the disposition of Aungels. And no man doubteth, but that in Exodus it is written, that the law was geuen by god. Wherfore they conclude that we must vnderstand that God appeared not by himselfe, but by Aungels. Howbeit forasmuch as the essence or diuine nature, can not be taken away either from the holy ghost, or from the sonne (for either of them by nature is God) how will they defend their opinion, when as it is expressedly written in the gospell, that the holy ghost descended vpon Christ in the forme of a Doue? If they say that an aungell came and not the holy ghost, they accuse the Scripture as a lyer: but if they cõfesse, that together with that Doue the holy ghost appeared, what shall let but that god himselfe also appeared vnto the fathers vnder other figures and images? They cã from this by no meanes escape, except (which I thinke they will not do: otherwise they should bring in a manifest heresy) they will

Whether God at any tyme shewed himself or whether they were alwayes angels that appeared.

The holy ghost shewed himself in a Doue.

will deny the holy ghost to be God. And that which I haue aunswered of the holy ghost, we may obiect the like of ỹ sonne, out of the wordes of *Paul* to *Timothe* the 3. chap, where he writeth: Without controuersy it is a great mistery, god is made manifest in the flesh, iustified in the spirite, &c. For the whole Churche and right faith confesseth that the word was the true god whiche appeared vnder the flesh of man. Whiche if he did, as vndoubtedly without counterfayting he did, why may he not be said to haue done the same in the old Testament vnder sõdry formes and manifolde figures? Without doubt that was much greater whiche he gaue vnto vs in the latter tyme. But he whiche hath geuen the greater thing we doubt not but that he also can geue that whiche is lesse.

The sonne of God appeared in humane flesh

Peraduenture they will say, that that whiche was geuen in the latter tyme, the holy Scriptures do set forth to the end we should beleue it: but that whiche ye require to haue ben done in the old time is no where read. Yea but if we diligently marke, the Scriptures teach, that also. For the sonne of god is named by the Euangelist the worde or λόγος, whiche we must beleue was not by him done rashly, but bycause it might be vnderstand that by him god spake, when the scriptures testifie that he spake. Wherfore as often as we read, ỹ the word of ỹ Lord came vnto this mã or to that man, I iudge that the same is so often to be attributed vnto the sonne of god Christ our Lord, namely that god by him spake vnto the fathers and Prophetes. Which least I should seme to speake in vayne, I will for this sentence bring forth two testimonies. The first is read in the first chap: of Iohn: No man hath sene god at any tyme, & straight way by ỹ figure Occupatio is added. The sonne which is in ỹ bosome of ỹ father he hath reueled hym. For a man might aske, If no man haue sene god at any tyme, who appeared then to the fathers when things deuine wer shewed vnto them: who talked with them, when sondry formes and images appeared vnto them in the name of god, and wrought with them? Straight way it is aunswered: The sonne which is in the bosome of the father he hath reueled him: he was to man, the most true interpret for of the father. An other place, is in the gospell the 12. chap: where it is thus word for word writtẽ. Therfore they could not beleue, bycause agayn sayd Esay: He hath blinded their eyes, & hardened their hart, that they should not see with their eyes, nor vnderstãd with their hart, and should be conuerted, and I should heale them. These thinges sayd Esay, when he saw his glory, and spake of hym. Undoubtedly these two pronounes His, and of Him, do without cõtrouersy signify Christ, for a litle before the Euãgelist had sayd, Though he, namely Christ, had done so many signes before thẽ, yet beleued they not in hym, that the saying of Esay ỹ Prophet might be fulfilled ỹ he sayd, &c. And to this sentence, which in very dede is natural, do agree Chrisostome, Ierome, Cirillus, & Augustine. Farthermore the wordes of Hosea the Prophet which he hath in the 12. chap: are diligently to be weighed, And thus speaketh the Lord there: I haue spoken vnto the Prophetes, and I haue multiplied visions, and vsed similitudes by the hand of the Prophetes, &c. Hereby we vnderstand, that similitudes were not geuen vnto the Prophetes from the beginning, but god himselfe spake vnto them.

It is the word or sonne of god by whom God spake vnto the fathers & Prophetes.

Iohn. 1.

Iohn. 12.

Hose. 12

By examples it is declared both that God himselfe, & also that ãgels som tymes appered

Vnto no wo must we by examples and such as are most euident, confirme, that the appearynges of god are vtterly distinct from the visions of aungels. First it is declared vnto vs in the boke of Genesis, that *Iacob* saw a ladder which reached from earth euen to heauen, and by it the aungels both ascended and discended. And at the top of the ladder, namely in heauen, stode the Lord from whom *Iacob* heard noble and large promises. Hereby is gathered, vnlesse we will still be blind, that aungels shewed themselues in one kind of images and god himself appeared in an other forme. This selfe same thing may we see in *Esay*, when he saw the Lord sitting in his throne, and with him two Seraphins, whiche cried mutually the one to the other, Holy, holy, holy. And with so great reuerence they

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worshipped God which was in the middest, that with their two vpper winges, they couered their face, and with the two neither wings their feete. Who seeth, not here a great difference betwene god and the aungels which appeared? I will 3
not speake of Ezechiell, which saw aungels in the formes of creatures, namely of an Oxe, an Egle, and a Lion, by whom wheles were turned, but God himselfe sat in the vygbest parte in the forme of the sonne of man. Of Daniell al- 4
so was sene the auncient of dayes, vnto whom came the sonne of man. And he addeth that thrones were there put, bookes opened, and a certain forme of a iudgement appoynted: then he maketh mencion of aungels, of which he sayth were present ten thousand and ten hundreth thousand, whiche ministred vnto hym. And here we heare, what great difference there is betwene God and the angels which ministred. Farther there is a place most manifest in Exodus, when God, 5
beyng angry with the people, denied that he would go any farther with them thorough the desert, least being prouoked with theyr sinnes, he shuld at once vterly destroy them. But he promised to send his aungell, with which promise Moses was not content, and sayd that he would by no meanes go with the people, except god himself would go together with thē. And vndoubtedly by prayer and constantly abiding in his sentence, at the length he ouercame, and (as he desired) had god for ẏ guide of their iorney. How can these men therfore say, ẏ god himselfe was not present vnder those formes, but only angels were sene in such images? Moreouer let vs remember, that *Moses* (as it is writtē in the same boke of Exodus) desired of God to see his face: which his request god (for that he loued 6
him exceedingly,) would not vterly deny, but yet he would not graunt him all that he required. Wherfore he aunswered: My face thou shalt by no meanes see, bycause man shall not see me & lyue, but thou shalt looke vpon my hinder parts, namely my backe. What is more manifest than this testimony? Surely god by certayne wordes here promiseth, to appeare vnto Moses in the shape of a man, of whose forme or image *Moses* should see not the face but the backe. And the same he faythfully performed vnto Moses: for as god passed by, *Moses* sawe the backe of his image by the rocke, and heard the wonderfull and noble names of god rehearsed with a most loude voyce. Which when he saw, he fell prostrate to the earth and worshipped: and it is not to be doubted, but that he gaue vnto hym that adoration, which is onely due vnto the onely god. For forasmuch as he beleued that he was there present according vnto his promise it is not to be had in controuersy, but that he worshipped him as being present in very dede. And vndoubtedly god, except he had shewed himselfe present in very dede at the arke & 7
mercy seat, should haue throwen the Israelites hedlōg into idolatry, if he would haue had onely aungels to aunswere such as came to aske counsell, for that he commaunded them to cal vpon him and to worship him there. To these may be 8
added that history whiche is written in the booke of kinges of Micheas the Prophet, whiche prophecied before Achab king of *Israell* and sayd, that he sawe god, with whō was present an host of aungels, & he heard him aske, who shal deceaue Achab, and that one offred himself to be a lying spirite in the mouth of the Prophetes of the king Achab. By this vision also we vnderstand, that there was an assured and notable difference, betwene god and the aungels, whiche appeared all together vnto the Prophet. Wherfore the gift of god which he gaue vnto the fathers, is not to be diminished or to be extenuated: & we must cōfesse, ẏ he was in very dede present, whē he appeared, forasmuch as we reade ẏ it was so done, and there is nothing that letteth, as farre as can be gathered out of ẏ holy scriptures, neither is the very nature of god any thing against, it that it could not be done. It were not sound to attribute vnto aungels all those things which in the scripture are read of such visiōs. For so might we easely slip so farre, ẏ at the last we should beleue ẏ the word was not immediatly created by god, but by angels at his commaundement. Wherfore let vs confesse that god was present in very

dede,

God was present in verye dede, whē it is sayd that he appeared vnder diuers formes.

dede, & shewed himselfe vnder diuers formes, as often as we heare that the scripture testifieth or speaketh the same.

Now resteth to aunswere vnto the places before brought. As touchyng the Epistle to the Galathians, I graunt that the disposition of the aungels was in the geuing of the law: for they stood by God when he spake, they made redy the mist, thunderinges, lightnings, & lāpes, they prepared the tables of stone, & many wayes ministred vnto God being present & speakyng. Neither do the wordes of the Apostle deny, but that God himselfe spake, & gaue the law, as the scriptures testifie. Yea & there haue ben some, which by the hand of a Mediator, do not expound it to be Moses, but ỳ sonne of god: but whether they do it rightly or wrōgfully, I haue no leasure at thys present to discusse. But we nede not in many wordes to aunswere vnto ỳ which blessed Stephen sayth (as it is written in the Actes of the Apostles) namely that an angel appeared vnto Moses in the bushe, & talked with him. For if by the angell we vnderstand the sonne of God (as I haue often admonished) there will then remayne no doubt.

Aungels ministred vnto god when he gaue the law.

The aungell which spake vnto Moses in the bushe, was ỳ sonne of God

But that the things which I haue now alledged, as touching this matter, may the plainlyer & more certeinly be vnderstand, I thinke it good to confirme them by some testimonies of the fathers. Chrisostome in his 14. Homely vpon *I*ohn saith. The things which ỳ fathers saw, were al of thē by permission, but yet they saw not ỳ pure & simple substaūce of god. And he addeth: If they had sene it, then should they not haue sene it in any part differing, for ỳ it is pure, simple, & cā not be described: Wherfore it standeth not, it lieth not, neither sitteth, as sometime it was to those Prophetes shewed. He saith moreouer: God, before the sonne came into flesh, exercised ỳ father with those visiōs & images. He there also writeth ỳ, which a litle before we alledged, namely ỳ with bodyly eyes we cā not see created spirites, as are our soules & angels. Wherfore much lesse must we beleue, ỳ we can see god with the senses. And least a man thinke, ỳ it onely agreeth with god ỳ father to be inuisible, & not with ỳ sonne, he bringeth thys sentēce of Paul, that he is the image of ỳ inuisible God. And without doubt he could not be hys image, if he were not inuisible, as he is whose image he representeth. Augustine also in his 3. treatise vpon *I*ohn, saith of *M*oses: Although it be sayd that he talked with god face to face, yet when he desired to see ỳ face of god, that is his very substaunce, he could not obteyne it. And in the same place he addeth: He saw the cloude, & the fire, which were figures. And within a litle after: If they say that the sonne was visible before he was incarnate, they dote. Augustine besides these hath in his Epistle to Fortunatianus, gathered many more things to this purpose out of Nazianzenus, Ierome, & other fathers, which wer to long here to rehearse.

Chrisostome.

Augustine.

Howbeit I will bring two argumentes, which are wont to be obiected against this sentence. In the beginning we sayd that the nature of God can not therfore be comprehended with the senses, bycause his nature is not bodily: But all the old fathers seme not to haue beleued so. For Tertullian agaynst *P*raxea writeth that God is a bodye, and in other places hee oftentimes testifieth the same. Yea in his litle booke de Anima he teacheth that our soules are bodyes. And whiche semeth more straunge, hee laboureth by manye reasons to confirme it. Yea and in his booke de *D*ogmat. Eccles. the 11. chap: he writeth that all creatures are bodyes, and euen the aungels by name: bycause there is nothing, whiche filleth all thinges as doth God: but all thynges are limited with certayne places, as it appeareth of the soule, whiche is closed in with the body. Augustine in his Epistle ad Quod uult deum excuseth Tertullian in this maner, that by a body he vnderstoode the substaunce, & that whiche is in very dede, as though he therfore wrote that god is a body, least he should seme to deny ỳ he is, forasmuch as the vulgare people do thinke that ỳ is vtterly nothing, which is not a bodye. Howbeit ỳ same Augustine in his boke de Genesi ad litterā, in this maner reproueth him, that at sometyme being ouercome by ỳ truth, he said, That euery body is passible: wher-

Tertullian.

Augustine excuseth Tertullian.

The nature of god is without a body.

fore,

ſore, leaſt he ſhould make god paſſible, he ought to haue denied him to be a body. Neither neded he ſo to bend himſelf to ỳ capacity of ỳ cõmõ people, ỳ therfore he ſhould pronoũce falſe things of god. For Chriſtiãs are not ſo to be inſtructed, ỳ like rude perſons (whõ Ariſtotle alſo cõfuteth) they ſhould thinke that ỳ is nothing, which is not a body, but rather they ought ſo to be taught, ỳ in thinking of god they affirme nothing wõut rules of ỳ holy ſcriptures. And as for ỳ booke de dogmate Eccleſiaſtico, we muſt attribute no more vnto it thã is mete. For it is aſcribed vnto Auguſtine, but the learned beleue not that it is his.

The other thing, which is ſomtimes obiected, is an argument of ỳ Anthropomorphites. For they cõfẽd, ỳ for this cauſe we ought not to beleue ỳ god is without a body, bycauſe the Scriptures teſtifie, ỳ man was made to ỳ image of God, which could not be true, except he haue a body as we haue. For ỳ image ſhould want ỳ ſimilitude of ỳ wherunto it is referred. They thinke alſo ỳ the Scripture maketh with thẽ, when as it oftẽtimes attributeth vnto god the mẽbers of men. But Ierome (as Auguſtine to Fortunatianus citeth him) wittely & ſharpely deſtroyeth their argumẽt. If we ſhould leane vnto this reaſon (ſaith he) we ſhall eaſely proue ỳ a man hath winges, bycauſe ỳ ſcripture ſometimes aſcribeth thẽ to god, to whoſe image it is manifeſt ỳ man was created. Theſe men ought rather diligently to haue weighed that the image of God, conſiſteth in holineſſe, righteouſneſſe & truth, as Paul hath taught. Whiche thyng if they had ſene, they had not only remoued a body from god, but they ſhould alſo haue led away their mindes from groſſer cogitations. Why do they not affirme that God is in very dede a beare, a Lion or fire, bycauſe ſo do Amos, and Moſes, and alſo the Epiſtle to the Hebrues call him? In the 95. Pſalme it is written: He that made the eye, ſhall he not ſee? he that made the eare, ſhall he not heare? Ierome ſaith that there ſhould haue ben ſaid: he that made the eare, hath he not an eare? & he that made the eye, hath he not an eye? But ſo it is not ſayd, leaſt in thinking of him, thou ſhouldeſt be deceaued, & ſuppoſe that he hath thoſe mẽbers. But the holy ſcripture, if ſome tyme it attribute members vnto god, vndoubtedly this is the only cauſe, to helpe our infirmity, whereby althoughe we can not comprehend the eſſence of God as it is, yet in very dede it prouideth that by ſome certayne ſimboles and ſhadowes we may vnderſtande ſomewhat. Wherefore members are by a moſt profitable Metaphore attributed vnto God, that we diligently remembryng his proprietyes, might godlyly and faythfully exerciſe our myndes. And the Anthropomorphites: if for that cauſe they had aſcribed members vnto God, as the Scriptures ſetteth them forth, to be a helpe vnto the weake vnderſtandyng of men: they myght be excuſed, neither ſhould they haue bene condemned. But they contended that the nature of God had ſo in very dede: wherefore luſtily and worthely are they accuſed. But what ſhall we aunſwere to Paul, whiche of the feyng the nature of God in heauen, ſayth: We ſhall ſee him face to face, and by that meanes he ſemeth to graunt vnto our eyes and face the beholdyng of god, and after a ſorte to aſcribe vnto god himſelf a face? Auguſtine aunſwereth that there is a face alſo of the mynde, when as Paul ſayth, that we nowe with a face vnconered do beholde thinges deuine, and not with a vayle put betwene, as the Iewes vſed when they talked with Moſes.

Ierome.

Why the ſcripture attributeth members vnto God.

Why the Anthropomorphites are condemned.

There is a face of the body and a face of the mynde.

But theſe thinges beyng thus finiſhed and concluded, let vs in few wordes ſpeake of other kyndes of the knowledge of God. In the euerlaſtyng lyfe the bleſſed ſhall knowe the eſſence of God, not in dede by the ſenſes, but by the ſoule or mynde, for as muche as Iohn ſayeth: When he appeareth, we ſhall ſee hym as he is. Paul teſtifieth the ſame, nowe we ſee hym thorough a glaſſe and in a ſhadowe, but than ſhall we ſee hym face to face. The ſame thyng is gathered by the wordes of Chriſt: Their aungels alway beholde the face of the father, for in an other place he hath taught, ỳ in the bleſſed reſurrection the iuſt ſhalbe like the angels of god. Wherof it followeth, ỳ we ſhal ſee god in like ſorte as the an-

In the eternall life the bleſſed ſhall know the eſſence of God.

geis do: wherfore if they see his face, thā shal we also behold it. There is an other testimony also written by Paul to ỹ Corinth. Than shall I know, euen as I am knowē. And ỹ god seeth vs thorowghlye essencially, no mā doubteth. Howbeit let vs not thus persuade our selues, ỹ the blessed shall wholy & euery way know ỹ nature & substaunce of God, but so much only as we shalbe able to receaue: for things finit cā not fully receiue ỹ which is infinite: nether is ỹ which is created, able fully & perfectly to cōprehend his creator. Wherfore Chrisostome in his. 14. Homely vpō Iohn, Ambrose in his first boke vpō *Luke* ỹ. 2. chap, also Ierome (as Augustine in ỹ place before alledged declareth) all these I say deny ỹ the angels see god. But ỹ can not simply & absolutly be vnderstād, whē as otherwise Christ saith, ỹ they see the face of ỹ father which is in heauē. Wherfore it remayneth, ỹ the same is to be vnderstād of ỹ whole & perfect knowledge of his nature & substance. Wherfore in Iohn ỹ 6. chap it is written: No man hath sene god, but he which is of god, he hath sene ỹ father. Also: As ỹ father knoweth me, so know I ỹ father. Wherfore this is onely geuen to Christ which is god, perfectly & fully to know ỹ essēce of god. Other also shall see it, but yet so much as their capacity cā cōprehend. If thou aske, whether it shalbe equally or no: I will not aunswere to that, at this present. For in an other place, we shall haue occasion geuen vs to speake of the diuersity or equality of rewardes in the blessed life.

The nature of GOD is not wholy and by all meanes cōprehended. Chrisostome.

But what shall we affirme of the state of this life? Shall our mind whilest we liue here in knowing of god attayne to his essēce? No verely, bicause it is written: Man shall not see me & lyue. No man hath sene God at any tyme. And Paul adeth: He can not be sene, bycause he dwelleth in the light that no man can come vnto. Howbeit these thinges are not to be vnderstand as touchyng all maner of knowledge: for also whilest we lyue here, it is geuē vnto vs after a sort to know god. Wherfore these sayings are to be vnderstād (to speake as the scholemen do) of the substantiall & essentiall knowledge of God. Neither is this against it, in ỹ it is written that Moses saw god face to face, which also before him *Iacob* spake, neither ỹ which in an other place is written of ỹ same Moses, ỹ god talked with him as a frend with his frend. For these thinges are not spokē simply, but by cōparisō with other, bycause those excellēt mē aboue other knew those things, which at ỹ tyme were opened vnto mē as touching god. For vnto thē god would after an exquisite & vnaccustomed maner shewe himselfe, whiche he did not to others. And this to be ỹ sēse of these wordes. Augustine & Chrisostome hereby do gather, bycause afterward when Moses desired to see the face of god, it was denied hym.

Whether in this lyfe we may in soule or minde knowe the essence of God, or no.

There remayneth, to intreate of the knowledge of god, which whilest we liue here we may obtayne. First the same is naturall, & that very slender & obscure. Which thing Symonides knew right well, who (as *Cicero* writeth in hys booke de Natura deorum) being demaunded of Hierone a tyranne of Sicilia, what God was, he alwayes deferred to aunswere, bycause ỹ more he thought as touching ỹ thing, ỹ more obscure alwaies it semed vnto him. Wherfore Clemēs Alexādrinus in his 5. boke of Stromata, bringing a reason, why ỹ knowledge of God is so hard, saith: It is not Genus, it is not Differēcia, it is not Accidēs, nor ỹ subiect of Accidēces, & therfore it cā not be vnderstād of vs, which comprehend onely such things in our mind & reasō. The effectes, which ỹ Philosophers vsed by their vnderstāding to know god, are not equal vnto his dignity, power, & facultie. Wherfore they declared only certain cōmō & light thīgs. But we geue vnto him Attributa or proprieties, ỹ is, good, iust, faire, wise, & other such like: bicause we haue no excellenter things, nor nobler names, whiche cā better be applied, or agree vnto him. Neither yet are these thinges so in him, as we speake: for, for ỹ he is most simple, he is farre otherwise good, iust, & wise, thā men either are, or are called.

The naturall knowledge as touching God, is slender and obscure. *Symonides.*

Clemens Alexandrinus.

The knowledge of God by fayth.

But besides this naturall knowledge of god, this knowledge also offreth it selfe vnto vs, which consisteth of faith, & is by the worde of god reueled vnto vs.

But

But faith is not of vs (as to the Ephesians it is sayd) but it is the gifte of God: for Christ also saith: No man can come vnto me except my father drawe him. Faith therfore aboundantly gathereth out of the holy scriptures ỹ knowledge of god, as much as sufficeth to saluation, or as much as this our lyfe is able to receaue. Howbeit as Paul testifieth this knowledge also is imperfect. For now we know hym by a glasse in a shadow & but partly: & although in this knowledge we profyte, whilest we liue here, yet can we not attayn to the knowledge of the essence of god. I know that Augustine thought as touching Paul & Moses, ỹ sometyme, in minde whilest they were here, they saw the substaunce of God: but I can not easely agree vnto it, forasmuch as I iudge that those places of Iohn, of the lawe, & of Paul, which I before alledged, are most euident. Vnto which this may also be added, which is written in the 6. chap. of Iohn. Not that any man hath sene the father: he which is of god, he seeth the father. And this is not to be passed ouer, ỹ that which is here spoken of the father, is true also of the sonne, as touchyng his deuine nature. Because, as I haue aboue declared, both out of Chrisostome and out of Augustine, the nature as wel of the Sonne, as of the Father is inuisible. And it skilleth not if thou say, as Augustine sayth, that they sawe the nature and substaunce of God, not vsing the outwarde senses but in a certayne traunse or rauishing, or beyng alienated from the vse of this lyfe. These thinges are not gathered out of the Scriptures, yea contrarily we haue heard that *Moses* was denyed the sight of the face of God. Wherfore by the knowledge of fayth we both knowe God and his good will towarde vs, as much as is sufficient to our true and perfect saluation.

The opinion of Augustine, of Paul and Moses.

But among all those thinges, wherby out of the holy scriptures we know god, there is none more excellent than Christ himselfe. Wherefore Paul hath iustly sayd: without controuersye it is a great misery, God is made manifest in the flesshe, &c. The Lord also sayth: Philip, he whiche seeth me, seeth also the father. Paul also said that he knew nothing els, but Iesus Christ, and him crucified. And vndoubtedly in Christ God may be sayd to be made visible: because he was ioyned together with man in the same selfe person. Wherfore they whiche sawe Christ, might say ỹ they had sene God. And he which by faith beholdeth and acknowledgeth him, doth see far much more, than if he should behold the burnyng bushe of Moses. Wherfore to the Collos. it is written, that in him are put all the treasures of the wisdome & knowledge of god. And Iohn doth healthfully admonishe vs in his Epistle the 3. chap. as he which hath a hope to see God as he is, let him prepare himselfe therunto, by purging himself, as he is pure & cleane. Thus much of the Question, now let vs returne vnto the history.

In Christ god is sayd to be made visible.

23 And the Lord sayd vnto him: Peace be vnto thee, be not afeard, thou shalt not dye.

24 And Gideon built there an alter vnto the Lorde, and called it Iehouah Shalum, euen vnto this day. It is yet in Ophrath ỹ pertayneth to the Abiezerite.

Why these thinges were spoke vnto Gideō, by ỹ history it appeareth not, but I thinke it was ỹ next nighe after ỹ things already rehearsed, wherfore he was cōmaūded to builde there an alter, where ỹ meates which was set forth were cōsumed with fire, namely vpon ỹ rocke, wherof is mentiō made a little before. Gideō was vexed wt feare, supposing ỹ because he had sen god, he should die. Wherfore god cōforted him, ỹ he being voyde of ỹ feare, might ỹ chearefullier prepare him selfe, vnto those thinges which wer cōmaūded him. That feare wōderfully letted his faith. For how could he beleue, that he should set ỹ Israelites at liberty, which euery houre suspected death to be at hād. Wherfore god in cōforting him, remoued away ỹ feare, ỹ he might persecute ỹ worke, which lōged especially vnto faith. Thou shalt not die, saith he Peace be vnto the. In ỹ hebrew phrase, peace signifieth trāquility, good successe, & as ỹ cōmon people say, prosperous fortune.

Why God appeared vnto Gideon the second tyme.

This word Shalū is derined of ẏ verbe Shalā, which is to perfourme, to finish, & to accōplish. The latin word Pax also which is peace, agreeth vñ ẏ verbe to significa tiō. For if we may beleue Augustine, Pax ẏ is peace, is a trāquility of ordre. And then we recken al things to be peaceable, whē they are right & quietly disposed.

And Gideon built there an altar. These words are spoken by the figure Prolepsis: for he was in the night admonished of ẏ Lord to builde this altare, for the holy scripture vseth to set forth a thing summarily: & then to declare the thing as it was done. Wherfore god came vnto Gideon in his sleape, comforted him, that he should not feare least he should dye, cōmaunded him to build an alter, to take a bullocke, to do sacrifice, to cut downe the prophane groue, and to ouerthrow the alter of Baal, which was had in estimation. The elders vsed alters not only to sacrifice vpon, but ẏ they might be monumentes of some notable benefite geuen by god. We read ẏ *Moses* did so, when the Israelites vnder ẏ Lord obteyned the victory against Amalek. After ẏ exāple of Gideō, euery one ẏ is iustified by faith & hauing peace toward god by Christ, & being assured of eternall life, ought in his hart to graue such a litle, Christ is my Peace which thig Paul also hath taught when he wrote to the Ephes. He is our Peace, which made both one.

Why the Elders vsed alters.

Christe is our peace.

25 And the same night, The Lord said vnto him, Take thy fathers yong bullok, & the other bullok of vii. yeares old, & destroy the altar of Baal, that thy father hath, & cut downe the groue, that is by it.
26 And build an altar vnto the Lord thy god vpon the top of this rocke in a playne place, & take the second bullocke, & offer a burnt offring with the wood of the groue, whiche thou shalt cut downe.

That which before was in a sume spokē, is now particularly expressed. Some thinke ẏ two bullokes are here mētioned, of which the one is called ẏ secōd other by order of nativity, or as they stoode in order at the racke & mangor. And that second, is specified, to be vii. yere olde, in al which time being made fat, at ẏ lēgth to be offred to Baal: this bullocke god would haue offred vnto himselfe for aburnt offring. And because there is no further mention made of ẏ first bullocke, neither did god cōmaunde what he would haue done with it, therfore I thinke we must vndersta̅d but one & the self same bullok which before is put absolutly, & thē by exposition repeted ẏ he might be by some certaine tokēs knowen frō other bullocks, wherof peraduenture his father had many, to ẏ it was vii. yeares fatted, & stood in ẏ secōd stalle. And as touching ẏ vii. yeres fatting there is no cause why we should meruaile at it, forasmuch as ẏ ore called Apis or Serapis which was wont to be sacrificed, was fatted certain yeares before. And it is not hard to beleue, but that this custome of the Egyptians was superstitiously kept among ẏ idolatrous Hebrues, for that they were not onely neighbours vnto Egypt, but also they came out of it into the land of Palestine.

Apis the ore was lōg fatted

The Hebrues vsed the superstitions of the Egyptians.

God would haue an alter erected vnto him vpon a hard and stronge rocke, namely vpon ẏ, wherout fire was stricken, to burne those thinges which Gideon brought, as though God by ẏ miracle had appointed it for himselfe. He cōmaundeth an alter to be raised vp in a place apt, for ẏ stone or rock, as it is to be supposed, was great. Wherfore he willeth Gideon to chose one certain euen part of it aboue the rest, which was most fit to build an alter vpō. And this is chiefly to be noted, ẏ god when he would deliuer the Israelites from ẏ Madianites cōmaūded aboue all things, ẏ idolatry should be ouerthrowē. For vntill as long as religiō is not restored, nothing goeth forward well & luckely in the pub. wealth. Farthermore faith is ẏ groūdsele & foūdation of actiōs to come. And ẏ cā not be had, where ẏ worshipping of god is turned into superstitiō & impiety. Which thing if god in a maner in al expeditions doth obserue, let Magistrates therby gather, what they ought aboue all things to do among ẏ people whō they gouerne. Priuate mē also by this exāple are admonished, chiefly to frame piety in their minds.

Nothing goeth forwarde well in a pub. wealth except religion be firste restored

It

yt is not sufficient to build an altar vnto the Lord, vnles the sacrilegious altare be cut downe: neither is it inough to ouerthrow that, vnles vnto the true god be his altare builte. There are whiche fall from the Pope, but they so fall, that they will not follow the Gospell. And some there are which do in such sorte receaue the true doctrine, that for all that they wil not depart from the pernicious masses, and other papisticall impietyes. God hathe not so, not so (I saye) commaunded whiche soeuer of these thou neglectest, thou breakest his commaundemente.

That there were groues by the temples of the idoles, none, whithe hath red Poetes or hystoryes, doubteth. That was a certayne mutation of the Patriarches, which offred sacrifices vnder okes, or in hilles, which they called high places. They delighted (as I thinke) in close places, wherby they mind, when they sacrificed, was more voyd of worldly cares and affayres. And for the most parte experience teacheth vs, that in darke places, where high trees grow, a certain admiration commeth vnto the mindes, by which admiration they applye themselues the more to the meditation of thinges deuine. God cõmaundeth the grone to be cut down, bicause it was together wt ỹ altare dedicated vnto the god Baal. Yet he commaundeth his wood, and the ore appoynted for him, to be transferred to his own sacrifice, least any man should think that the true god is not lord of all thinges. For there is nothing so vnder the power of the deuill, but that it may be turned to the glory and honour of god. Yet the godlye ought not by this example to eate thinges offred vnto idoles, when they know that they are suche in dede. Not vndoubtedly, bicause the nature of that flesh is chaunged, or ceaseth to belonge vnto god, but bicause of the conscience of the weake ones, and least it should seeme that we would be made partakers of the table of the deuilles. But such lawes God hath prescribed vnto vs, not vnto him selfe. Wherefore he maye vse thynges dedicated vnto idoles for hys owne burnt offringes.

About idoles were groues.

The grone, the altar, and the bullock are mencioned to belong vnto Ioas the father of Gideon: bicause he had ỹ office of a Magistrate in Ophrath: & whatsoeuer was the cause, it is to be thought that he mayntayned idolatry there. And forasmuch as sacred places & sacrifices are appointed to the possessiõ of priuate men, therfore magistrates are wonte to haue the rule & disposition of them. Gideon is chiefly commaunded, to do these things that euery man might vnderstand, that in purging of religiõ, or amending any other sin, we muste first begin at our owne famely, and at such as are next of kinne, least any man should seme to correcte other, and in the meane time leaue his owne neglected and vnamended.

27 Then Gideon tooke tenne men of his seruantes, and did as the Lorde badde him. But bicause he feared to doo it by daye, for hys hys fathers householde, and the menne of the Citye, he dydde it by nyghte.

The feare of Gideon resisteth nothyng agaynst hys fayth. God wil haue euery man to fulfil his vocatiõ, but yet he forbiddeth not to adde prudence. We muste take place, time, and occasion, vnlesse God appoynt these thinges also. Howbeit we muste beware, that in adding these cautions we goe aboute nothinge that is agaynst the precepts of God: for that prudence is praysed which with thinges well done neglecteth no sinne. Hereby also we gather that Gidion was not of the basest sort, forasmuch as out of his famely he could take out ten seruantes. He feared, and so feared that in the day time he durst not do that whiche the Lorde had commaunded. For the worshippinge of Baal was nowe confirmed: and superstitions once established by takinge deepe rootes, are wonte to haue more

Superstitions are more set by of men, then pure religion

authority, than perfecte, pure and sincere worshipping of god can euer obtayne. Such vngodlines is there graffed in the hartes of men, that at this day, if a man in the papacy detest the masse, or deride a pece of bread, which the wicked sacrificers both worshippe and carry about, he shalbe much more cruelly punished and tormented, than if he shoulde with horrible blasphemies defame the true God and our Lord Jesus Christ. So at that time he was counted as a most detestable heretike worthy to be killed, which had done any contumely vnto the holy seruices of *Baal*.

Wherevnto the feare of Gideon tended

But wherunto tended this pollicy of Gideon? That must nedes be cutte of which was done, neither coulde the author of so greate an enterprise be bidden. This is true: but he iudged that in the mean time this daūger was to be auoyded, lest in the day time in the acte doing he should be taken. For he should haue bene letted both by his fathers household, and also by the men of the citye, from executing the commaundementes of God, and peraduenture in accomplishinge the worke shoulde haue bene staied. Thys Baal (as in an other I haue declared) had his beginninge of Bel the father of Minus. But as touchinge the name, we must know, that by it an excellent propriety of God is expressed. For Baal in hebrew signifieth a Lord, a maister, & a husbād, al which things in very dede agree with God. For he is Lorde of all thinges, and the teacher of all true wisedome, & the onely husband of the churche. Wherefore these men erred not in iudging the proprieties of God. Neyther erred the Grecians whē they called him Ζῆν. For by that title they declared that God is the author of lyfe. The Romaynes also called God *Iubiter*, as though they should say *Iubiter* father. Wherfore these words are for god most worthy: and it may be, ỹ the old mē which so spake, had a respect vnto the true god the chief of all. But that was vtterly vngodly and detestable, which afterward was committed, namely to ascribe these proprieties as well to starres as to men, and also to brute beastes and idoles, wherby all thinges were filled with idolatry. Farthermore the Hebrewes, although God had taught thē his name, by which he would haue them call vpon him, and praye vnto him, yet they forsoke it, & vsed the names & holy seruices inuented by ỹ Ethnikes, & neglecting the rites commended vnto thē both by the law and also by their elders, they receaued prophane ceremonies. Wherfore they had an altare dedicated vnto an idole, a grone about it, and certayn yeares they fed and fatted some certayn bul lockes for the sacrifice. And at the length they became not the worshippers of the true god, but the true worshyppers of Baal in all thinges.

The name Baal agreeth very well with the true God.

Gideon in the night ouerthroweth the altar, cutteth down the grone, buildeth an altar vnto the Lord, & (as he was cōmaunded) offred a burnt offring. Al these thinges wer testimonies of his fayth, wherby he confessed, and that frō the hart that he detested idolatry, and perfectly beleued in the only lord the god of the Hebrewes and sacrificed vnto him. Some thynges are here mencioned, which were 1. not done by an vniuersall law but by a certayne prerogatiue and priuelege. Gideon being of the tribe of Manasses sacrificeth, when as sacrificing belonged only vnto the Leuites. This if he had done of his own brayne, he shoulde not haue wanted blame. Secondly a priuate man ouerthroweth the aultare, and cutteth downe the grouc: in whiche thinges he tooke vpon him the office of a magistrate. 2. But in these things we must haue a regard to the word of god, by which he was peculiarly stirred vp to do these thinges. Wherfore they which to these works are not in like manner called, ought to kepe thē selues vnder the common law. But as I haue in an other place admonished, idolatry is of all men to be taken away but yet of euery man, accordyng to his state & condition. Let magistrates by outward violence, ministers by the word, and priuate men, by admonishing and gainsaying, take away vngodlynes.

And

28 And when the men of city rose rose early in the morning, they saw the altar of Baal destroyed, & the grone, that was by it was cutte down, and the second bullocke offred vpon the altar that was made.

29 And they said one to an other, who hath done this thing: & whē they enquired and asked, they sayd Gideon the sonne of Ioas hath done this thinge.

30 Then sayd the men of the city vnto Ioas, Bring out thy sonne that he may dye: because he hath destroyed the aultare of Baal, and hath also cut downe the grone that was by it.

31 Ioas answeared vnto all those that stoode by: will ye pleade Baals cause? Or will ye saue him? He that will pleade for him let him dye ere the morninge. If he be god, let him pleade for himself a gainst him that hath cast downe his altar.

32 And he called him in ỳ day Ierubbaal: saying: Let Baal pleade with him, because he hath broken down his altar.

They most grieuously prosecute the matter against him which had violated the sacred thinges of Baal, and yet they suffred the worshipping of the true god to lye neglected and despised. It is the maner of humane wisedome, with earnest labour to defend theyr owne inuentions: and obstinately to resiste those thinges which god hath commaunded. They will kill Gideon, as a sacrilleger and moste pernicious heretike, they behaue themselues seditiously against the Magistrate, they shew forth no lawes, but in a certayne blinde fury they iudge the crime committed to be vtterlye worthye of death, when as they themselues rather should haue bene condemned worthy of death, because they had violated the worshipping not of an idole, but of ỳ true God. What he was ỳ shewed that Gideō did these thinges, the bilozy expressed not. God suffreth not such thinges to be hidden therfore he had meanes and ways in a maner infinite, whereby he would make them open. But to know what were the tokens of the thynge done, it is no skil to vs, but let vs diligently marke the impotency of idolatrers. They cannot by any meanes abide to haue wicked worshippinges taken away. The Hebrewes sayd vnto Ieremy that they would vtterly worshippe the queene of heauen, that is the moone and other starres. The Ephesians being as it were in a rage, cried without meane or reason, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The Romaines whilest Italy was wasted by the Gothes, Vandales, and Lombardes, neyther cried nor desired any other thing, but that the alters and temples of idoles might be restored. What said they was ỳ hed of euils, because the holy seruices of country were abolished. The like example do we se in these men, they neither will nor can not abide, that Gideon should escape vnles they saw had cut downe theyr idolatry. Now is Gideon counted a seditious fellow, which hath committed such thinges as we at this day of the greatest part of christendome ar accused of sedition, which haue disturbed false worshippinges now being receaued. And we graunt indede that seditions ar to be auoided as much as may be, because ciuile peace is a good thinge which wise and quiet mindes ought to desire. But contrarily the truth is not to be suppressed, neither must we sin against the worshipping of God, and it is much better to defend the word of god thā ciuile peace. Euery godly man sorroweth when tranquility of the publike wealth cannot be coupled with the obedience of the word of God. Wherfore for almuch as the one or the other is to be chosen, the whole and vncorrupted worshipping of God ought rather to be wished for, thā the commodity of outward peace. For the end of cities and publike

Idolatrers can not abide to haue vngodlye worshippinges taken away.

Obedience to the word of god is to be preferred before ciuile peace.

wealthes is, to obey God, and rightly to worshippe god, that is by his worde and prescribed rule. For to haue a rite or publike wealth quiet and peaceable, is not by it selfe necessary, but to obey God, to defende his worde, and to worshippe him as he hath prescribed, is the summe and end of all humayne things, and therefore it is to be preferred aboue all good thinges. Neither is it anye newe or vnaccustomed thing, that by true pietie seditions are stirred vp. Christ of that thing hath admonished vs: I came not (sayth he) to send peace on the earth, but a sworde. I came to kindle fire: what will I, but that it should burne? The time shall come sayth he, that for the Gospels sake, the father from the childe, the sonne from the parentes, brethern from brethren, shall not onely be alienated, but which is more cruell, they shall deliuer one an other to the death. And yet these seditions troubles are not to be ascribed vnto the godly: forasmuch as they whether they obey god, do not depart from their office, they do that which they should: the fault consisteth in the vngodly and idolatrers, they are to be accused, and condemned as guilty of those euils, because they can not abide the truth, neyther will they obey the worde of god. Wherefore preachers of the gospel ar to be absolued of this crime: for seditions spring not through they, default which obey god, but through the peruersines of the world, which stirreth vp rageth agaynst the worde of god.

The godly are not guilty of the troubles whych happen for religion sake.

Ioas, like a wise and stoute magistrate, at the beginning allayeth the people being in an vproare, the wing them how vnworthy a thinge they did, when they beyng priuate men, dare auenge the cause of *Baal*. Will ye pleade his cause? As though he should haue sayd, It is not your office, it pertayneth to me and the other magistrates. And then he maketh a proclamation agaynst the seditious persons. He that will so stand in *Baals* cause, shal dye, and that this daye, or the morninge. He shal not liue till morning, for he shalbe executed out of hand. If Baal be god, let him plead his own cause agaynst him, which hath cast down hys altar, and hath cut down his groue. If the matter be to be discussed without iudgement and ordinary action, Baal hath no neede of thys your helpe: for seing he is god, he can right wel reuenge himselfe. The last part of this sentence is some what darke. He that wyl plead: Lo, for him or against him, let him dy this day before morning. Some expounde this woorde Lo, to signifie, for him namely for Baal, as though the *Prætor* had put forth his decree after this maner: Whosoeuer goeth about to mone sedition, as though he would pleade for Baal, him will I straygtwaye punish, as a troublesome citezen, which dareth to take vpon him more then hys state may suffer. The other sense is to expound this woorde Lo, against him, as though he should haue sayde: do not rage in this sorte, because he shall vtterlye dye, and that this day before morning, which agaynst Baal hath pleaded and contended. By the power of this god he shall not escape. And this sentence seemeth to be confirmed by the wordes which follow. If he be god, let him pleade his owne cause agaynst him, which hath done him iniurye. But I rather allowe the first sentence: because the holy scripture rather vseth this worde Lo in that sense.

Gideon by his fathers auncthes was named Ierubbaal. He that pleade (saith Ioas) let Baal plead against him. These ar wordes either of them that prayeth, which would so speake in earnest or fayrenly, or els of one that affirmeth as though he should affirm, that it should vtterly so come to passe. The men which herd these wordes, either because they mistaryed that the father wished these things vnto his sonne, or els because they beleeued that the earth would straygt way swalow him vp, or the ligtening would destroy him, or that god would by some exquisit punishment punish him, they waited (I say) to see what would happen. And ther fore they called him Ierubbaal. And his surname was then of farre more estimation, when they saw that he escaped safe and sound, and contrarye to the hope of all men, deliuered the Israelites from the power of theyr enemies.

By this example Magistrates may know what they should doo, when Papistes stirre vp sedition or tumult in their dominion, because Masses are abrogated, Idolatry taken away, and the Pope throwen downe. They must valiantly stande by it, and must declare, that this charge pertaineth not vnto these, by violence to defend rites and superstitions: forasmuch as they haue not the sworde: their care should be this, to see that godlynes be rightlye and orderlye appointed. If so bee that they desire any thing against lawes or right, and thinke that they haue the better cause, let them from God waite for the successe. He is of himselfe by nature both mighty and wise, and therefore if he allowe the Masse, the Pope and superstitions, hee will then take those thinges in hande himselfe. In the meane time they ought to compel their subiectes to obey iust and healthful decrees. By these thinges it appeareth as I suppose, that *Ioas* was not a Baalite from the hart, for he could not haue said: If he be God, let him pleade his owne cause. Vnles thou wilt faine that he said, in time to come Baal shal pleade his owne cause: but what he before iudged of Baal, now he declareth, when he seeth the daunger of death that his sonne is in for his sake.

The office of a stout Magistrate against tumultes by cause of religiō

33 Then al the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and the children of Kedem were gathered together, and pitched their tentes in the valley of Jizreel.

34 And the spirite of the Lorde did put on Gideon, and he blew a trumpet, and Abiezer was gathered together after hym.

35 And he sent messengers throughout al Manasseh, and he also was ioyned wyth hym. And he sent messengers vnto Aser and Zebulon, and to Nephthali, and they came vp to meete hym.

When the vproare & seditions wer pacified, which were stirred vp for a thing godlily done of Gideon, God prouided that occasion shoulde be geuen, whereby he might by Gideon geue vnto the Israelites the victory against their enemyes. That thereby at the last they might vnderstand with howe muche godlines and profit, the worshipping of Baal was taken away. In the cōming of the enemyes the spirit of the Lord did put on Gideon, the spirit I say of strength, as the Chaldey Paraphrast interpreteth. God had before appointed Gideon for a sauiour of the Hebrues, now when he should go forth vnto the battail, he suffreth him not to go vnarmed, but endueth him with his spirit. The Metaphore of putting on is derined of garmentes, which are put vpon the bodye. The spirite of the Lorde therfore is inwardlye hidden in the outwarde man, and so wooreth by him, as though he had put him on. And this is a phrase of speche very muche vsed in the scripture, and especially in this booke. This did the Angel signify shoulde come to passe, when he said vnto Gideon: Go in this strength, and deliuer the Iewes frō the Madianites. Now is it brought to passe that Gideon is endued wyth the spirite of strength. For this was that power and myght of God, wherewith in the old time he deliuered the fathers. He blew a trumpet, and Abiezer followed him, which in dede was marueilous, forasmuch as they were so angry for the ouerthrowing of Baal. But their myndes were by the inspiration of God chaunged. For when they saw that the Idole did to him no hurt, they began to haue a good opinion of him. The whole tribe of Manasses followed him, also Zebulō, Aser, Naphthali. Gideon alone was called, but yet he would not fight with hys enemies alone. For faith refuseth not humane helpe which iustlye may be had: for godly men are not by sayth stirred vp to tempt God.

36 And Gideon sayde vnto God: If thou wylt saue Israel by my hande as thou haste sayde:

37 Behold I wyl put a fleese of wool in the threshyng place, if the dew

dew come vpon the fleese onely, & it be dry vpon al the earth, thē shal I be sure, that by my hand thou wilt saue Israel, as thou hast sayd.

38 And it was so: for he rose vp early on the morrowe, and thrust the fleese together, and wrynged the dewe out of the fleese, and filled the vyole with the water.

39 Againe Gideon sayde vnto God: Be not angry wyth me, and I wyll speake onely once more: Let me proue onely once, I praye thee wyth the fleese. Let it, I pray thee, be dry vpon the fleese onely, and let the dewe be vpon all the ground.

40 And God dyd so the same night: for it was drye vpon the fleese onely, and there was dewe on all the grounde.

Mans imbecillity is diuers and manyfold, wherby it cōmeth to passe, that in the promises of God we wauer and doubt. Gideon was called by so playne and manifest woordes, that there was no occasion of doubting left. He had no cōmon signe when the sacrifice was consumed with fire: he is nowe furnished wyth an host, & yet he now also wauereth, & needeth a new confirmation. We vse not so to do when we beleue men: for if there be but a bare promise, or a hand writing made, we are content. But God must continually beate in into vs those things which he promiseth, and seale them with miracles and Sacramentes, and yet euen then also we geue litle credit vnto them. And though we should endaūger our selues for accomplishing of our own lustes, or prosecuting our own affairs, there are we stoute, there are we bolde, and nothing afeard, when as otherwise few there are found which in God his cause, or for his woords sake wil put them selues in daunger. In which thing neuertheless we ought to be most stoute: for God wyl not leaue vs destitute of his ayde. He addeth the spurres of promises, the confirmation of miracles, and to those which cease of, he threateneth verye grieuous punishmentes. And this pestilence springeth of no other thing, but bycause we trust to our owne sense and reason, more then is conuenient. And against thys euyl there is no remedy so present, as krō them to prouoke our selues to fayth and constancy in God.

Whence our distrust cōmeth

Whither Gideon in requiring these signes, be to be condēned.

R. Leui ben Gerson thinketh that Gideon, when he required these signes, did partly distrust, and partly beleue: whose opinion if it be receaued, then Gideon is guilty of infidelity. And I iudge ẏ we must not labour much, vtterlye to acquite him of al faultes. To the Hebrues his faith in dede is commended: but me thinketh that we must not deny but that it was wauering, before it was by diuers meanes confirmed. And vndoubtedly it is a great matter, to confirme the harts of man in the woord of God. Although I am not ignorant, that they which defend Gideon, do say that he doubted not, but that he was called of god to set at liberty the Israelites. But in requiring these signes, he onelye asked counsell of God: whither he should then obtaine the victorye against the Madianites, when now he had collected an host. And that in the old time with the captaines of the Israelites was a common custome. For Saul and Dauid, although they wer by God chosen kinges, namely to saue the people, neither did they therof any thing doubt, yet did they often times aske counsel of God, whither they should ascend to any place, whither their enemies should be deliuered into their handes: or contrary, whither they should fall before their enemies, or bee deliuered into theyr handes. So peraduenture it might be sayd, that this captain, for that he had not with him the Arke of the Lord, or a Prophet whom he might aske counsel of, as touching the successe of the battail, by those signes did aske counsel of the Lord.

Augustine, Ambrose.

Augustine in his. 63. question vpon Genesis in this maner excuseth Gideon, and affirmeth that he by these petitions tempted not God, but asked counsel as touching the successe. And as cōcerning this thing, as he is wont, he agreeth with

Ambrose

Ambroſe, who in his firſt booke de ſpiritu ſancto, and. i. chap. affirmeth that Gideon doubted not. And the Rabbines of the Hebrues think that theſe ſignes wer geuen vnto Gideon by the miniſtery of ſome prophet: but what he was, neyther the ſcripture declareth, neither can they tell. And there are ſome of them whiche ſuppoſe that al this thing was done in a viſion. But of theſe things what nede we any more to argue? Foraſmuch as there is nothing whiche letteth, but that Gideon might in very dede both demaund, and haue experience of theſe things. Howbeit, the thing teacheth that al theſe things happened in the ſummer time, for that there is mencion made of dew.

I eaſily aſſent vnto Auguſtine, which ſaith that Gideon tempted not God, bicauſe I am perſwaded, that by ſuch ſignes he woulde haue his fayth confirmed, which otherwiſe was wauering. It is ſynne in dede to doubt in faythe, but to ſtrengthen the ſame, it is lawful in time to require a ſigne. For in the Goſpell the man cryed: Lord, I beleue, but helpe thou my incredulitye. Yea and Gideon alſo in the ſelfe ſame thing had before tryal of conſolation: wherfore it is no marueil if he againe deſired the remedy, which he had had experience of. He requireth contrary ſignes, bicauſe the firſt ſeemed not to be ſo great a wonder, that the reſt of the earth ſhould be dry, & the fleece moyſt. Bicauſe ſuch is the nature of wool, that by a certaine proper power it draweth moyſtnes vnto it ſelfe, as the Magnete ſtone draweth yron, and Naphtha, fire. Wherefore the wool myght eaſily drinke in the dewe, and that aboundantly, although the earth wer not yet moiſt. But that about the fleece the earth ſhould be moiſt, and the wool dry, it was vtterly againſt nature.

Auguſtine. We maye require a ſigne to ſtrengthen our fayth.

Why Gideon required contrary ſignes.

Naphtha a kinde of chalk.

What is the Allegorye of theſe ſygnes, Auguſtine vpon the. 71. Pſalme writeth, and alſo Ambroſe in his firſt booke de ſpiritu ſancto, in the Proheme. The fleece they vnderſtand to be the people of the Hebrues, who in the old time wer watred with the worde of God, when as the whole earth, that is, all other nations, wanted the preaching of the worde of God. Chriſt alſo was the miniſter of the circumciſion, & in the firſt embaſſadge he ſet his Apoſtles onely to ỹ Iewes. But afterward the thing was ſo altered, that the whole worlde, after the comming of the holy ghoſt vpon the Apoſtles, was watred wyth the worde of God, and the Iewes vtterly wanted it, and as barren bowes were cut of from the fertile and fat Olyue tree.

Auguſtine. Ambroſe. The Allegorye of theſe ſignes.

Of Miracles.

IN the ende of the chapter two thinges are to be enquired of. The firſt is of miracles: the other is, how much or in what ſort it is lawful to require them.

As touching the firſte, the Hebrue verbe is Pala, or Niphla, whiche is, it was hard, or marueilous: wherof ar deriued theſe nownes Niphlaoth or Miphlaoth. By which woordes are noted thinges ſeuered from other, for their dignitye or excellency, ſeperated I ſay, and wonderful. The Grecians call it θαυμα, of thys verbe θαυμαζω θαι, which is to marueyle. The Latines call them Miracula, that is miracles, bicauſe they are worthy of admiration. They cal them alſo Prodigia monſtra, and Portenta, that is wonders, monſters, and thinges ſeldom ſene, that we ſhould vnderſtand that God by theſe thinges wyl ſhewe that ſome certayne thing ſhal come to paſſe or be done, contrary to the cõmon order of things aboue hope or expectation. Wherfore ſeing miracles ar done aboue the natural courſe of thynges, they bring with them admiration. And vndoubtedlye there are verye many miracles, which by writers are made famous, as the temple of Diana in Epheſus, the Toumbe of Artemiſia Queene of Caria, the horrible great image of ỹ Sũne at Rhodes, the walles of Babilon, & very many other of ỹ ſort. Wherfore Auguſtine againſt the Epiſtle of the Maniches, the. xvi. chap. prudently writeth, I call a miracle whatſoeuer appeareth harde or vnaccuſtomed, aboue the hope or faculty of the wonderer. By which woordes, a certaine large deſcription

The Etymologye of ỹ woordes.

Miracles very muche renowmed.

Auguſtine. A general deſcription of myracles.

tion

tion of miracles may be had: And forasmuch as it said, that a miracle appeareth,
Transubstantiation is yll layned to be a myracle.
they are worthely reproued which do layne Transubstantiation, and wyll haue it to be a miracle, which can neither be confirmed by the holy scriptures, and seing that it appeareth not, neither can it be seene, it cannot be called a myracle.

After this very common and large description, ther is to be added, that of miracles certaine are true, and certaine are false. For those are called false myracles, which either are not that which they seme to be, or els if they bee, they are not done by anye power, which passeth nature, but by the powers of nature, although it be secrete. For Angels either good or bad may do them, and that three maner of wayes. For sometime they applye vnto matter the strengthes of nature, which they perfectly know, of which cõiunction of ỹ matter wyth efficient causes, do follow effectes, & ar in dede in a maner vpon the sodaine, at the which the beholders cannot but maruayle. The deuils know that of thinges putrified are engendred Frogges, woormes, or some certaine Serpentes, so that heate in certaine degrees be added. Wherfore seing to them it is not hard to couple these thinges together, they do it somtimes to deceaue men with al. And by this meanes
False miracles
Augustine.
Augustine thinketh (as he writeth in his .3. booke de Trinitate) that the sorcerers of *Pharao* did sometimes the same thinges which Moses dyd. Farther, the mouings of the spirites, of the blood and humours, doo verye much trouble the bodies of men: whereby figures, images, and shapes of thinges, whyche in them are kept, are in the same mocion brought before the phantasy or imagination, & by that maner and order, that the troubler of the spirite knitteth them. Wherof do spring sundry and manifold sightes, which we see doo sometimes happen in suche as are in phrensy. And the thing may come so farre, that the formes and images which are inwardly kept, may be called backe euen vnto the outwarde senses. Whereby, he which suffreth such thinges, weeneth that he verilye seeth and feeleth those thinges whiche are in his imagination or phansye, and in hys sense, when as in very dede there is no suche thing outwardlye done. And thys kinde of miracles ought rather to be referred to illusions, then to miracles.

It also commeth to passe, that sometimes these spirites by their own power, either of the ayre, or els other elements do forme certaine bodies, ỹ they appeare vtterly like mens bodies, and vnder them they appeare to whõ soeuer they lust. So came they sometimes to Abraham, Lot, and other fathers. These thinges (if we speake properly and simply) ar not true miracles, but in our reason & iudgement ther is nothing letteth, but that they may so be called. Yea and commonly Iuglers are said to do miracles, when as for all that they deceaue by the nymblenes of the handes, or by the powers of certaine thinges natural, do represent thinges wonderful to the beholders.

What true miracles are.
But this is the definition of true miracles. A miracle is a woorke hard and vnaccustomed, by the power of God, which passeth al faculty of nature created, to this ende wrought, to cause the beholders to wonder, and to confirme fayth towardes the woord of God. Wherefore the matter of miracles are woorkes: and the forme is, that they be hard and vnaccustomed. The efficient cause, is the power of God, which ouercommeth nature created. And the end of them is both admiration and also confirmation of faith.
Causes of myracles.

And that we should not doubt of the efficient cause, this I thinke good to be added: That that power of God which vtterly is aboue the faculties of nature, is to be vnderstande, sometimes to woorke by it selfe, and other sometimes eyther by Aungels or by men, and that in such maner as wee shall afterwarde declare. Farther, I wyll adde, that
Augustine.
Augustine writeth in the place before alledged against the Epistle of the Maniches, the .xxvi. chap. Miracles inouide not mooue except they were wonderfull, and they would not be wonderful, if they shoulde be accustomed thinges. As therefore they say that by admiration sprang Philosophy, whych Plato thought to be the Raynebowe, and for that cause calleth the daughter

daughter of Thaumans. so may we beleue that faith, which cõmeth of the worde of God, although it do not vtterly spring of miracles, yet by them it may be confirmed. And therefore Augustine in his. xii. booke of Confessions the. xxi. chap. saith: Ignorance is the mother of wondring at signes: this is an entrance vnto faith to the sonnes of Adam, which haue forgotten thee. By this sentence he teacheth that men which haue forget God, haue by the admiration of miracles an entrance or cõming vnto faith. And without doubt it is so. The wyll of God is hidden from vs: but he, as he is good, openeth the same to holy Prophets & Apostles: which that they may profitably declare vnto men, he geueth vnto them the gift of his holy worde. But because he knoweth that mortal men are contrary & against his worde, he hath graũted the power of working of miracles, that those thinges might the easilier be beleued, which he would haue his messenger profitably to speake. That cõfirmation of faith cõmeth by miracles, Marke testifieth, who toward the end of his Gospel saith: And they went forth, preaching euerye where, the Lord working with them, & confirming the worde with signes which followed. And how apt this kinde of confirmation is, hereby it is manifest. The promises of God do of no other thing depend, then of his wyll & power. And the signes which we now intreate of, do testify the power of God, forasmuch as they by al meanes ouercome nature, and set forth the truth of his wil: for by the inuocation of his name, & by his grace & spirit they are wrought. Wherefore Augustine in the place now alledged against the Epistle of Manicheus writeth, that miracles do bring authority vnto the worde of God. For he, when he did these miracles, semed to haue geuen an earnest peny of his promises. Neither ar these wordes to be passed ouer, which the same Augustine hath vpon Iohn, in the. 24. treatise. That miracles consist not in the greatnes of workes: for otherwise it is a greater worke to gouerne this vniuersal composition of the world, then vnto a blinde man to restore light, which he is destitute of.

Faithe cometh not of miracles but is by them confirmed.

Augustine.

Miracles consist not in the greatnes of workes.

These thynges declared, there remayneth that by apt distinctions we distribute miracles into his partes. Some of them are to be wondred at, by reason of the thing it selfe which is done, for that it is so vnaccustomed and great, that in the nature of thinges, we cannot finde the lyke of it. Suche was the staying of the Sunne in the time of Iosua, and the turning of that shadowe in the tyme of Ezechias, the conception and byrth of the Virgin, the foode of Manna in the deserte, and suche lyke. But there are some which ar miracles, not for the nature and greatnes of the thing, but because of the maner and waye whiche was vsed in bringing them to passe, as was the cloude and rayne of Helias, the budding of floores and fruites in the rod of Aaron, the thunders of Samuel, the turnynge of water into wyne, and suche lyke: For suche thinges are done by nature, but they were then myracles, because of the maner whereby they were wrought, that is, not by naturall causes, but at the commaundement and wyll of Saynctes.

An other distinction of myracles.

There is an other deuision of myracles, because some of them doo onelye moone admiration, as lyghtenynges and thunderynges in mount Sina, the turning of the shadowe of the Sunne in the tyme of Ezechias, the transfiguration of the Lorde in the Mount. There are other, which besides the admiration, doo bring a present commoditye vnto men, as when by the rodde, dryncke was geuen out of the Rocke, Manna from heauen, and when by the Lord and the Apostles sycke folkes were healed. And sometimes they bring punishment and hurt vnto the guiltye. For by the wordes of Peter perished Ananias and Saphira. Elimas the Sorcerer was made blynde by Paule: and some were by hym deliuered vnto Sathan to be vexed.

An other deuision of miracles.

By this also are miracles deuided, because some of them are obtained by prayers. For so did Elias and Elizeus, namelye by prayying, restore their deade to lyfe.

An other partitiõ of miracles.

Moses also prayng for Pharao, draue away frogs and other plagues. And other some are wrought by commaundement and authority. Iosua commaunded the sunne to stay his course. The Lord Iesus commaunded the windes, and Peter said vnto the lame man: In the name of Iesus Christ rise & walke. Ther are also other which are done neither by prayers, nor by commaundement, but of their own wyll and accord, the saintes them selues doing some other thing. Euen as when the shadow of Peter as he walked, healed those that were sycke, and the napkin of Paul healed also sothes diseased.

Augustine. In other diuision of myracles.

Lastly, Augustine (as it is written in his. 83. booke of questions, question 79.) deuideth miracles, that some are done by publik iustice, that is, by the stable and firme will of God, which in the world is counted as a publike lawe. By it, God would that his ministers, that is, Apostles and Prophetes, shoulde in preaching worke miracles. And there are other some which by the signes of this iustice are wrought, as when the vngodly in the name of God or of Iesus Christ do worke any miracle, which is not geuen but by the honour and reuerence which thei vse towardes the name of God: not that God, or nature, or any thinges created desire to gratefy them. As, when a man stealeth away a publike seale or handwryting, he may wyll many thinges, either from the men of the countrey, or from the Citizens which are not geuen vnto him, but vnto the seale which they know doth belong to the Magistrate and Prince: So he, which followed not Christe, did yet in his name cast out deuils. Thirdly, are those miracles reckoned, which by some certaine priuate bargaine are wrought, wherby the Sorcerers do binde them selues vnto the Deuyl, and the deuil likewise to them. But those ar done neither by publike iustice, nor yet by the signes therof, but come onelye of a certayne priuate conuention. Howbeit wee muste knowe, that miracles of the second and third sort are not firme, neither do they assuredly happen. For almuch as we reade in the. xix. chap. of the Actes of the Apostles, that the sonnes of Sceua would haue driuen out Deuils in the name of Iesus, whom Paul preached, to whom the Deuil said: Iesus in deede & Paul I know, but not you. Which when he had spoken, he inuaded them. And the same thing doth the act of Ciprian testify of the third kinde, before he was conuerted vnto Christ. For by magical artes he assayed to perswade a godly virgin to his filthy pleasure: which thing at the last the Deuil confessed that he could not performe vnto him.

Ciprian.

Thei be not miracles in deede which the Deuil worketh.

Howbeit we muste marke, that these miracles which are by a priuate contract done, are not in very dede miracles, but pertaine onely to those which we made mencion of before the diffinition: for although sometimes they bee that in verye dede which they seme for, yet are they not true miracles. For who doubteth, but that it was true fyre, wherwith the Cattel of Iob were burnt: and a true blast of winde, wherwith his house being throwen downe, his children were slayne. Yea and Augustine contendeth that the Serpents which the Sorcerers brought forth were not illusions, but true Serpentes in dede. For the history sayth, that when they came vnto the third signe, the Sorceters sayde: This is the finger of God, and they testified that now their cunning failed them, & that they could no more do those things which Moses by the power of God did. And that is a token that they wrought not before by illusions, & that the Sorcerers euen tyll that time contended with Moses in things in dede, & not in illusions. But some will say: If the matter be thus, that the thinges which are done by the diuell & Sorcerers, be in very dede that which they seme for: why is it vnto the Thessalonians of Antechrist written, that by him very many should be deceaued by false signes & wonders: We muste say, that the lye ought not to be referred to that which is to bee done, but vnto the miracle. For although the thinges which are done, shal sometimes be the same things in dede which they seme to be, yet shal they not be miracles, although they seme so. But Augustine answereth. Signes & wonders are called lies, either bicause they appeare, & are not in dede, or els bicause they leade

Augustine.

Why the signes of Antichrist are called lyes.

men

men to lyes. For Antechrist by those signes shall seeke nothing els, but to deceaue and allure men to beleue false thinges. That is no newe or vnaccustomed thing, that ỹ cause should by his effect obtain his name or propriety. But in that they appeare and are not, it may be two maner waies vnderstand: either bicause among true thinges some illusions are mingled: or els bicause thei are set forth for miracles, when as they are no miracles in deede.

There is an other doubt to be dissolued, how that power of God, whiche passeth nature, vseth either Angels or mẽ, as wel good as euil, to worke miracles. He vseth them as certaine instrumentes, & sometimes he doth miracles at their desire, prayers, and commaundement, without any of their outwarde worke. And sometimes he wyl haue them, to adde some worke or maistrye of theirs. For Moses smote the sea, and the rock with his rod. Christ touched the leprous, and anointed the eyes of the blinde. But we must vnderstande that there is two kindes of instrumentes. Some are so ordained, that although they are not the principal causes efficient, yet do they very much profite, for the bringing forth of the effect, as is yron to cut hard thinges, and medicines to heale, when as for all that they are instrumentes of the workemen. But God in working miracles vseth an other kinde of instrument, namely, which of their own nature haue no strength to bring forth the effect. For what good could the rod do to open the sea? What could the shadow of Peter helpe to heale the sicke? Undoubtedly nothing, if thou looke vpon nature it selfe. The instrumentes therefore which god vseth in these miracles, do of their own nature either nothing helpe vnto them, or rather sometimes let them, as the beholding of the brasen Serpent, the salt of Helizeus, the water of Elias, which he poured on the burnt offering, and the clay which Christ put to the eyes of the blinde. Wherefore, when miracles are done by instrumentes of this kinde which nothing helpe, yea rather do let the might and power of God, is much more apparantly illustrated.

What strength instruments of God haue in doing hys miracles.

Christ also to teache that natural strength seemeth nothing hereunto, at the mariage sayd vnto his mother: What haue I to doo with thee O woman? Not that he woulde in that thing derogate the authoritye of his mother, but that it might manifestly appeare, that the nature which hee tooke of her, was by hys own power, nothing able to worke miracles. Wherefore, forasmuche as God for the working of miracles vseth men and Angels, and those as well good as euyl, and sometimes those miracles are benefites, and sometimes punishments, wherewith men are either punished or holpen, we must not doubt whether God do sometimes punish by good Angels. For it is very manyfest that Sodome was ouerthrowne by Angels, the host of Senacherib slayne by an Angell, and Dauid saw the Angel which was the minister of the pestilence of the Israelites.

God vseth both good and euyll, aswel mẽ as angels, to worke miracles.

But Augustine vpon the. 78. Psalme doubteth whither God by euyll Aungels hath wrought miracles, whereby men wer immediatly endued with some benefite. And he saith, that he hath not red it in the holy scriptures: neither vndoubtedly haue I red it. Vnlesse we wyl say, that at the length it profited Paule, that he was vexed by the angel of Sathan. And that for that cause some wer by him delinered vnto Sathan, that their spirite in the day of the Lord might be saued. But the question of Augustine tendeth not to this, but whither perfect and manifest benefites, as restoringes to health, prophecies, giftes of tonges, foode, deliuerye, and suche like, are of God sometimes by the Deuill geuen vnto holye men by some certayne miracle: I thinke herein as Augustine thincketh, that the same is no where testified in the holy scriptures. But that by euyll Angels, as wel the godly as the vngodly are tempted, punished & vexed, it is euident. But after a diuers sorte, bicause (as Augustine in the same place affirmeth) there are after a sorte two flockes of men, namely one of the wicked, and an other of the good. The good are the flocke of God: euen as the wycked are the flocke of the Deuyll: wherefore towardes them he worketh more freely as toward his own,

Whither God doth by angels directiue helpe.

Augustine.

he vexeth, mocketh, and handleth them yll, as by hys owne ryght. And yet towardes them can he not do any thing beyonde the measure prescribed of God. But against the flocke of God he dareth do thing, but so much as God himselfe wyll somtime permit him, as we reade was done of Iob. God sometime suffreth the sayntes to be grieuously afflicted of Sathan, to the ende his grace towardes them may most manifestly be declared.

Whither the plagues of the Egiptians were done by good Aungels or by euyll.

But when Augustine expounedeth these wordes of the Psalme: namelye, the sending out of euyll Angels, he doubteth whither the plagues of the Egiptians were done by a good Angel or by the Deuyl. And at the length he sheweth, that the plague and destruction of the first begotten maye be ascribed vnto the ministery of the Deuyl: but the other plagues are to be attributed vnto good angels, that the sentence both of the booke of Exodus and of the Psalme may stand fast. Howbeit, as touching that plage of the firste begotten, in Exodus it is written vnder the name of God: I will this night passe through Egipt, and will smite. &c By these woordes that destruction semeth to be ascribed, eyther vnto god, or to a good Angel, and not vnto the Deuil. But that moueth me not much, bycause although it were done by the ministery of the Deuil, yet maye it be ascribed vnto the Lorde. For Iob, when by the woorke of the Deuil he was bereft bothe of goodes and children, said neuertheleße: The Lorde hath geuen, and the Lorde hath taken away, and that (sayd he) was done by the Lorde, which was done by the Deuil. But some obiect: If we assigne these things vnto the Deuil, then shal he seme to haue fought against himself. For the Sorcerers, by the help of deuils, withstoode Moses, when they did the same thinges that he dyd. And if plagues were by euyl Angels sent against the Egiptians, and the Sorcerers went about to withstand them, then Sathan semed to resist Sathan. Neither could the Sorcerers haue truelye sayde that they fayled, and testified that it was the fynger of God wheych wrought. But these reasons in my iudgement are not strong, bycause the thinges done by the Sorcerers, were done by the power of Sathan, which is vnto him naturall. For by it he is able to applye the seedes of thynges and woorking causes to his matter prepared, and to woorke wonders as touching the sight of man. But those thinges, wherewith God afflicted the Egiptians, were by his most mighty power wrought by the instrument of the Deuyll. Wherefore it is no maruail if the Sorcerers failed, and felt the most excellent power of the finger of God.

The place of Exodus and of the Psalme is conciliated.

Howbeit the booke of wysdome the. xviii. chap. semeth vtterly to ascribe these plagues vnto God, wher he saith: while al thinges wer stil, and when the night was in the middest of her course, thy almighty word. &c. And in the. xvii. chap. it is written, that the Egiptians being among those plagues, especially when they were oppressed with darknes, wer with horrible vexations of minde, and sights very terrible so vexed, as though most doleful spirites had perpetuallye bene before their eyes, and about their phantasy: which vndoubtedly might be done by the sending of euyl Angels, as the Psalme doth mencion. Their hart also was hardened, and their mindes were dayly made much more obstinate againste the Israelites. And that semeth to haue pertained to the sending downe of euil angels. Wherefore these two places may easely be made to agree, in ascribing the plagues which ar mencioned in Exodus to good Angels, and the terrible sights and harroning of the hartes to the sending of euyl Angels vpon them, of wheych the Psalme now alledged maketh mencion.

The power to woorke miracles maketh not me better or woorse.

But forasmuch as God (as it is declared) for the woorking of miracles, vseth both euil & good, angels & men, the godly men ought not therefore to be greued, bicause oftentimes he geueth not vnto them this faculty. For they are not for ỹ cause of any worse condition, then are they to whom God graunteth to woorke miracles. For the Lord said vnto his Disciples, when they returned from theyr embassage: Reioyce not in this, bicause spirites are subiect vnto you: reioyce ye

rather

rather for this, because your names are written in heauen. There are some which are so desirous of such thinges, that to obteine signes, they are not afraid to vse euen the help of ỹ deuill, and vnder this pretence they excuse themselues, because god himself to worke signes vseth Sathan, in following of whome they do well, so farre as they of that they can be cõdemned guilty of any crime. They say also that Paul deliuered some to the deuill to be vexed: and therfore they also may vse his ministerye. But what manner of men are they, whiche will affirme that it is lawfull for them to do asmuche as is lawfull vnto god? God is the author of all creatures, wherfore it is no maruell if he vse them all. But vnto vs it is by the law of god prescribed that we should not do it. And the immitation of god is so farforth commended vnto vs, as by his law it is commaunded vs and no otherwise. For he reuengeth his owne iniuries. And who will saye, that priuate men may do the same? God adioyned vnto his owne burnt offring the bullocke appointed for Baal (as we haue haue now hard) with the wood also dedicated vnto the same idole: shall euerye one of vs therefore eate thinges dedicated vnto idoles? The rule of our actiõs, is the word of God. Wherfore we ought not to be drawen to imitate him, but so muche as the lawe suffreth. That lawe hath he made, not for himself, but for men, that they should frame their life after it. Wherfore it was to him lawful to require of Abraham the immolation of his sonne, which thing none of vs can require of our frend. Paule and other Apostles had euill spirites subiect vnto them, and by them it was sometimes lawfull vnto them, to punish the guilty for their saluation: Wherefore those to whome such a gift is not graunted ought to abstayne from exercising the same.

Wherefore the vse of the power of euil spirites is of two sortes, whereofone is with authority, and that belongeth chiefelye vnto god, also to the Apostles, and to the sayntes of the primitiue church. The other by compact & obedience which is vtterly forbidden me. For what participatiõ ca ther be of the light with darknesse, & of god with Belial? And for that cause the sorcerers which beleue thẽ, can not be excused, yet they ar by the law condẽned guilty of superstition & idolatry. And it is not to be thought, but that god vpõ very iust causes, and to vs most profitable hath forbidden these things to be done. For he prouideth that we should not be deceaued, and that by those meanes we should not be throwne headlonge into destruction. For therto at the length commeth the fallo whippes with Sathan. For the deuil is a lier, & the father of lyes, and he is also a murtherer, euen from the beginning, as Christ hath taught. Wherfore let this be a firm sentẽce, which the schoolemen also in the 2. boke of Sentences. Dist. 8. & among them Thomas especially, so that not only the old fathers haue ratified, that if there be any thing to be desired, which is aboue the faculty of mã, the same ought to be desired onely of God, which thing they which do not, they fall into Apostasy from faith, worshipping creatures in steede of god. I would to god both the olde fathers and the schole men, would haue abiden constant in it, who afterwarde (forgetting themselues I cannot tell how) consented to the inuocations of sayntes, beynge mone deade, and haue instituted exorcistes or coniurers to the bodyes & reliques of saints, which being adorned with no peculier gift of miracles, do with most seuere threatninges, and very imperiously adiure deuils: desirynge of the sayntes, which are now dead, to driue out euill spirites out of those that be possessed.

But those spirytes if sometymes they good oute, as they are bidden they dod not that agaynste their will, but they dyssemble obedience, therwith to stablysho idolatrye. And it is no lesse pleasaunte to them to possesse soules, then to vere bodies. Augustine in his 2. booke de ciuitate dei, the. 23. chapt. telleth that Porphyrius wrote vnto Anebuntes, that certayne sorcerers were so accustomed with threatninges to feare deuils, that they said That if they would not do those things which they were cõmaunded to do, they would breake down heauen & earth, and so presse and punish them. Who seeth not here the subtelties of the deuil, which faineth that he feareth such foolish and ridiculous coniuratiõs, as they call them. But of this we haue spoken very largely

To worke signes we must not vse the help of the deuill.

It is not lawfull to imitate God in all thinges.

Why God forbad men to vse the helpe of the deuil to worke miracles.

The inconstancy of certayn fathers and especially of schole men.

Augustine.

I thinke it good nowe to returne to examine the laste parte of our diffinicion, wherin it was sayd, that miracles are therfore done to establish fayth. And that seemeth to be very much against this particle, that we ought not lightly to geue credite vnto miracles, forasmuch as they may shew occasion of erring. And therhence is derined no sure kind of argument, but an argument very daungerous. And that is proued by manye places. First the Lorde sayth in the. 24. chapter of Math. that the false prophetes in the latter time shall by signes so deceiue men, that if it were possible euen the very electe should be deceaued, which selfe same sentence Paul to ỹ Thessal. more amply protestated. By the boke of Exodus also we learne that we may not beleue signes. For the sorcerers of Pharao did for a little space worke the same signes which Moses did. In Deutr. also it is commaũded that we must not beleue a prophet, although he worke signes, if he moue vs to idolatry. Wherfore seing miracles may be wrought, aswel for the defending of false doctrine, as for true, they ought not to be counted mete to confirm faith.

Augustine.

Yea and Augustine in his 10. boke de ciuitate dei the. 16. chapt. writeth: If ãgels require sacrifices to be offred vnto them, and worke signes: and contrarywise, if other shall testify that we must sacrifice onely vnto God, and yet working no miracles: we must beleue them and not the other. The same Augustine contra Faustum de Manichæis sayth: Signes ye worke none, wherby we should beleue you, yea and although ye should worke them, yet should wee not beleue you.

Miracles ar not sufficiente to cõfirm faith.

Wherfore we must know that miracles in very deede are not sufficient to confyrme fayth therby: it is behoue all thinges needfull to iudge of that doctrine, whiche is brought: and that by the testimony of the holy scriptures, wherewith if it do agree, we must beleue it euen without signes. But if miracles be added, the beleuers are still the more established: and they whiche yet haue not beleued, are made at the leaste more attentife, and the way to beleue is opened vnto them.

Miracles and sacramentes ar after a sort like

Miracles also are after a sorte like vnto sacramentes: for both of them ar added as certayne seales vnto promises. And euen as miracles profite not, vnlesse firste there be a respect had vnto the doctrine: so also the sacramentes bring no commodity but much hurt, vnlesse they be receaued with a pure fayth. Both of them serue to confyrme fayth, but neither of them are sufficient by themselues. For they are blessed, and so be prayed in deede, which beleue without the helpe of miracles. Our Lorde sayth: Blessed are they which haue not seene, and haue beleued. And yet for all that the confyrmation of signes is not to be contemned. Paradventure thou wilt say: Seing they are so profitable to confyrme fayth, why did the Lorde in Math. 8. and 12. and in manye other places forbidde that they should be published? There were many causes thereof, he would firste haue his doctrine preached, and afterward miracles should followe. But if he had permitted certayne whome he healed, strayght waye to haue published abroade that which he had done, then should not doctrine haue bene ioyned with that spreading abroade of the miracle, forasmuch as they were not yet instructed in godlynes.

Why the lorde sometimes forbad that his miracles should be published.

He did it also, least he should seeme to be infected with vayne desyre of worldly glory. Therfore he would by his own example withdraw vs from the same. Farther none knew better then himself, what they were whome he healed. And he would not suffer euerye one to publishe and preache his miracles. Wherfore he prohibited diuers, that they should not do it. Moreouer he saw that by the bayne and naked preachinge of miracles, it would come to passe, that the light and fickle vnlearned people should not be led vnto the sincere fayth, but rather to appoynte vnto him worldly honours, which he coueted not. And this to be true the. 6. chap. of Iohn declareth, where it is written, that the people because they receaued breade of him, would haue made him a kinge. Lastly, he would not stirre vp agaynst himself the enuy and woodnes of the high priestes, Scribes, and whatelles more then opportunity of time would suffer.

Wher

Wherfore in Luke the.9.chap. when in hys transfiguracion he had shewed vnto his Apostles a shew of his glory, he cõmaunded thẽ, that they should not at that time publishe abrode that which they had seene. The same thinge also he commaunded, when demaunding what men sayd of himself, he had wrong from Peter the true confession, wherin he affirmed that he was the sonne of God, he commaunded I say that they should not tel vnto other that Jesus was the Messias. For they wer not then so confirmed, that if they had spread such things abroad, they could in disputing haue confirmed the same by apt testimonies. Wherfore he thought meete that they shoulde tary till they were more fully instructed. He would not haue the truth vtterly to be vnspoken of, but yet to the openinge of the same, he chose a time conuenient. Wherfore it is not therby rightly gathered that myracles are of no force to confirme fayth, bycause Christ sometimes forbad that they should be published, forasmuch as that commaundement of the Lorde belonged onely for the taking of better occasions, and not perpetually to keepe silence. Lastlye there is an other thinge, whiche seemeth to be agaynste that article of the definicion: For it seemeth that faythe cannot be confyrmed by miracles, when as they require it, and wil haue it to goe before them. For in Math. the.13. chapter it is written, that Christe, bicause of the incredulitye of his owne citizens, wrought in a manner no miracles. And Marke addeth, that he could not. Wherfore it shuld seme that it is rather to be said, that miracles ar constituted and stablished by fayth, when as if it be not present (as the Euangelistes say) miracles can not be done. I answere, that they which by prayers will obtayn miracles, must after an accustomed & iust maner be endewed with faith: for bayne are those prayers counted which leane not vnto fayth. But if a miracle be geuen, there is nothing letteth, but that fayth whiche is begon, maye by it be stirred vp & confyrmed. Farther this is for assured, that god is not letted, but that he can also geue miracles vnto the vnbeleuers, yea he hath oftentimes geuē miracles vnto them. Vndoubtedly Pharao and the Egiptians were infidels. And who knoweth not but that there were vnto them very many miracles wrought by Moses? Christ likewise did then shew the miracle of his resurrection, when all men in a maner dispayred of his doctrine and truth. Wherfore nothing letteth but that faith may by miracles be confirmed. And for that cause as we haue said, they which contend by prayers to obteyne signes, do labour in vayn, except they beleue. Bycause prayers without fayth are of no value wyth God, which Christ hath manifestly taught in Math. the.17. For when his disciples could not heale the lunatike child, when the cause thereof was demaunded, he sayd, that it came of theyr vnbeliefe: whose saying were openly declareth, what we muste iudge of those counters, which at the sepulchers of saincts and at reliques, go about to expell deuels. All thinges are there faynedly done. Deade men are without faythe called vpon, and the deuil playeth together with idolatrers, and faineth that he beleeueth, to the end that pernicious worshippynges may be retayned: whiche is hereby manifest, bycause those Exorcistes are both men moste vnpure, and also they driue things there without fayth.

Whither fayth goeth before miracles or commeth after.

God sometime geueth miracles vnto the vnbeleuers.

Against the conturations which are made at the sepulchres or graues of the deade.

Origene vpon the.17. chapt. of Mathew hath very wel written agaynst this a Origene
lust. If at any time (sayth he) we muste be by these holpē, we muste not speake with the spirite, eyther in adiuring hym, or commaunding hym, as though he heard vs, but onelye let vs persuere in geuinge our selues to prayers and fastinges. These wordes spake he, euen then when the inuocation of the dead, and worshipping of reliques were not vsed in the church. What would he at this day say if he should se the madnes of our times? But to return vnto ỹ hed of the doubt, I iudge that fayth goeth before miracles, as touching those which by prayers obtayne them, but not as concerning those which stand by, and haue not yet beleeued the preaching which they haue heard.

But let vs see by what meanes miracles may sometimes be done by wicked men. For some shall say in the latter time: Lord, haue not we cast out deuils in thy name, haue not we prophesied &c. Vnto whome shalbe aunswered: Verily I say vnto you, I know you not. They vndoubtedly in working miracles, as it seemeth credible, added prayers, when as for all that they wanted fayth, neyther were they iustified, neyther pertayned they to the kingdome of God. Wherefore that seemeth not to be firme, that prayers poured out without faith are not herd. But we must note, that ill men which by prayers obteined miracles, wer not vtterly wont fayth. For there ar three kinds of faith found. For there is a faith which consisteth of humayne opinion and perswasion, whereby those thinges which ar written in the holy scriptures ar beleued to be no lesse true then the histories of Liui, Suetonius, & those things which ar now written of the new Ilandes. This kinde of fayth, as touching many thinges, is common to the Turkes & Iewes. Ther is an other faith, whereby we being stirred vp by the heauenly inspiration, do liuely & with efficacy cleaue to the promise of the mercy of God. By this faith certaynely is attayned iustification. Lastlye the third fayth is called the fayth of miracles, whereby we are neither chaunged, nor made the better, euen by a heare: forasmuch as it is the mouinge of the spirite of God, wherewith men are stirred vp to desire miracles, vtterly beleuing that it is the will of God, that they should be done, and that which is required, should haue successe. Wherfore whilest they leane vnto this fayth, sometimes they obtayne, that which they desire: which I therefore speake because not alwayes they doo so, neither are they alwaies illustrate with that inspiration.

Wyth what faith euill men are endewed, by whome god worketh miracles.

Three kyndes of fayth.

Myracles are not alwayes wrought at the prayers of wicked men.

Chrisostome.

If so be that thou wilt demaūd, how this kind of fayth can be proued, let Chrisostome aunswere, which vpon the 17. chapter of Mathew maketh mention of it. There Christ sayd: If you haue fayth as much as is a grain of mustard seede, you shall say vnto this mountayne: throw thy self into the sea, and it shall do it. In expounding these wordes, this father sayth: because ad this day these thinges ar not done in the church, shal we therfore say that Christians are destitute of faith? God forbid, that we should iudge so euil of the people of God. The fayth which iustifieth, is present, but that which is called the fayth of miracles, hath now ceased. This kind of faith also is shewed by the words of ℣ apostle in the 1. epistle to the Corrinthians, wher he sayth: Although I haue all faith, so that I can remoue mountaynes, and haue not charitye, I am nothinge. Neyther let that trouble vs, in that he sayth Al. For that distributiō is to be vnderstood vnto the faith of miracles. But that is more manifestly perceaued by the same epistle, wher the Apostle maketh mencō of the gratious gifts, saying: to some is geuē the word of wisedome, to other the word of knowledge, to some the power to heale, and to other some fayth in the same spirite &c. That fayth can not in this place be vnderstand, wherby we are iustified. For it is not reckened among giftes, which ar priuately distributed to some, but is commō to all true Christians. Now as I think it appeareth, by what meanes they which are not iustified by their prayers, doo sometimes obtayne miracles, namely bycause they ar not destitute of euery kind of faith. But now we haue sufficiently spoken of this first question.

Whither it be lawfull for godly men to desire miracles.

Now must we see, whither it be lawfull for godlye menne to desire miracles. These reasōs they vse to alleag which seme to be against it. First bycause god in that thing should be tempted: and that doth the law of god vtterly forbid. Yea & our sauiour with this aunswere repressed the deuill: Thou shalte not tempt the Lord thy God. And the Hebrewes ar reprehended for this by name, bicause thei tempted god in the wildernes. The sonne of god also, when the Pharesies sayde, maister, we will see a signe of thee, sayd: This frowarde and adulterous nation seeketh a sign and a sign shall not be geuen them &c. And Achab other wyse a wicked king, pretended a shew of righteousnes, saying that he would not tempt God, and therefore he detratted to desyre a sygne.

Vnto

Unto the question I answere: That after a sort it is lawfull to desire signes, and the same also after a sorte is unlawfull. The first parte of the sentence is thus proued: When holy men desire, as touching any unaccustomed vocation to be made more assured of ỹ wil of God, & are afrayd, least peraduenture they should be deceaued (for as conterning it they haue nothing for certayn in the holy scriptures and we must not lightly beleue men and angels in those thinges: for euil angels vse sometimes to be trãsformed into angels of light) when I say they are troubled with such doubt, & the will is ready, yea desirous to obey the commaundement of the Lord, if than they desire to be confirmed by some signe, these godly men cã not be accused of tempting of god, or of rashnes. For who soeuer in those cases desireth those thinges, whiche god vseth to offer, he departeth not from the right way. As man is ignorant, but that to Achab was offred a signe, that he might be cõfirmed of the promises offred him by Esay. Wherfore to desire those thinges whiche god sometymes geueth and freely offreth, ought not to be prohibited as unlawfull. The thing wanteth no examples. *Moses* when he had neede of the helpe of god, oftentymes in the desert obteyned miracles for the people of god. And to confirme the doctrine of truth, both Helias and Helizeus, desired of god that life might be restored vnto the children of their hostes. And to the same end Christ sayd: But that ye should knowe that the sonne of man hath power to forgeue sinnes, he turned to the man sicke of the palsey and sayd: Take vp thy bed, rise and walke. Wherfore miracles are desired of holy men, and that iustly, either that they may be made the more assured of their vocation, or to helpe a great and vrgent necessity, or els to beare witnesse vnto sound doctrine. And alwayes, when they desire miracles to these ends, let them desire the same not of any creatures, but of god onely, and in asking them let them vse a meane: for they declare that they will or desire nothyng, but that whiche is agreable vnto the will of god.

For what causes godly men may desire miracles.

Cautions in desiring of miracles.

Nowe on the contrary parte let vs consider after what maner miracles are vnworthely and vniustly desired. First there are some, whiche therfore desire miracles, bicause they are not wel perswaded of the power, goodnesse and prouidence of god, neither seeke they any thing els, but to haue a trial of those things. Neither are they contente with the doctrine of the holy scriptures, which manifestly and amply teache all these thinges. Wherefore iustly are they to be reproued, for asmuch as they be ready rather to beleue miracles, than ỹ worde of god. Wherfore Abraham aunswered vnto that riche man whiche was tormented in flames of fire, whẽ he desired that *Lazarus* might be sent vnto his brethren, that they also should not be thrust downe into the same punishementes: They haue Moses and the Prophetes. By which wordes is manifestly declared, that we must rather beleue ỹ holy scriptures, thã miracles. There ar other also, which for this cause desire miracles, that they may liue more pleasauntly as touching the flesh, and to satisfie their wicked lustes. Of which faulte the Hebrues are accused, bycause in the deserte, when very great aboundance of Manna was ministred vnto them, they desired flesshe, that they might lyue the more pleasauntly in that wildernesse. Lastly, some desire miracles for this entent, to satisfie theyr vayne curiosity. For (as *Plinius* hath sayd) ỹ nature of mã is most greedy of new things. Wherfore they seme to desire miracles as playes and pastetymes to sporte thẽ selues withal. In that maner looked Herode for miracles of Christ: for when he was brought vnto him, he desired to fede and delite his curiosity with miracles. Nowe I suppose it is manifest, how it is forbidden to desire signes, and howe it is lawfull sometymes to desire them.

When it is not lawfull to desire miracles.

Plinius.

Now must we dissolue these thinges, which seme to be agaynst those thinges that we haue spoken. They which by the waye and maner already described do desire miracles, do not without doubt tempt God: forasmuch as that is nothing els, than of an vnbeleuing minde, and of rashnesse, to desire a triall of hys will

An answere to obiections. What it is to tempt god.

and

and power, whiche vice certainely is in the holy Scriptures fully and worthily reproued. Wherfore, the Lord Jesus Christ, did not without iust cause reproue the deuil, when he would haue led him to haue throwen himself headlong from ẏ temple, whereby he myght be made the more assured of the benenolence of God towardes him, when that by arte there was a playne way to descende by. The same sonne of god also did not vnworthily reprehend the Iewes as a frowarde and adulterous generation, vnto whom he therfore denied a signe, bycause they had already sene very many, yet they spake euill of them al, and mocked Christ, in such sorte that they desired not euery kinde of miracle, but one from heauen, as thoughe they would not also deride signes from heauen: vndoubtedly their purpose tended to no other end, but to alienate ẏ people from the Lord, although he had wrought wonderfull miracles. And as touching Achaz the wicked king. I shall not nede to stande long about him: for he fayned that when he was called of ẏ Prophet, he did very faithfully beleue, as thoughe he neded no miracle, whē as for all that he was altogether vnbeleuing, whiche the 2. booke of kinges manifestly declareth: for he sent vnto Tiglathphalasar the king of the Asirians, to deliuer him from the siege, so farre was he of from putting confidence in the Lord. And when God was not ignorannt of his disease, he offred vnto hym the remedy of a miracle, and gaue him his choise, whiche for all that he of hypocrisie refused. If Achaz had in very dede beleued god, he would not haue refused to obey, for asmuch as obedience is reckened among the principall fruites of faith.

Obedience is the principall fruite of faith.

Let vs (I pray you) with this wicked kyng conferre his most holy sonne Ezechias. For he did not so, but to the end he myght be made the more assured of recouering health, he very modestly required a signe: vnto whō when Esay ẏ Prophet graūted his desire, willig him to chuse whether he would haue ẏ shadow of ẏ sunne to be remoued forward, or turned backward, he tooke his choise, neither did he frowardly like his father wōtād ẏ miracle offred him by god. But wicked Achaz added hipocrisie vnto infidelitie. For he considering that miracles are for two causes refused, either for that a man beleueth fully in god, neither hath nede of the ayde of miracles, or els for that he vtterly contemneth god, and passeth nothing at al of his aide, he would hide ẏ latter disease wherof he was sicke, namely ẏ cōtēpt of god: e he dissēbled vertue, wherof he was cleane voyde, namely a singular faith, as thoughe he durst not tempt God. But for asmuch as God most perfectly knoweth the hart and the raynes, he reproued hym by the Prophete according to his deserte. What other thing is it to refuse a miracle offred of God, thā to repell the succor of the spirituall infirmitie? As he that is hunger sorouen is to be accused if he refuse bread: so was he to be reproued, which refected a medicine offred hym by god, whē as he knoweth, what euery one of vs neded, far better than we our selues can see. This is nowe sufficient as touching these things, whiche at the beggynning of the question semed altogether to forbidde the askyng of miracles.

I know in dede there are some whiche thinke that miracles are vtterly not to be desired: but onely not to be refused when God offreth them. And they thinke that Augustine maketh with them, whom (in his 4. booke de Consensu Euangelist. and in his questiōs super Genesin. Quesstiō 63) semeth to affirme thys thing. But if thou wilt obiect, that very many godly e holy men did it, and especially our Gideon: they answere, that they were moued by the spirite of God to desire miracles: and therfore it was all one, as if God had freely offred signes vnto thē, and they of obedience shoulde haue receaued the miracles whiche were offered. But these things ought nothing to trouble vs, bycause Augustine in the places alledged, doth not absolutly and simply prohibet to desire miracles, except they be desired to tempte god withall, or vpon some naughty occasion. ea in the 63. question vpon Genesis he sayth: When this is not rightly done, it pertayneth to the tempting of god. Let vs heare him rather in his 10. boke of Cōfessions the 35.

Augustine.

chap:

chap. where he sayeth: In religion also is tempting of god, when signes and miracles are desired, to take a triall: Which thyng I also a litle before haue willed to be taken heede of. And I will easily graunt that the Sainctes required not miracles by the instinct of the holy ghost, or mouyng of humane reason: other wise their prayers had ben voyde and of none effect, for that (as Paul testifieth) it behoueth, that the spirite do with vnspeakable groning pray for vs. But I thinke I haue now sufficiently spoken of the questions proposed.

The vii. Chapter.

1 Then Ierubbal (who is Gideon) rose vp early, and all the people that were with him, and pitched beside the well of Harod, so that the host of the Madianites was on the north side of the in the valley by the hil of Moreh.

2 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon: The people that are with thee, are to many for me to geue the Madianites into their handes, least Israell make their vaunt against me, and say: myne owne hand hath saued me.

3 Now therefore proclayme in the eares of the people, and say: Who is timerous and fearefull: Let him returne, and departe early from mount Gilead. And there returned of the people 22000. & so 10000. remayned.

4 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon: The people are yet too many: Bring them vnto the water, and I will try them for thee there. For of whom I say vnto thee: This man shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee: and of whomsoeuer I say vnto thee: This man shall not go with thee, the same shall not go.

5 So he brought the people to the water. And the Lorde sayd vnto Gideon, As many as lappe the water with their tongue, as a dogge lappeth them put by themselues: & euery one that shall bowe down hys knees to drinke, put a part.

6 And the number of them that lapped by putting their handes to their mouth were 300. mē: but all the rest of the people kneled downe vpon their knees to drinke water.

7 And the Lord sayd vnto Gideon, By these 300. men that lapped, will I saue you, and deliuer the Madianites into thine hand: and let all the other people go euery man to his place.

8 So the people tooke vitayles in their handes, and their trompettes, and he sent all the rest of the Israelites euery man vnto hys tente, and retayned the 300. men. And the host of Madian was beneath him in the valley.

As much as we can gather by the history, the host of Gideon consisted of 32000. souldiers: whiche nomber although it may seme great, yet in comparison of the enemies it was but small. For they had 135000. men in campe, but of the 32000. souldiers of Gideons, god chose onely 300, by whom he would geue the victory vnto the Israelites. This is a very smal number, that of euery thousand he take only. v. But so god wrought. For there ar few good, said he. If in Sodome there had ben onely v. men iust, the whole Citie had ben saued. The number of good men, thoughe it be small, yet it is of such force, that God for their sakes spareth the rest. Wherfore most true are the oracles, wherin it is sayd: Many are called, but few are chosen, and the remnauntes onely shalbe saued. But although God

allowed

allowed not so great a number, yet the acte of Gideon is not to be condemned, which gathered it vnto himselfe: for he vsed that prudence, which was not cõtrary to the worde of god: yea if he had not collected an host, he might haue semed to tempt god, as he which had refused helpes prepared, and those full helpes. Let vs remember that in humane actions there ar two notable daungers: One is of rashenesse, when we will not vse meanes and helpes set before vs. Which vice euill the Anabaptistes are grieuously infected: for they will vse no weapons, and they abhorre from the offices of Magistrates. The other daunger is, least we attribute to much vnto humane and naturall aydes, whiche they do that trust to much in their workes. Of these two daungers the one Gideon by himselfe auoydeth in collecting a sufficient great army: for in his enterprise he would not neglect an ordinary ayde of souldiers. And God prouideth that he should not fall into the other daunger: for from the multitude of those souldiers he withdrew the greatest parte. And why he did it, this reason he bringeth, because men do gladly vsurpe glory vnto theselues, neither will they graunt any of it euen vnto God, as it is mete they should. Therfore he sayth that his will is, that euen as the victory should be geuen by hym, so also it should euidently appeare, to be graunted by hym.

Two verye great daũgers in humane actions.

Why God remoued so many from the hoste of Gideon.

Euen then also when many souldiers get the vpper hande, God geueth the victory: but that is not so manifest, as when with a litle host we ouercome our enemyes. God also sedeth vs, euen then when all thinges are abounda nt and good cheape: but that is not so well perceaued, as when a great multitude is refreshed with foure or fiue losues. And vndoubtedlye it is the power of God, when the gospel is defended and spread abrode by men very well learned and princes most stout. But it is not then so euident as when it is sowed by idiotes & powr men, and that with great fruite, & incredible felicitie. Wherfore Paul sayd: Wee thren see to your vocation: not many noble men, not many mighty men, not many wise men are called, but god hath chosen the foolish, weake, and contemned things of the world, because he would not haue the Crosse of Christ and the power therof abrogated, but manifestly to appeare, that euen as Ieremy commaunded, the strong man should not glory in his strength, nor the riche man in his riches, neither the wise man in his wisedome. God doth very wel agree with the Prophet, where he sayth to Gideon, Least Israel boast against me. Who soeuer is proude because of the prosperity whiche he hath obteyned, ỳ same man boasteth against god, and his doing is all one, as if he should chase vnto himselfe an other god. God commaundeth a decree to be proclaymed, that they whiche were fearefull, should returne home. No new thing is commaũded, for asmuch as that precept is found in Deut. the 20. chap: where preceptes of warlyke affaires are very well set forth. First, the Israelites are commaunded, not to be afeard, when they see the weapons, horses, chariotes and multitude of their enemyes, because ỳ Lord standeth on their side. Then it is ordayned, that the Priest should come forth amongest them, with a sermon, confirming the hartes of the souldiers, that they are the people of god, and therfore ought not they to feare their enemies. Farther it is commaunded, that they should be dismissed, which in that yeare had built an house, which had planted a vineard, and whiche had maried a wife. First, least if they should fal in the battaile, they should dye without tasting the fruite of their owne labours. Secondly (as I suppose) because such men haue a great affection vnto those thinges whiche they haue lately obteyned, and therfore they do litle good in the campes, when as their minde is at home. Lastly, that is also ordayned whiche the Lord nowe commaundeth, that as many as are not of a valiant courage, but fearefull, should returne home, least by their feare they should daũt the courages of others. For oftentymes it happeneth, that by the feare of a fewe, which begyn to geue place vnto their enemyes, the rest of the camp, which otherwise are strong and valiant, do turne themselues to flight. Great is ỳ num-

Euen then also when by many souldiers we ouercome, god geueth the victory.

That which is here commaunded it is also cõmaunded in Deut.

The cause of their feare whiche were dismissed.

ber of thoſe whiche God refuſed, when as 22000. departed: But yet bycauſe God will haue men to acknowledge thoſe thinges to be iuſt which he doth: therfore he maketh it euident, that al they which departed, were iuſtly diſmiſſed, namely bycauſe they were fearefull. And R. Leui Geriſchon affirmeth that they were alſo euill men, for as muche as their feare proceded not of a ſound and perfect conſcience. They feared peraduenture, that the vengance and wrath of God towardes them was now at hand.

M. Leui bens Geriſchon.

The profeſſion alſo of Chriſtian religion requireth ſtrength, and that no common ſtrength. And therefore the Lord ſayd, that we muſt imitate hym, whiche would build a towre. For firſt he counteth with himſelfe the charges, leaſt afterward not beyng able to finiſhe the worke whiche he began, he be compelled to leaue it vnfiniſhed. Alſo we muſt followe a kyng goyng on warfarre, whiche diligently weygheth with himſelfe, with howe many thouſand ſouldiers he may mete his enemyes. Neither is he mete for the kyngdome of heauen, whiche ſtrayght waye plucketh his hande from the ploughe. And howe great a ſtrength we haue nede in profeſſing of Chriſt, the wordes of Paul do manifeſtly declare, wherein he ſayth: All they whiche will lyue godlyly in Chriſt Ieſu, muſt ſuffer perſecution. The ſame thyng alſo teſtifieth he, ſaying: Our battayle is not agaynſt fleſhe and bloud, but agaynſt wicked ſpirites whiche dwell in the ayre. Wherefore we are not called vnto idleneſſe, but to a moſt ſharpe battayle, and therefore we haue nede of ſtoute and valiaunt courages. Neither is it ſufficient for good ſouldiers to caſt awaye feare out of theyr myndes, vnleſſe alſo they be prompt and induſtrious. Wherefore the ſeconde tyme they are brought vnto the water, where yet the ſluggiſhe are ſeparated, which will not drinke, but bowing themſelues on their knees. Thoſe are they whiche pamper themſelues, they can abyde no ſorowe, and they are quickly ouercome. There were onely 300. whiche dranke with reaching their hande vnto their mouth, & they alone were ioyned vnto Gideon. Here may we ſe, how god with drew frō Gideon his captayne humanes aydes, not vndoubtedly to betray him, but therby to geue him a more noble victory. Wherefore when helpes of nature are taken away, then muſt ſtrēgth of fayth remayne, where with we muſte no leſſe followe our vocation, then if they were preſent. Whiche, thynge very many doo not, whiche ſtrayght waye as ſoone as they ſee themſelues deſtitute of humane helpes, they byd al pure doctrine farewell: when as for all that they ought to remember, that the power of God, whereby the blynde are made to ſee, the dead made a lyue, and the poore, bleſſed, nothyng dependeth of worldly helpes.

In profeſſiō of Chriſtian religion we haue nede of greate ſtrength.

What the bowyng of ỏ knees ſignifieth.

Concernyng the wordes of the hiſtorye two thynges are to be noted. The firſte is, that the fearefull are commaunded to returne vnto Gilead, whiche ſemeth not to be agreable vnto the place where they were. For they were not on this ſyde Iordane, where mount Gilead laye in the tribe of Manaſſes, in the family I ſaye of Machir, but they were come into the lande of Chanaan beyonde Iordane. Wherefore we muſte ſaye, that either there were two mountes ſo called: or that that whiche is written of mounte Gilead, is to be referred vnto the begynnyng of thoſe whiche departed awaye: as thoughe it ſhould haue ben ſayd, that they were ſent awaye, whiche were borne in mounte Gilead. Theſe thinges doo certayne interpretors write, whiche whether they be true or falſe, it is not certayne. For we are ignorannt whether Gideon with his hoſt paſſed ouer Iordane or no. Farther we muſt note that thys worde Tſerath ſignifieth to purge: whereby the hiſtorye ſheweth, that the hoſte ſhoulde be purged of the ſouldiers that were diſmiſſed, bycauſe (as I aboue mencioned) there were none remoued from that multitude of ſouldiers, but ſuche as were vnworthy. Wherefore they coulde not iuſtly complayne of the iuſtice of God. I very much mervayle of Ioſephus, whiche affirmeth that God woulde haue none to go forth

Ioſephus.

with Gideon, but such as were fearefull, that thereby the victorye myght be the more noble, and referred to be receaued onely of God. And he sayth, that they which bowed their knees and dranke, were valiant men, and trusted to much in their owne strength. And for that they nothing passed vpon their enemyes, they kneled downe without any feare and dranke: but they which stoode and reached their handes to their mouth and lapped water out of them, those sayth he were of a cowardishe minde, as they whithe for feare of their enemyes durst not freely euen drinke. But this fayned thing very much disagreeth with the history, bycause God commaunded to be prorlayned by expresse wordes, that the fearefull should depart, and he would haue his precept obserued whiche he gaue in Deut. Wherefore it semeth not that he would adioyne timerous folkes vnto Gideon. But Iosephus in his narration omitteth the commaundement that the fearefull should be dismissed, either bycause it was out of his memory, or els for what other cause I can not tell.

An Allegory. Here myght be annexed diuers Allegories concerning the drinking of the waters. For by those some vnderstande pleasures, and some afflictions. And vndoubtedly they are not apte for the kingdome of God, whiche study to fill themselues with pleasures and delightes of this worlde. Neither are they commended, which suffer themselues altogether to be troubled with aduersities. For as they are praysed whiche vse this worlde, as thoughe they vsed it not: so also are they commended, whiche in their minde do not so grenously take sorowes and aduersityes as the Ethnikes doo whiche haue no hope, and are destitute of a perfect consolation of faith.

The history mentioneth that the men which Gideon tooke vnto him, namely the 300. had trumpettes, whiche ought not to be marueloas. For the summe of the souldiers at the beginning was 32000. Wherfore there might be among euery thousand souldiers. x. trumpeters. And therfore it was easy to fynd. 300. trumpettes there. Augustine vpon this place writeth, that Abrahã (as it is read in the boke of Genesis) armed 318. of his bondemen, against the three kings which had led Lot awaye prisoner, and thereby he gathereth that he had yet more ayde then Gideon. Which is so much the truer, bycause besides seruauntes and bondmen, Abraham had Abner, Mambre, and Escholl to helpe him.

Augustine.

9 And the same night the Lord sayd vnto him: Arise, get the downe into the host: for I haue deliuered it into thine hande.

10 But if thou feare to go downe, then go thou and Purah thy lad downe to the host.

11 And thou shalt hearken what they say, and afterward shall thine handes be strong, and thou shalt go downe to the hoste. Then went he downe, and Purah his lad vnto the out side of the souldiers, that were in the host.

12 And Madian, & Amalek, and all the childre of Kedem, lay in the valley, like grashoppers in multitude, & their camels were without nomber: as the sande which is by the sea side for multitude.

13 Gideon I say came, and beholde, a man tolde a dreame vnto his neighbour, and sayd: Beholde I dreamed a dreame. And lo a cake of barley bread tombled from aboue into the hoste of Madian, & came euen to a tente, and smote it, that it fell: & ouerturned it. I saye, and the tente fell downe.

14 And his neighbour answered and sayde: This is nothyng els saue the sworde of Gideon the sonne of Ioas a man of Israell: God hath geuen into his handes Madian and all the host.

when

15 when Gideon heard the dreame tolde, and the interpretation of the same, he worshipped. And he returned vnto the hoste of Israell and sayde: Vp, for the Lorde hath deliuered into your handes the host of Madian.

Gideon is also confirmed by the wordes of his aduersaryes: he had withdrawē from hym humane aydes, and therfore least he should be smitten with feare, he prepared a confirmation for him after a certayne wonderfull sorte. God, whiche onely knoweth right well the nature of mans flesshe and reason. We oftentyme bragge that we put no cōfidence in prosperous thynges, when they are present: but when we are destitute of them, we wonderfully waxe colde, and there we sele how we deceaued our selues and other. We deserue alluredly for our inconstancy (I will not say infidelity) vtterly to be abiected: but the heauenly father, as he is good, breaketh not a bruised rede, and quencheth not smoking flare, which we now see in Gideon. He sendeth him to the host of his enemies to be cōfirmed, and he dieth ỹ *Madianites*, the enemies of ỹ Israelites for an oracle. And it is not marueilous for if in the old time he vsed wood & gold in ỹ tabernacle, at the arke, I say, & mercy seate, to geue answers, what should let but that he may vse men also vnto that office? And without doubt the beginning of the victory was, to manifest vnto Gideon the feare of his enemyes. For in warfare nothing more profiteth, then to know the feare of the enemyes: and to knowe the same at the length for assured, very much pertayneth to warlike policies. The beginning of a victorye, is to knowe the feare of the enemyes.

And in manifestyng of it, God obserueth his olde accustomed manner. Longe before that by Rahab of *Iericho* he shewed vnto *Iosuah*, that the hearts of the enemyes were exceedingly smitten with feare, & now euē by the *Madianites* themselues he teacheth Gideon how fearefull they were. Neyther among other testimonyes (as the Rhetoricians say) are there any of more strength, then the testimonyes of the enemyes. Wherfore when Gideon heard euen of his enemyes how they were affected, he doubted not of the successe of the battayle. Here is set forth a notable example of obedience. For Gideon was deadly hated of the *Madianites*, bycause he had now collected an host against them, and yet beyng commaunded to go to their tentes he obeyed. And if he had ben afrayde, there was no other companion graunted him, then *Purah* his lad. Wherfore seyng he durst take vpon hym so great a thing, it is to be thought that he was illustrate with no small fayth. Neither can he iustly be reproued of vanity, as though he tooke hold of dreames, for almuch as he obeyed the worde of God. A notable example of obedience.

Hereby also may we learne, that dreames of prophecieng are by God geuen vnto enemies of godlynesse, and to that nation, which afflicted the holy people & the Churche: and this is not the first tyme. For vnto an Ethnike kyng, namely vnto *Pharao* were sette and leane kine, full and empty eares of corne, shewed by God in dreames. Vnto the baker also and butler, were shewed thinges ỹ should come to passe, & afterward, *Nebuchad-nezar*, whiche led away ỹ Israelites captines, saw twise dreames ỹ had significations. But this is more meruelous, the dreame which is here declared, needeth no *Ioseph* or *Daniel* for an interpreter. For ỹ which the souldier by ỹ inspiratiō of god dreamed, his fellow souldier expounded. Wherfore god gaue vnto vngodly men, both a true dreame & also a faithful interpretatiō therof. And ỹ confirmeth, ỹ fre giftes of grace are cōmon both to ỹ godly & to ỹ vngodly, wherfore it is not mete ỹ any should boast of thē. For they iustify not the holynesse of men, but onely the liberall bountifulnesse of God. Vnto the wicked somtymes are geuen true dreames and the interpretacions of them.

By it also is declared the wisedome of god, & his incōprehensible power, that he can to ỹ saluatiō of his vse not only ỹ enemies, but also al maner of thing, yea the vilest. For what is vayne & of lesse reputation than dreames: & yet for the saluation of ỹ elect, they serue ỹ will of god. Nothing semed vnto ỹ Ethnikes more ridiculous thē circūcisiō: wherfore ỹ Iewes were every where called of thē Apel- God cā vse the most vilest thinges to the saluatiō of his children.

lites (Recubites) yet neuerthelesse by it God confirmed his couenaunt vnto the fathers. These remedies also, Bread, wyne, & vnction, are very common things: but they be cõsidered by themselues, in whiche things for Christ Iesus hath cõmended vnto vs Sacramentes of most great value. Let vs reioyce therfore that we haue such a God, that can conuert all kinde of things to the saluation of his children. And agayne let vs counte the vngodly (as they are in very deede) for most vnhappy, when as of their owne they receaue damage, so that not onely of their enemyes, and they are wonderfully butte euen of euery thing most vile.

As touching the Hebrew wordes, they translate Tsalil for rosse, and sounding: for it is deriued of this verbe Tsalal, which is to sounde, to make a noyse, or to ryng: as mettall doeth. Further Tsalath signifieth to rosse. For the barley loafe, which is now entreated of, seemed to be baked vpon the coales, out of whiche came a wonderfull mayster: therfore this word Tsalil is translated hither. But I mervayle, wherfore Augustine, writing vpon this place, maketh mention that there was a table: I thinke it was false in the translation which he vsed. But the Allegory Iosephus manifestly expoundeth. In generall (sayeth he) barley bread is vile and despised. And in all Asia no people are of lesse estimation then the Hebrues, whiche now begin to sounde & to make a noyse, because they had now raysed an host against them, and made Gideon their capitaine. In that this loafe by his tumbling seemed with great violence to ouerthrow their tentes, it manifestly foreshewed that the hoste of the Madianites and Amalekites should be deliuered vnto Gideon and to the Hebrues. This is the Allegory of the dreame, and a most true interpretation thereof. Gideon being thus confirmed, departed. But in that he was more confirmed by this dreame, then he was by the former miracles, it is not to be counted for absurd, because neither miracles, nor dreames by themselues can confirme doubtfull thinges, but they do it onely then, when God by his spirite maketh them of efficacy: which he bestoweth sometymes to these, & sometymes to other, according to his will. Moreouer it commeth to passe, that they whiche sometymes by miracles are not perswaded, may by dreames be drawen: and againe they whiche by dreames beleue not, may with miracles be conuerted. For God can freely geue power and efficacy vnto these outwarde thinges, according to his will.

Augustine.

Iosephus.

An Allegorye.

Why Gideon was more confirmed by the dreame then by by miracles.

Of Dreames.

But now must we intreate of dreames: and first we will see what may be affirmed of them by naturall reason: and afterwarde how we muste attribute vnto them by the worde of God. As touching the first, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galene, also other famous philosophers haue written many things, and amongest them Aristotle in his litle booke de Diuinatione per Somnium (if so it be his booke, although we can not doubt but that it is wytty and learned) sayeth first, that this kynde of diuination soweth not vtterly to be abiected, because of the common sorte very much is attributed vnto it: and those thynges whiche are commonly receaued of all men, can not vniuersally be false. Hereunto he addeth, that there are very many dreames, of whiche an apte and mete reason may be geuen: whiche (as experience teacheth) deceaue not men, but haue their successe. Therefore it is not mete that we should despise all manner of diuination by dreames. Howbeit we muste receaue it warely, for that it is very heard to geue causes thereof, because nature in this parte worketh very obscurely. And Aristotle thinketh not that dreames are sent of God. For if (sayeth he) they should be sent of hym, he would geue them to good and wyse men. But it is not so. For foolishe and vnwise men for the most parte obteyne this faculty: beastes also do dreame. And who will contende that God geueth diuination vnto them? Neither dreames which are occupied about the phantasye of

Ethnike authors.

The opinion of the Peripatetikes.

Aristotle thinketh not that dreames are sent of God.

ſpe of ſuch as ſlepe are to this end geuen, that therby they ſhould foretell thinges to come. Farther if god ſhould geue dreames, he would geue them rather in the day time, that men might the diligentlier behold them. Neyther can we eaſely ſe why he ſhould chooſe the night vnto him for that purpoſe. And laſtly foraſmuch as god is not enuious, he woulde not ſo obſcurelye admoniſhe them, whome he would inſtruct of thinges to come, but he would ſhewe them manifeſtly and opẽ ly. But dreames are ſo obſcure, that for the interpretation of them we muſte go vnto prophetes, and ſouthſayers. Theſe thinges are in a maner gathered all out of Ariſtotle, whereby he vtterly tranſferreth the thinge from god vnto nature, as though the reaſons of dreames ſhould from thence be ſought for. But I wyl intreat of that afterward when I come to the doctrine of the ſcripture. Nowe will I declare his opinion as touching this thinge.

Dreames ſayth he ar either ſignes or cauſes, or els apperd vnto thoſe thinges whych are ſignified raſhely or by chaunce. Euery one of theſe thre members is thus expounded, dreames he ſayth are ſignes ſometimes of the affections of the body or mind. For by thoſe very often are declared, which humors do beare rule in the body, abounde, and offend. For accordinge to the quality of nature, and tẽpering of humors prenayling in the body, are formes & images moued. Where choler aboũdeth, are ſene flambes, fires, burning coles, lightnings, drawlings, and other of that ſorte. If melancholy get the vpper hand, ſmokes, deepe darkeneſſe, all things almoſt blacke, filthy thinges, dead bodyes, & ſuch like do offer themſelues. But fleume ſtirreth vp images of ſhowrs, raynes, riuers, waters, bayl, iſe, and ſuch things as haue aboundant moiſtnes ioyned with coldnes. By blood ar moued ſights that ar fayre, bright, white, pleaſaunt, and are like vnto the common purenes and vſuall forme or face of things. Neither do the phiſitiõs contemne theſe things, yea rather (as Galene and Hipocrates teach) they enquire very diligently of the ſick, of thẽ: becauſe therby they may vnderſtand the temperãce of thoſe humors which lye inwardly hidden. But the cauſe why they which are on ſlepe, & not they which are waking, do by ſight fele the nature of theſe motions, is this: becauſe at the beginning they are little, & when we ar waking, the ſenſe of them flieth frõ vs. For by ſtrõger motions of outward things, which appear before our eyes, we ar drawn an other way, but being on ſlepe we ceſſe frõ outward labours, & ar voyd from the courſe of groſſe ſenſible things. Wherfore the ſightes and images, which are by the humors continually moued, are better comprehended of the fanſy when we are on ſleepe, then when we are wakinge. And that whẽ we ſlepe we far better fele ſmall things, then we do being wakinge: hereby it appeareth, becauſe we thinke that noyſes, be they neuer ſo ſmall, are great thunders. And if any ſweete fleame ſticke peraduenture vnto the tounge or roofe of the mouth, it ſemeth to vs that we taſte hony, ſugar, ſweete wines, and pleaſant meates, yea ſometimes we thinke that we largely eate, and aboundantly drinke. Wherfore thoſe mocions of humors which are ſmall, are in ſlepe ſhewed to vs as it were wonderfull greater: for whiche cauſe Phyſicions do hereby knowe very many beginninges of diſeaſes.

Dreames alſo are certayn ſignes of the affections of the minde, as of couetouſnes, hope, ioy, and mirth, and alſo of qualityes. Wherfore fearfull perſons do ſe other maner of things then they do, which ar bold: ſo do they which ar couetous ſe other thinges, then they which are in hope: alſo the learned are wont to haue ſuche contrary dreames, to the dreames of the rude people or artificers. For the mynd alſo when we ſlepe, is occupied about thoſe thynges, wherein when we are waking, we are either dayly, or els very often buſyed. There is an other thynge alſo diligentlye to bee obſerued (as Galene dooth very well admoniſhe) that there are certayne kyndes of meates, whyche beynge naturallye cholerike, melancholike, or fleumatik, do by theyr quality, or about the phantaſy

The Peripatetikes expoſiciõ of dreames.

Formes ar moued accordinge to the diuerſity of the humors.

Why formes ar more ſene ſleeping then waking.

Dreames ar alſo ſignes of the affectiõs of the minde.

Galene.

of the sleepers moue images and formes, which ar agreeable with those humors, although the temperature of bodies of them which slepe dooe not of themselues offend in these humors. Which thing also the physition ought to obserue concerninge dreames, namely to see what maketh sick men vse. Wine also (as Aristocle teacheth) beinge immoderately dronke, worketh in dreames engender misformed Images.

When a dreame is a sign it is referred vnto a cause, namely vnto the humor abounding, which humor it signifieth. It maye also be called a signe of some euent to come, because from the same cause, that is, from the humors whiche are signified, may be caused eyther sickines or health. Wherefore a dreame, as it is a signe of an humor, so also is it taaken of an effect, which is produced of it. For from the self same cause, namely from the humor, springeth both a dreame, and also a disease. Howbeit they are not conuerted, for sickines or health are not signes of dreames.

Dreames are sometimes causes of ỳ things which we do.

But now let vs see, how dreames may sometimes be called the causes. That is then, when any man by his dreame is perswaded, eyther to do, or to trye any thing, as if a man be made whole of the sickne of the splen, for that that he was let bloud in the dexter side of his hād, for so was he taught to do in his dreame. And now and then it happneth vnto the learned, ỳ they find those things wher of they are in doubt in the same bokes, where in their dreame they thought they had found or red them.

Dreames some time by chaūce resemble those things which happen.

But now let vs consider the third mēber of the diuision which we brought, namely when dreames do rashly or by chaunce signify those things which afterward do happē. That taketh place in those things, whose cause is not in vs, but rather distant, and far of, as if a man should see a victory, or a murther to happē in hostes far distant from him, or any man that is absent exalted to very greate dignity. These thinges say the Peripatitikes are ioyned together by chaunce: neither canne they be conferred together, eyther as causes, or as signes. Euen as if when we are talking of any body, the same man paraduenture come in the meane while, we say Lupus est in fabula, whē as yet the same mention making of him, was neyther the cause, nor signe of his comming. So therfore these thinges are sayd to be ioyned together rashly, because both they come by chaunce, and also they seldome haue successe: for this is the nature of things comming by chaunce, to happen seldome.

Who they be which naturally oftentimes se tru dreames

Further, Aristocle hath taught, who they be, which aboue other foretell many things in dreames. And the same he chiefly attributeth vnto idle persons & such as ar euer prating, & thē to such as ar melancholike & phrantike, which are depriued both of sences and minde. He seemeth also to ascribe some what vnto kinsfolkes and friendes. For these kind of men haue very many dreames when they slepe. For prattlers and idle persons are wholy voyde of cogitations, wherefore they ar inwardly filled with images and formes. The melancholike also by reason of the power and nature of melancholy, do dreame very many thinges. Further, they ar very much geuen vnto cogitatiōs. The phrantike also, because their mind is void both of the knowledge of the outward senses, and also of the vse of reason: therfore they ar vtterly geuen to imaginations. Lastly, frends do for that cause se many things of their frends in their dreames, because they ar very much careful and pensiue for them. All these men now rehearsed, are wont by dreames to foretell many thinges, because in diuerse dreames and in a manner infinite, it is not possible, but that some true thinges happen sometymes. Whye why the the whole day exercise themselues in shootynge, do much oftner hit the marke, then they which do very seldom shoote. And they which play al the day at dyse or tables, do much oftener throw good casles, then they which little or seldome vse that kinde of play.

Howbeit we must vnderstand ỳ those signes, which ar attributed to dreames,

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as touching the syth leyne alwey declared, are not necessary, for almuch as they may be letted. And yet this hindreth not but that they may be signs. For this is so also in the clouds, which undoubtedly are signes of rain, when as for al ꝑ some tymes they are discipated by the wind before it rayn. And vsing hath tokens either of sickines or helth, when yet the effect may be letted by vehementer causes; & the same also happeneth of the paines. Even and those counsels, which we have appoynted, and which with great deliberation decree to do, very oftentimes are not accomplished, bycause some other thinges happen betweene, whereby we can go no farther: which self same things if it happen in dreames, it is no marvayle, forasmuche as they are signes of thinges not perfect, but rather of the beginninges of thinges, and those weake and feable mouinges of humors maye yet be easely letted of many other causes.

Of dreames which are signs there is no necessity of the effectes to be gathered.

Democritus thus expounded those dreames, which resemble thinges coming by chaunce, and farre distante. There are alwayes (sayth he) defluctions from things the likines, which are carried to the bodies of those that slepe, and do affect them with the quality and symilitude which they bring with them. And ꝑ same he affirmeth to be for two causes more felt sleping then waking. First, bicause ꝑ ayre by night is easyer moued, as we see done, when the water is smitten with a little stone, very many circles ar with that stroke multiplied and driue a great way, vnlesse some other contrary motion resiste it. But in the nighte the ayre is more quiet, then in the day time, bycause it is not driuen into sundry parts by the course of creatures which moue themselues. An other cause is, bicause they which slepe do earlier receaue light mouings. And lastly the same author also referreth not the causes of dreames to god.

Democritus.

Galene also in his little booke whiche he wrote de præsagiis insomniorum, aboue of dyuerse thinges maketh mencio of this, whe in dreames we se those thinges, which when we were waking, we neither did nor thought, they ought not to be referred neither to artes, neyther to qualities, or custome of those thinges, which happened when we wer waking, but vnto humors. This rule seemeth to tende to this end, that we might vnderstand of what thinges dreames are to be counted signes. And he graunteth that these things are better knowen in the night, then in the day, bycause then the soul withdrawith it self into the inward parts wher it earlier feleth those things which ar ther. And he maketh mencion of one who thought in his dreame he had a thigh of stone, which many thought to pertayn to his seruants, but win a few dayes after that, his legge fel into a palsey. An other thought that he was vp to the thyghe in a cesterne full of blonde, out of which he could by no meanes escape. And that declared that much bloud abounded in him, and that he had very great neede to be let bloud. He maketh mention also of an other, which in his dreame thought that on his critical or iudiciall day he was washed in a bath with great abundance of water, who after wards fell into a great sweat. Farther sayth he they which slepe do thinke sometimes that they are grieuously laden, so that they ar not able to beare the waight: & sometimes so light and nimble, that they run, & in a manner fly. Al these things saith he, are tokens of excelle or defect of humors.

Galene.

In history of a certayn dream.

Hippocrates also of these thigs in a maner writeth the same namely that ꝑ mind in the day time, destributeth his powers into the senses & other facultics: And in the night it drawith the to ꝑ inward parts, & therfore it both the better know them. Notwithstanding he maketh mencion that there are certayn dreames which come by god, wherby calamities are forshewed to come vnto cities, people, and other certayne greate men, for the expounding of which dreames, some do profesle certayne artes. Vnto which neuertheles he semeth to geue but very small credite. When by dreames it is noted that ꝑ humors do offend, he sayth that they which are in daunger, must be holpen by diete, exercise, and medicine. And whither the dreames be good or euil, he will haue prayers added. When helth is by dreames

Hippocrates.

signified, we muſt pray ſayth he vnto the Sunne, vnto Iupiter celeſtiall, Iupiter poſſeſſor, to Minerua, rich Mercury, and to Apollo. But if the dreames be vnlucky, we muſt pray vnto the goddes ſayth he which turne alwaye ill, namely vnto the goddes of the earthe, and to the Heroicall men, &c. Wherfore eyther Hippocrates was ſuperſticious, or els he would ſeme ſo. But to me, as touching ſincere godlines, that I miſlike not, yea it is very much commended, that if at any time wee be vexed with troubleſome and terrible dreames, we muſte praye vnto god, that it would pleaſe him to turne away thoſe euils, if there be anye whiche hange ouer our heddes.

What is the outward cauſe of dreames.

There is an other kinde of dreames, whiche proceedeth of an outward cauſe, namely from the power of heauen, or (as it is commonlye called) the influence, which altereth the ayre. For this ayre touching our bodies, affecteth them with a new qualitye. Wherby ſundrye images and dreames are ſtirred vp vnto thoſe which are on ſleepe. Wherfore there are manye effectes wrought of heauen, of whych it bringeth forth ſome in the phantaſy, and power or faculty of ſyagination: and other ſome in deede. And that may eaſely be ſhewed by an example. In dede in the ayre or cloudes there are raine: and in the imagination of the Crow there is ſuch an alteration before the rayne, that he beginneth to croke. Wherfore the effects in the phantaſy of thoſe which ar on ſlepe, and alſo in dede, come vndoubtedly of the ſelf ſame cauſe: yet haue they great diuerſity by reaſon of the ſubiectes in which they are made. And it is not to be doubted, but that there is a certayne ſlender and hidden ſimilitude betweene theſe effectes. But it is verye hard to vnderſtand the reaſon of this proportion or analogy. And if we ſay, that the ſtarres are the cauſe of ſuch effectes or affections, who can refer theſe ſignes vnto his own proper cauſe, that is, to ſome certayne ſtarres more then to other. Aſſuredly I ſuppoſe that there are very fewe (I will not ſay none) whiche can do it. Farther if they ſhuld alſo be referred vnto proper ſtarres, what can we iudge to come to paſſe by them, eſpecially as touching things comming by happe, whē as iudiciall Aſtrology is euermore counted moſte vncertayne? In fyne, images & ſimilitudes which ar ſayd to portend things to come, ar ſo doubtful, vncertain & ambiguous, that we can affyrm nothing for certayn of thē. Wherfore this is to be added, that foraſmuch as dreams cannot be brought to paſſe of one only cauſe, but of many (as we haue declared) we ſhall eaſely fal into an error, if we of thoſe many cauſes chuſe onely one certayne cauſe. Therefore let vs hold this, that is, not eaſely to foretel any thing by dreames, for that they may rather be iudged by the euentes, then the euentes can by them be foretold. Wherfore there remayneth of dreames but onely a certayne ſuſpicion, whiche alſo of neceſſity is verye ſclender.

Why vncertain by dreames is hard and vncertayne.

A gate of horne & a gate of yuorye.

The two moſt noble Poetes, Homere (I ſay) and Virgill, made twoo gates of dreames, the one of horne, the other of yuory. That of horne (as they ſay) pertayneth vnto the true dreames, and that of yuory, to falſe: and they ſay, that the greateſt part paſſeth through the gate of yuory, and not through that of horne. Wherfore in iudging naturall dreames, let vs not paſſe the meaſure of ſuſpition, nor ſtick to much in dreames: foraſmuch as it is not the duty of a chriſtiā man to cleaue more then is conuenient vnto perilloꝰ and vncertayne coniectures, becauſe whileſt they ſo buſily apply them ſelfes to thoſe things, they neglect other things whiche are of greater waygbt. And the deuil very often times mingleth himſelf with thoſe thinges to this entent, eyther to cal vs back from good actions, or els to driue vs to actions that are euell.

Of dreames ſent eyther of god or of the deuil.

To ſee whether any thynge by viſions or dreames twoo thinges are required.

Nowe let vs ſee, what we ought to affirme of dreames ſente of God, or moued by the deuel. When any thing by the worke of god or of angels is in dreams foreſene, twoo thynges are required. The fyrſte is that certayne notes or images of things which are ſhewed, do inſcribe or imprint the phantaſy or imagination.

Seconde

Secondly muſt be adioyned iudgement, to vnderſtand what thoſe things at the laſt do portende. As touching the firſt, we muſt know, that theſe notes and images are ſometimes offred vnto the ſenſes, becauſe of thoſe things which God maketh outwardly to appeare, as vnto Balthazar the ſucceſſor of Nebuchad-Næzar ſaw in the wall the fingers of a hande which wrote, as it appeareth in Daniel. And ſometimes without any outward ſight are images and formes deſcribed in the imagination or phantaſie: which happeneth two maner of wayes. For either the formes or images which are kept in the minde, are called backe to ſuch vſe as God hath ordeined, as when to Ieremy was ſhewed a ſeething pot tourned to the North: Or els newe formes are ſhewed, whyche by the ſenſes were neuer ſeene, as if formes of couloures and images ſhoulde bee ſhewed vnto one blynde from his byrth.

Formes or images ar lyke letters.

And in this kinde of prophecying, images or formes are in ſtede of letters. For as they are ordered and diſpoſed, ſo ſundry thinges are ſhewed. Euen as in the diuers chaunging of letters, ſyllables and ſentences are made diuers. Teachers with diuerſitie of their ſchooles, may by their ſtudy and induſtry of teaching faſhion manifold images in the mindes of the hearers: although they be not able to geue the ingenium and right vnderſtanding. But God miniſtreth both, not in deede alwayes together, for to ſome ſometimes he ſheweth onely the formes, as to Pharao, and to his Butler and Baker, & alſo to the king of Babilon, al which men needed an Interpretor (namely Ioſeph & Daniel) to expounde their dreames. And vndoubtedly thoſe, vnto whom are ſhewed onely the images of thinges ſo coms, are not truely and plainly counted Prophets, foraſmuch as they haue but onely a certaine degree, beginning, and in a maner a ſtep of prophecye: euen as Caiphas alſo the high Prieſt is not to be counted a Prophet, when as he ſpake thoſe thinges which he knew not.

God ſomtimes geueth not vnto one & to the ſelfe ſame man formes, and the vnderſtanding of them.

They whyche haue onely images, are not ſimply prophetes.

But why God would ſometimes by dreames manifeſt vnto Kinges & Princes thinges to come, as now he doth, there are two cauſes: The one is, becauſe he had a regarde vnto the people and Nations whom they gouerned. For if the penury which was at hand, had not ben ſhewed vnto Pharao, Egipt had vtterly bene deſtroyed by famine. Secondly, it was the counſel of the Lorde, by theſe expoſitions of dreames, to manifeſt vnto the worlde his Prophetes and holy men, whiche before were hidden, which thing the holy ſcriptures teſtifye happened in Ioſeph and Daniel. The Ethnike Hiſtoriographers alſo do write verye many thinges of dreames, which Princes ſometimes ſaw. Yea, and Tertulian in hys booke de Anima, maketh mencion of certayn of thoſe dreames, as the dreame of Aſtyages of his daughter Mandane, alſo of Philip of Macedonia, and of Iulius Octauius, whom M. Cicero being yet a boy, thought he ſaw him in his dreame, and being awake as ſoone as he met him, he ſtraightway knewe him. And the ſame man telleth of certayne other alſo of this kinde. Tertulian.

But omitting theſe, let vs by teſtimonies of the holy ſcriptures (which ſhall eaſily be done) confirm, that certain dreames are ſent by God. Mathew teſtifieth that Ioſeph the houſbande of Mary, was in dreames thryſe admoniſhed by the Angel. The wyfe alſo of Pilate had knowledge by a dreame, and ſent woorde to her houſband, that he ſhould not condemne Chriſt being an innocent. Peter in the Actes of the Apoſtles the. x. chap. ſaw a ſheete let downe from heauen. And in the. xvi. chap. a man of Macedonia appeared vnto Paule, and mooued him to go into Macedonia. And the Lord commaunded the ſame Paule in a dreame, that he ſhould not depart from Corinthe, becauſe he had a wonderfull great number of people in that City. I might rehearſe a great many other places, both out of the old Teſtament, and out of the newe, but that I will not be tedious. Philo a Iewe (as Ieronie in his booke de viris illuſtribus ſaith) wrote fyue bookes of Dreames, which are ſent by God. Ciprian alſo telleth, that in his tyme were certain things ſeene by dreames, which ſerued for the edification of the Churche: & he doth geue

Philo a Iewe.

Ciprian.

not

not a litle, but very much authority vnto them. And Auguſtine in his. xii. booke de Geniſi ad litteram, the. 3. chap. ſayth: That there are three kindes of dreames. The firſt (ſaith he) pertaine vnto the outward ſenſes, which he calleth corporal. Againe, other ſome he calleth ſpirituall, which conſiſt of images, & haue place about the phantaſy, or power of imagination. The laſt he nameth Intellectual, bicauſe they are comprehended onelye by reaſon and iudgement of the mynde. And thoſe which conſiſt by imagination, namely thoſe that are put in the ſecõd place (as we haue a litle before taught) ſaith he, make not Prophets, & affirmeth that Ioſeph was much more truly a Prophet, then Pharao. And bicauſe we wyl not go from our hiſtory, we may affirme the ſame thing of the ſoldiour, which in the hearing of Gideon expounded the dreame of his fellow ſoldiour, namely, that he rather was a Prophet, then he which had the viſion. But in this order or degree of Prophetes, Daniel excelleth the reſt. For he dyd not onelye interpreate the dreames of the king: but when he had forgotten thoſe thinges which he ſaw in his ſleepe, he could renoke them into his memory againe. Farther, he did not onelye interpreate the dreames of other men, but alſo he was by God inſtructed of his owne viſions.

Auguſtine. *Three kindes of dreames.*

Oracles anſwered ſometymes by dreames and viſions.

By the Deuil alſo are dreames ſometimes moued, for Auguſtine in the place alredy alledged de Geniſi ad literam writeth, that one poſſeſſed with a Deuil, by dreames declared in what boure a prieſt would come vnto him, & through what places he would paſſe. And we are not ignorant that the Ethnikes had oracles, where men were al night to obtaine viſions and dreames. Suche a one was the oracle of Amphiarus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and of Eſculapius. In thoſe places the Deuil ſhewed vnto thoſe which ſlept, remedies and medicines to heale ſuche as were ſycke: and therwithal alſo he gaue anſwer of other matters. And to obtaine ſuch viſions and dreames, there were commaunded vnto thoſe which came to enquire of any thing, I cannot tel what choiſe of meates, and ſeparate lodginges, and certain pure and chaſte dates. It is ſaid alſo that the Scholers of Pythagoras eſchewed beanes, bicauſe they make troubleſome dreames. But our God, to declare that he is not bounde to thoſe thinges, ſhewed vnto Daniel the kinges dreame, when he and his fellowes by prayers had behemently deſired it of him. And it is not to be doubted but that the deuil can mingle him ſelfe with dreames, when as through his diligence there haue bene and alſo are now many falſe Prophetes, wherefore Auguſtine in his booke before alledged the. xii. chap. If an euyl ſpirite (ſaith he) poſſeſſe men, he maketh them either diuelish, or mad, or els falſe prophetes. And contrarywiſe a good ſpirit maketh faithful prophetes, ſpeaking miſteries to the edification of other.

Pithagorians.

Auguſtine.

Auguſtine. *Howe dreames are to be knowē whiche are of a good ſpirit, and which are of an euyll.*

He alſo demaundeth in the ſame booke, the. xi. chap. by what meanes the reuelations of euyl and good ſpirites may be diſcerned one from an other. And he anſwereth: That that can not be done, except a man haue the gifte of diſcerning of ſpirites. But he addeth that an euyl ſpirite doth alwaies at the laſt leade me to wicked opinions and peruers maners: although the beginning the difference can not be knowen with out the gift of the holye ghoſt. In his Epiſtle to Euodius, which is the. 100. epiſtle, inquiring of the ſame matter, he ſayth: I would to God I could diſcerne betwene dreames, which ar geuen to erroure, and thoſe which are to ſalnation, neuertheleſſe we ought to bee of good courage, bycauſe God ſuffreth his children ſometimes to be tempted, but not to peryſh.

Ariſtotle.

But what ſhal we anſwer vnto Ariſtotle, who denieth that dreames ar ſent of God, and that for this cauſe in ſpecial, bicauſe God would geue this faculty of diuination to wyſe and good men, and not to the fooliſh and wicked? We anſwer, that for the moſt part it is true, that true Prophetes, which are by God illuſtrate with dreames and viſions, are both good and godlye. Howbeit, leaſte it ſhould be thought that the power of God is bound vnto the wyſedome or maners of men, God wyl ſometimes vſe the woorke of euyl men in thoſe things: to

Why God ſometimes vſeth euyl Prophetes and vnwyſe.

declare

declare and shew forth the great and wonderful power of his prouidēce, as one which can vse all kinde of instrumentes. Farther, as Tertulian writeth in his booke de Anima, seing that he distributeth his sunne and rayne both to the iust and to the vniust, it ought not to be marueilous, if he bestowe also these gyftes, which serue especially to the instruction of men, both to the good and to the euil. And that we should not be ignorant of his doing, the holy history declareth that the Ethnikes were by God verye oftentimes admonished and corrected in their sleepe. So Pharao king of Egipt was commaunded to restore vnto Abraham his wife, and Abimelech king of Gerar was in like maner admonished. And Tertulian saith moreouer, that euen as God, when hee instructed the wycked in their sleepe, doth it that they might become good: so contrariwise the Deuil inuadeth the godly when they are a sleepe, by dreames to seduce them oute of the ryghte way. Aristotle thought ý God in distributing his gifftes, ought to haue a regard to wise men, and especially to Philosophers: when as Christ hath taughte altogether otherwise. I thanke thee (saith he) O heauenlye father, that thou hydyng these thinges from the learned and wise, hast reuealed them to lyttle ones. &c. Paul also sayth, that the vocation of God chiefly pertayneth to the vnnoble, vnlearned, and weake. *Tertullian.*

God reuealeth misteries rather vnto the little ones, then to the wyse.

An other argument was, that beastes also when they sleepe do dreame, when yet no man will say that God ministreth and disposeth their dreames. That Philosopher is deceaued, bicause he supposeth that if God do send some dreames vnto men, he ought therefore to be made author of al dreames, which vndoubtedly is fare frō our meaning. For we referre not vnto God himselfe, al those things whichar natural, as certain peculiar effectes, by which immediatly (as to speake with Scholemen) men should be instructed of thinges to come. We haue sufficiently before declared of what causes dreames come in creatures. And to enuestigate Logicklike: There is no firme connexion from a priuate or peculiar proposition to an vniuersal. Wherefore, though God do minister some dreames, wee may not thereby gather, that all dreames, whether they be in beastes or men, are sent by him. Beastes otherwyse haue the power to heare, neither want they eares: and yet, bicause God sendeth not somtimes Prophets vnto them to speake and shewe tyme thinges to come, we cannot conclude that God doth not sometimes sende holy men vnto men, by whom they maye bee both admonished, and instructed.

God, though he somtime sendeth dreames, yet sendeth he not all.

He saith moreouer, that if God were the author of dreames, he woulde cause them to be done as wel in the day time, as in the night. But I affirme, that it is free for God to vse eyther time as he wil, forasmuch as he is Lord as well of the day as of the night, and as wel of sleeping as of waking. And that he somtimes doth in very deede shew dyuine vnto prophets in their sleepe, & sometimes when they wer walking, as it seemed best vnto him, the holy scriptures do testify.

God vseth both times, as well the daye as the nyght.

Farther, what absurdity is it, if he oftentimes vse the cōmodity of the nyght and sleepe, when as the Philosophers and Phisitions them selues doo confesse, that men are at such time more apt to receaue motions very light? Shall this cōmodity serue the Phisitions turne to know the humors of the bodye, & can it not serue God, for the saluation of soules? In the booke of Iob the. 33. chap. there is a goodly and apt place written after this maner: when sleepe falleth vpon men, and they sleepe vpon their beds, then God openeth the eare, and sealeth corrections.

Lastly was obiected, that God if he would admonish men, he would do it openly and manifestly, & not obscurely, or by ryddes. I answer, that the true prophets and such as were inspired by God, did very wel vnderstand the thinges whyche God told them in such dreames: wherefore they needed no expositers. And if hee somtimes sent dreames vnto Ethnike Princes (as he did vnto Pharao and Nebuchad-Nezar) he therefore did it, to make his Prophetes that wer hidden (namely Ioseph and Daniel) to be notable. Other wyse he gaue vnto his Prophetes

iudge-

iudgemẽt, & a cleare vnderstãding of such visions which be ministred vnto thẽ.

Why Aristotle erred.

But Aristotle is herein deceaued, bicause he had a respect onely to deceauers, which professed such kindes of prophecies, and bewitched men, as though they could expound al sortes of dreames, and shew what they portended. But we vnderstand not those things which we haue now alledged, of al kinde of dreames, neither of al maner of prophetes. For they pertain onely to those, which God in dede sendeth: wherefore the coniectures of deceauers and Southsaiers haue nothing here to doo. But the authoritye of so great a Philosopher doth not muche

Epicurus.

moue vs: bicause although that Epicurus fauoureth that sentence which he doth, who to disburden his Gods from the labour of regarding of dreames, teacheth

Plato.

that they as al other thinges, do come rashly and by chaunce. Yet contrarywise

The Stoikes.

Plato geueth muche to dreames sent of God: and the Stoikes pronounced that dreames in the night, are as it were a familiar and domestical oracle, by whyche God doth prouide for humane kinde. This wil I not ouerpasse, that Augustine

Augustine.

in the place before alledged vpon Genesis ad literam, the. xii. booke, and. xv. chap. doth demaund whither the Soule of it selfe haue power to foreknow thinges to come, and that by his own nature. And he denieth that it hath: bicause (saith he) if it had, it woold vse it, when as al men do so earnestly desyre to knowe thinges to come. Wherefore visions and dreames of Prophets attaine to their truth, not by nature, but by God.

Whyther the Soule of it self haue power to foreknow thinges to come.

But now must we see, how the consideration of dreames shoulde be prohibited, seing they are suggested by God and his Angels: for if the matter be so, then are not dreames to be contemned, but with diligence to be obserued. I aunswer therto, that al regard of dreames is not forbidden, but that onelye which is procured by euyl and vayne artes, and which is accustomed to be obtained by worshipping of Deuils. Otherwise ther is nothing which letteth, but ỹ by dreames we may iudge of humors, or if they be of God, or by anye meanes perceaued to bee of him, to obey them. Thys is also forbidden, that wee extende not naturall dreames farther then their nature may suffer. And that doo they whyche applye dreames vnto euentes comming by chaunce, wherein they haue no respect, neyther to the cause, nor to the effect.

Al regarde of dreames is not forbidden.

The Romane lawes punished Interpretours of dreames.

And superstitious diuination by dreames, is not condemned by Christians onely, but also is extremely forbidden by the Romane lawes. For in the. 9. boke of the Code de maleficis, & Mathematicis: In the law Et si excepta: It is ordayned that such diuiners should be very greuously punished, so that although they were in any place of dignity, yea and longed to Cesar him selfe, yet myght they be punished: which otherwise was not lawful to do, to men of nobilitye. And by these woordes are they expressed: Aut narrandis somniis, occultam artem aliquam diuinandi. &c. And this difference which we here put for the lawful and vnlawfull obseruation of dreames, is verye well sette foorth in Ieremy the. 23. chapter. For there god by his Prophet detesteth vaine and fond dreames, but commendeth suche as are true and of god. In Deut. the. xviii. chap. obseruers of dreames seme generally to be reproued. But we must know, that according to the truth of the Hebrue, there is no mencion made of them. In deede other superstitions and idolatries are ther condemned, but of dreames ther is nothing at al spoken, although in other places the wicked obseruation of them is reproued. Wherfore the good & lawful obseruation of them is not to be forbidden: yea, it is sometimes lawful for holy men to pray, that they may be admonished euen in theyr dreames, of those things especially which they iudge meete, & cannot by them selues attaine vnto. Monica the mother of Augustine, being desirous to haue her sonne maryed, for the auoyding of fornication, desired god that he would reueale vnto her somewhat of that thing, euen in her sleepe: and she affirmed that god graunted her a certaine taste, whereby she discerned those thinges which of her self she saw in her sleepe, from those thinges which were shewed her by the suggestion

I lawful obseruation of dreames, and an vnlawful.

It is lawful to praye that wee may be admonished, euen by dreames.

Monica ỹ mother of Augustine.

of

of God. And this doth Auguſtine write in his. vi. booke of Confeſſions, the. iii. chap. And leauing him, we knowe aſſuredlye that Daniel prayed to come to the knowledge of the dreame of Nebuchad-Nezar. And this is to bee holden for certaine, that it is the dutye of godlye men, to praye vnto God, that euen then alſo when we ſleepe, we may be kept chaſte and cleane, as touching the body and ſpirite. For which thing Auguſtine prayed in his booke of Confeſſions, the. x. booke and. 30. chap. For viſions which come by night, wherewith either the mynde is troubled, or the body defiled, are punishmentes of ſynne, eſpecially of originall ſynne. For it ſhould not haue bene ſo in Paradiſe, if Adam had abidden in that truth, wherin he was created, as Auguſtine writeth in his. v. booke againſt Iulianus, the. viii. chap. Now wil we returne againe vnto the hiſtory. *Auguſtine.*

16 And he deuided the. 300. men into three bandes, and gaue euerye man a trumpet in hys hand, wyth empty pytchers, and lampes wythin the pytchers.

17 And he ſayd vnto them: Looke on me, and doo lykewyſe. For beholde I wil come to the ſyde of the hoſt, & then euen as I do, ſo do ye.

18 For I wil blow wyth a trumpet, and al they that are wyth me: Then blow ye alſo wyth trumpets on euery ſyde of the hoſte, and ye ſhal ſay: For the Lord, and for Gideon.

19 So Gideon, and the hundreth men that were with hym, came vnto the outſyde of the hoſte, in the beginning of the mydle watche, and they rayſed vp the watchmen, and they blew with their trumpets, and brake the pitchers, which they had in their handes.

Many policies of Gideon.

Gideons induſtry or pollecy is here ſet forth, and the fauour wherwith God proſpered his ſucceſſes and enterpriſes. He deuideth his three hundreth men into three bandes, that he might on ſundry partes inuade the Madianites, and by a ſodaine feare trouble their hoſte on euerye ſyde. He vſed alſo another pollecye concerning the time, for he ſet vpon them in the night. For when they were in a maner in a dead ſleepe, they wer the eaſilyer by a great burly burly aſtonished with feare. Farther, hee chuſed the moſte commodious part in all the night, for ſuche a purpoſe: for he aſſayled the Madianites about the beginning of the ſecond watche or garde. Wherefore it is called Roſch Haticonath, that is, the heade or begynning of the middle watche or garde. This woord Toch ſignifieth wythin: and therof is derined Ticonah, which is a myddle. Auguſtine in his Sermon De verbis domini, the. 14. Oration, ſayth, that the Elders deuided the night into. 4. partes, of which euery one contained. 3. houres, which he confirmeth alſo by the teſtimonies of the holy ſcriptures. For it is ſaid that the Lord came vnto the Apoſtles in the. 4. watch of the night, when they labored ſo vehemētly in the ſea, that their ſhyp was very neare ſoonke. The ſame father writeth the lyke thyng vpon the. 79. Pſalme. The Gloſe alſo in the Decrees. 1. queſtion, the. 1. Superueniente Paſcha, maketh mention of the names of thoſe partes of the night, Conticinium, Intempeſtum, Gallicinium, & Antelucanum, that is, the bed time, & dead part of the night, the Cocke crowing, and the dawning of the day. *Auguſtine.* Ther are foure watches of the night, whereof euerye one containeth three houres.

And Iſidorus in hys. v. booke of Etimologies, maketh. vii. partes of the nyght, for he addeth theſe three, Veſperum, Crepuſculum, and Matutinum, that is, the euentide, the twylight, & the morning. The ſecond watch may be vnderſtād the midle watch, as touching our hiſtory. For ther are. 2. watches betwene the firſt and the laſt: wherfore howſoeuer it be, the ſecond muſt needes occupy the midle place. But the inuenter of theſe gardes or watches in hoſtes (as Plini writeth in his. 7. booke & .56. chap.) was Palamedes, which by this place we ſee cannot be ſo, foraſmuch as the actes of the Iudges are of farre more antiquitye, then was Palamedes, vnles peraduenture he ſpake onely of the watches of the Grecians. *Iſidorus.* The inuentour of nyght watches. Plinius.

The vse of watches flourished in the olde tyme, not onelye in hostes, but they were had in vse also, for the safe custody of manye other thinges. For at Rome there were watchmen, which in the night time went vp and downe the Citye, to geue warning of fires, and therfore both in the Digest, and in the Code, the title is: De officio præfecti vigilum. This industrye also was translated vnto Shepeheardes, which we may see euen by the Gospel: For in Luke the. ii. chap. the Angels, when Christ was borne came vnto the Shepeheardes, which kept watche ouer their flocke. We reade also, that both Ethnikes and Christians vsed watches in holy seruices. At Rome there were holy seruices vnto the Goddesse Bona, which were done in the night season. And in the old Testament we reade, that godly women abode all night at the tabernacle, for doing iniury vnto whom, the children of Ely were accused.

Watchmen for to geue warning of fyres.

Watches of Shepeheardes

Watches vsed in holy seruices

Philo a Iewe (as Eusebius Cesarienſis in his first booke rehearseth) affirmeth, that the Christians which were in the Apostles time, amongst other their laudable institutions, did most chastely watche, in geuing thankes vnto God, applieng them selues vnto prayers, doctrines, and prayſinges of God. Tertulian in his Apologie writeth, that the Christians supped oftentimes and moderatly together, bicause they knew they should worship God in the night tyme. In the Actes Paul continued his sermon and disputation til after midnight, so that Eutichus a yong man being oppressed with sleepe, fel downe from a high loft. Yea, and Christ also, abode al night vpon the mountaine praying: and he reprehended the Apostles, which could not watch euen one houre with him, and exhorted them to watche and praye, that they might not be oppressed with temptation.

Philo.

Tertulian.

Ierome vpon the. 25. chap. of Mathew writeth, that the Iewes had a tradition, that the Messias would come at midnight, in which houre in dede the first born of Egipt were slayne. Wherfore he writeth, that he supposeth that that tradition came from the Apostles, that the Priests in the holye night of Easter shoulde not send away the people, so that if peraduenture the Lord appeare, he may finde them watching. But this is not at this dayes obserued: for the watches are not kept on the night of Easter, but on the night of the Natiuity.

Ierome.

In the Counsell of Carthage the. 4. chap. 49. it is ordayned that a Priest, which without any necessity of his bodye, ceased from keeping night watches, should both be depriued of his degree, and also put out of his benefice. But in the Counsel of Eliberinum, chap. 35. watchings in Church yardes are prohibited, where they were wont to watch, hauing wax candles lighted: which I suppose was inuented, not that by that obseruation they might deliuer the soules of the dead from purgatorye, but rather in honour of them. For as euerye man holde deare his friendes which were deade, that the memory of them shoulde not bee forgotten, they watched at the place where they were buryed, one daye in the yeare, which we manifestly perceaue in the life of Hilarion, written by Ierome, where he telleth that a certaine Deacon sayd, that he should watch at the tombe of blessed Antony, within a day or two, bicause now a yeare, or certayne yeares were passed since he died. The Elders watched also at the Sepulchres of Martirs, therby to shew vnto them honor, applieng themselues to doctrine, exhortations, geuing of thankes, & prayers, especially in these perilous times, whē they might not easily in the day time assemble together. Farther, peraduenture piety was by ỳ meanes the better obserued. For in the day time men wer occupied wt sundry labours & workes. Wherfore, ỳ the worshipping of God might not lye vtterly neglected, they appointed certaine houres in the night for it.

Consilium Carthaginense.

Consilium Eliberinum.

Watches at the Sepulchres of the deade.

Ierome.

Ierome against Vigilantius, marueilously cōmendeth the institutiō of ỳ church for watching, & he thinketh ỳ we shuld not cease frō this obseruation, although by occasion of these watches, some filthy things wer cōmitted. For (saith he) the errors of yong men, and light women, which can synne also in an other place, and play filthy partes at home, ought not to reuoke vs from so holye a custome.

But

But we see that at this day contrary to the sentence of Ierome, watches ar abolished, not onely of Parties, but also those which were done in the honour of the Lord, as it manifestly appeareth in the Counsell of Antisiodorensis, chap. the. v. although in some places there remaine some remnants of watches, as at Mantua vpon the feast of Bartlemew, and at Versellis on the night of Saint Eusebius. But al men know, how vnreasonably and immoderatly mē behaue themselues in those watches. Wherfore they haue conuerted the obseruation of watchings into fastinges. But what maner of fastinges I pray you? Suche which they vse now adayes in abstayning from eating of flesche. But whatsoeuer it be, the sentence of the Apostle is firme and constant, that the exercises of the body haue no great vtility, but piety is of force to al thinges. We must in dede fast and watch, as much as reason requireth, and strength of the body wil beare. And I doo not thinke that in this thing we ought with to much zeale to imitate Basilius, Nazianzenus and such like, which with outward obseruations so brake their bodies, that at the length they became vnprofitable, both to them selues, and also to other. The golden mediocritye is to be kept, wherein wee must keepe the laudable measure of frugalitye and temperaunce. And thus muche by the waye of watches.

Consilium Antisiodorense.

Watches turned vnto fastinges.

20 And the three bandes blew with trumpets, when they had broken their pitchers, and they tooke their lampes in their leaft hande: and the trumpets in their right hand, to blow withal, and they cryed: the swoord of the Lord, and of Gideon.
21 And they stoode euery man in his place, rounde about the hoft, and al the hoft brake their aray, and cryed, and fled.

The blowing of the trumpets, with the wonderful great cry of men, on euery syde, and the sodaine light, which the burning firebrandes gaue, when the pytchers were broken, did not onely astonish the Madianites, but they beyng yet oppressed with sleepe, were so troubled, that they could not tel what to do. Wherfore they supposed that there were many and sundry hostes there, and had nowe inuaded their host, and God filled them with such a certaine distres & madnes, that they counted their fellowsoldiours in stede of enemies, and miserably slew one another. This warlike pollecy was not found out and inuented by Gideon himself onely, but, as it is to be beleued, he did it by the suggestion of ỹ holy goft. And how God fauoured his enterprises, the holy history declareth, whereby we might learne, that God must prosper our enterprises, otherwise they are easely made vayne and of no force. For trumpets, fyrebrandes, and empty pitchers, of their own disposition and nature, haue smal force to obtaine a victory, especially if euery one of thē be taken a part, & although being ioyned together, they seme that they can do somwhat, yet if God had not added his power, they wold haue bene but laughed at. And they cried: The swoord of God, and of Gideon. God is mencioned as the true & principall efficient cause, & Gideon is added vnto him, as a fellow worker and instrument appointed to this worke. And it is not therfore so written, bicause the victory should after a sort be parted, and the one halfe geuen vnto God, & the other part to Gideon, whych thing also we must obserue as touching eternal saluatiō. For we must count the obtaining of it, to be wholy receaued of God, and not by free wyl, as the Pelagians do. Not vndoubtedlye to the ende we should lyue yuely, or ceafe frō good workes, when as Paul to the Philip. expressedly commaundeth, that we should worke our own saluatiō: but that we might vnderstand that all that we do, is of him, euē as in the same place it is added: For it is he which worketh in vs, both to wil & to perform, according to his good pleasure. Of this victory the. 83. Psalme maketh mencion: Doo vnto them as thou diddest vnto Madian, as vnto Horeb, & Zeb, & Zebah, & Zalmona.

The holy ghoft suggested thys warlike polecy

The victorye must not be parted betweene God & Gideon

Which sheweth vnto vs that the order of this victory is diligentlye to be kept in remembraunce of vs, that wee maye hope for the like, by prayers desire them of God, and haue a confidence to obtaine them. And not onely Dauid maketh mencion of this narration, but also Esay in his.x. chap. where he entreateth of Senacherib. God (saith he) wil raise vp a whip, like the destruction of Madian. And in very dede it so happened, as the Prophet prophesied: for the whole hoste of that king was by God destroyed, as was this host of the Madianites.

The names of the Captaynes of the Madianites do expres the nature of tirannes.

And as touching the names of these Captaines, they doo verye well signifye their tiranny. Aareb is a waster, Zaab is a woulfe, Sabchah is killing, and Salmona is prohibiting shadowe and refreshing. So do tirannes behaue themselues, they waste and rauen all thinges, they kil lyke woolues, and take awaye all refreshing and commodity from their subiectes: when as yet if they were Princes in deede, they should do farre otherwise. But God so punisheth them, that he wil haue their wicked affectiõs of their myndes, manifested not onely in dedes, but also in their names. Yea, and they them selues, as though they wer not sufficiently described and expressed in the holy scriptures, haue framed vnto themselues certaine armes, tending very muche to this purpose. None of them in a maner doo in their armes cary vertues, but Lions, Woulues, Tigers, Beares, Eagles and such lyke, whereby they rather set foorth their cruelty, then vertue and goodnesse.

22 And when the.300. men blew with trumpets, the Lord set euery mans swoord vpon hys neyghbour, and vpon all the hoste. So the host fled vnto Beth-Hasittah in Zererath, and to the border of Abel meolah vnto Tabath.

23 Then the men of Israel were gathered together out of Naphthali, and out of Aser, and out of al the tribe of Manasses, and pursued after Madian.

This counsell or act of God is no new or vnaccustomed thing. For so dyd he when Ionathas with his armour bearer came vnto the host of the Philistians, as we reade in the first booke of Samuel. And that is not vnlike whiche in the secõd booke of Paralip. the.xx. chap. is written, of the battaile, which in the time of Iehosaphat the king, was fought with the Moabites and Ammonites. For in those battailes also the enemies of the Israelites wounded one another. And Goliah was by Dauid slayne with his own swoord. And we also in these dayes haue many times experience of the like benefites. For when our aduersaries haue decreed by violence and force vtterly to oppresse vs, by a wonderfull prouidence they haue turned their force against themselues, and being letted by manye slaughters and warres, they haue ceased from their enterprises most cruel.

24 And Gideon sent messengers vnto al mount Ephraim, saying: Come downe agaynste the Madianites, and take before them the waters, euen vnto Beth-Bara, and Jordan. Then all the men of Ephraim gathered together, and tooke the waters vnto Beth-Bara and Jorden.

25 And they tooke two Princes of Madian, Horeb and Zeb, and slewe Horeb vpon the roche of Horeb, and slewe Zeb at the wynepresse of Zeeb. And they pursued the Madianites. And they brought the heades of Horeb and Zeeb vnto Gideon beyonde Jorden.

Now were other of the Israelites gathered together, as Aser, Naphthali, and Manasses. Gideon also sent vnto the Ephraites, that the victory which he had gotten

ten might on euery syde haue a lucky ende. He enuieth not to haue a companion of his glory, when as yet he with a few put himselfe in great daunger. I would to God we were so conioyned in the Church, that when wee haue begone anye good and profitable institution, we woulde for the performance of the same, desire other to helpe vs: but, which is to be lamented, as our sinnes do deserue, we oftentimes let one an other.

Come down against the Madianites, & take before them the waters. As touching these waters, the Interpreters do varye. Kimhi thinketh that it is not Iordane, his reason is, bicause it is added, euen vnto Iordane. R. Semoloh vnderstandeth that of those waters which deuideth Palestine, or the lande of Chanaan, from Siria, and among those waters he rekoneth Iordane. But the place of Beth-Bara is to be noted, bicause of the first chap. of Iohn, where our translation hath Bethania, which in dede lyeth farre distant from Iordane, neither did Iohn there baptise those that came vnto hym. But the Greeke text hath Bethabara. Wherfore it is thought that this place, whereof we now entreate, is ther ment. He commaundeth that the waters should strayghtway be preuented from those which fled, whilest yet they were troubled with feare, before they shoulde recouer strength vnto them againe. For he knew that it was very much hurtfull for Capitaines, slowlye and softlye to pursue the victorye. Wherefore he addeth all speede, least his enemies might haue space geuen them to vnderstande their errour, and to renue their power again. And therfore he commaundeth that with speede they should meete them, that the victorye begone, myght at the lengthe haue a full ende. *Beth-Bara.* *We must not slowlye followe the victory.*

And they tooke twoo Princes. The Ephraites accomplished that which Gideon commaunded, in preuenting those that fled, and they slew the Captains of the Madianites: Horeb they slewe at the rocke, which was afterwarde called by his name, and Zeb in the wynepresse, which Kimhi expoundeth, as thoughe there were there a playne countrye. Whose forme or figure was lyke a wynepresse. The Ephraites brought the heades of the twoo Princes vnto Gideon beyonde Iordane. This is supposed to be now put in by the figure Prolepsis: for it is thought that it was not done tyll suche time as Gideon had returned frō the victory being finished. In the meane time let vs consider the ignominy that god put those tyrannes vnto, bringing their moste proude heades vnder the power of the Israelites, whom they counted for people very abiect, and wonderfullye oppressed them with their cruelty. It is thought that the head of Pompeius which was offered vnto Cesar, dyd much encrease the calamity of that man. It is also declared that the heade of Cicero was brought vnto Anthonius, as a thing moste myserable.

But nowe in fewe woordes we muste touche the Allegory of this act, not vndoubtedly a playne Allegorye, but which is drawen out of the fountaines of the holy scriptures. Esay in the. ix. chap. intreating of the redemption by Christ, writeth in this maner: The yoke of his burthen, the staffe of his shoulder, and the rod of his oppressor hast thou ouercome, as in the daye of Madian. By whyche woordes is shewed, that this victorye is to be referred vnto that deliuerye from synne, which by Christ we haue obtayned. Neyther doo these trumpets portend any other thing then the preaching of the Gospel, now spread abroade throughout the whole worlde. For God geueth saluation vnto the worlde, by the ministery and doctrine of the Church, not as though this were sufficient, but the pitchers being broken, burning fyrebrandes are shewed foorth, bicause by the death of Christ vpon the crosse, the lyght of the holye ghost shyneth in the hartes of men, and the cryes of prayers are adioyned, from whence saluation commeth vnto the true Israelite. *In Allegory taken oute of the holy scriptures.*

¶ The. viii. Chapter.

1 Then the mẽ of Ephraim said vnto him: why hast thou done thys vnto vs, that thou calledst vs not, whẽ thou wentest to fight with the Madianites? And they chode with him sharpely.

2 To whom he answered: what haue I nowe done in comparison of you? Is not the gleanyng of grapes of Ephraim better, then the vintage of Abiezer?

3 God hath delyuered into your handes the Prynces of Madian, Horeb, and Zeeb: and what was I able to do, in comparisõ of you? And when hee had thus spoken, then their spirites abated towarde hym.

The Ephraits nobler thẽ they of Manasses.

THe Ephraites enuied Gideon, bicause great glorye redounded vnto hym by this battaile. That Tribe was much more noble then the Tribe of Manasses. For Iacob when he blessed the sonnes of Ioseph, stretchyng out his hands preferred Ephraim which was the yonger, before Manasses, whiche otherwyse was the first borne. Wherfore it is no maruail, if they now tooke it hainously, that they of Manasses caryed away the victory without their conduct.

Is not the gleanyng of grapes of Ephraim. Gideon answereth verye wittely, and by gentle woordes asswaged the spirites of the Ephraites. By the name of spirite I vnderstand violence, which proceded of arrogancy and hautynes of mynde, as we reade in the Gospel: Blessed are the poore in spirite. Hereby it appeareth that a gentle answer breaketh anger. That which sprang of enuy, he so semeth to haue taken it, as though they had bene stirred vp by a certain honest emulation, and desired that they also might be authors of the libertye of the Israelites. They which be enuious, are wont to be sory for this, bicause they want some good thing, which they see other haue alreadye obtayned. Gideon sheweth them, that the matter is not so as they thinke for: when as the greater part of this victory redounded vnto them. What haue I done (sayth he) that may be compared wyth your acte? I beganne the warre in deede, but ye haue slayne Horeb and Zeeb, which was the principallest thing in this battayle. The gleaning of your grapes, are better then my wynepresse. For the two Princes, whom ye haue both taken and killed, are of much more price then the rest of the multitude, which I haue vanquished. And if a regard should be had vnto the Tribe or family, the least part of the tribe of Ephraim is better, and stronger, then all the power and ability of the Abiezerites. Gideon telleth them not that he was peculiarly chosen of God vnto this office: for that would more haue prouoked them to anger. Wherfore he thought to geue place to the desyre of glory, wherwyth they burned, and to their enuiousnes. And yet in the mean time he lieth not: for asmuch as the tribe of Ephraim was most strong. Neither could Gideon by himselfe, or by his own power performe those thinges which they did, although he by the fauour and helpe of God he dyd greater thinges.

¶ Of the affections of enuy and emulation.

BVt I thinke it good somewhat to speake of the affections, namely of Enuye & Emulation, & such like. Affections (as it is well knowen) pertain vnto the general woord of quality, & are contayned in that forme, which is cõmonly called Passio, & passibilis qualitas. And amongst those ther are two more grosse & very cõmon, Delectation (I say) & Sorow. Their chief place is in the synowes, which are dispersed in a maner throughout the whole body. Vnto which, when either agreable things to nature, or things contrary ar applied, then either we haue a delectatiõ, or els a griefe. Farther, ther ar other affectiõs which folow knowlege,

Foure principall affections which followe knowledge.

by

by whiche as their nature is, the heart altereth hys mocion by mouing the pulse either vpwarde or downeward, according as knowledge doth receaued good or euill, & that either present or els nye at hand. For when we fele that good is present, the heart therewith is iocunde, and is affected pleasauntly. And this affectiō is called Gladnelle. But if we perceaue that the good is not present, but not far from vs, yea at hand and very nyghe to be obteyned, then are we stirred vp by hope to attayne it, and the heart is in like sorte pleasauntly moued. But when we see that euill is present, the heart flieth away with a heauy mocion, for it is contracted, it abhorred it, and is vexed: and this affection is wont to be called both payne, and griefe, in Greeke it is called λύπη, so called as the Stoikes thinke, as thoughe it were λύσις: that is consumption: for euen as the body of him that is sicke wasteth away by sickenesse, so the mynde semeth in a maner to weare away with sorowe. There is also an other knowledge of euill, not now beyng present, but whiche already is at hand. The heart flyeth from that also, and by hys mouyng very manifestly declineth from it: and such an affection is called Feare.

1 *Lætitia.*
2 *Spes.*
3 *Dolor vel Ægritudo.* λύπη.
4 *Metus.*

The foure affections whiche haue their begynnyng of Griefe & payne.

Of those foure principall affections, these are now to be entreated of, whiche haue their begynnyng of Heuynesse, or Griefe. And they also are reckened to be foure. Mercy, Nemesis, Enuy, and Emulation, of whiche Aristotle in his Rethorikes hath written many goodly thinges.

Misericordia. *Nemesis.* *Inuidia.* *Æmulatio.*

But before we entreate particularly of them, one thing is to be enquired of: Whether Affections are to be counted good or euill. The Stoikes affirme that they are euill, and they haue vniuersally condemned affections, this reason leadyng them thereunto, because by them the mynde, iudgement, and sound Counsell is troubled. For they so distract and shake the mynde or reason, that it can not at pleasure and quietly haue the contēplatiō of thinges naturall and diuine, neither orderly and rightly determine of things to be done. Farther, because by their wayght oftentymes driue men to perpetrate filthy and vniuste things: yea and they hurte the body also, when they are very vehement. These in a maner are the reasons of the Stoikes. The Peripatecians teache muche otherwise, that is, that those things are not true, which the Stoikes affirme, but when affections are not chastised & kept vnder by reason, then are they suffred immoderatly to runne at random. For euē ỹ affections, if they be kept in with certain bondes, are both good and profitable, as beyng the matter of vertues, and whiche are by nature appoynted for their wheelstones. For anger bringeth no small helpe vnto strength, and mercy is set vnder the vertue of clemency. And in the same maner it may be sayd of many other.

Whether affections be good or euill.

The Stoikes.

The Peripatecians.

But this sentence wherin the Philosophers do so disagre, must be decided by the iudgement of the holy scriptures. They write, ỹ man both as touching soule and as touching body was created of God. And they adde, that all things were good, what soeuer God created. Wherfore for asmuch as he planted affections in man, but not euill and corrupt, as now we haue them, but right and sound, which should obey and serue reason, they must of necessity be good. Farther the lawe of God both euery where commend vnto vs mercy, and preacheth repentaunce, whiche can not consiste without payne and griefe of the minde. Dauid also writeth, and Paul repeteth it, be ye angry, but sinne not. Yea and whiche more is, affections are ascribed euen vnto God, as Anger, Mercy, Griefe, Repentance, &c. which thinges although they are not properly spokē of him, yet this must we marke, that in the holy scriptures that is neuer attributed vnto God, whiche in a man is of it selfe vice, or of his owne nature sinne. This so discussed, let vs now entreate of mercy.

What the holy scriptures affirme of affections.

Of Mercy.

Mercy is a griefe of the minde, which we take for the aduersity of other men, or (as Cicero saith) a griefe take for an others mās misery. Aristotle teacheth,

Cicero. *Aristotle.*

that Mercy is ſtirred vp, if we ſee any ſuffre grenous things which they haue not deſerued. For if wicked men be iuſtly puniſhed, Mercy is not therfore ſtirred vp. Farther he thinketh, that thoſe caſes whiche we pitye, ſhould be terrible, otherwiſe if they be but light, we are by them litle or nothing moued. Laſtly that they are touched with mercy, which do thinke that ſuch things may ſometymes happen either vnto themſelues or to ſome of their friendes. Which is the cauſe, that Ariſtotle ſuppoſeth, that they which are in proſperity, and do iudge themſelues happy, are not prone vnto mercy, yea they ar wont to ſcoffe & mocke thoſe which are in miſery, as they which thinke nothing can hurte them. Likewiſe he remoueth this affection from ſuch as are deſperate and in a moſt miſerable ſtate, bycauſe they are not afrayd that any worſe thing can happen vnto them, then that whiche they haue already. Wherfore they ſeme in that deſperate fortune to haue become men without ſenſes. But if this were true, a man might doubt, by what meanes mercy can be aſcribed vnto God, for aſmuch as he without controuerſy is moſt bleſſed, and nothing can hurt hym. But to this might be anſwered, that mercy is not properly attributed vnto god, but by a metaphore taken of man, by-

Mercy is alſo to be ſhewed vnto thoſe which iuſtly ar puniſhed.

cauſe he doth thoſe things, which mercifull men are wont to do. For they helpe the afflicted, which ſelf ſame thing god alſo doeth. But in this thing I agree not vnto Ariſtotle, whiche will not haue mercy to be ſhewed vnto thoſe whiche are iuſtly puniſhed. For Samuel mourned long time for Saul, whō God reiected not vnworthily, but moſt iuſtly. Chriſt alſo wept ouer the deſtruction of Ieruſalem which was at hand vnto that City, not vndoubtedly without deſerte, but iuſtly. Neither thinke I this true, that ſinnes, which ſome mē commit, do not ſtirre vp mercy, but onely calamityes & aduerſityes do ſtirre vp mercy. For holy men are no leſſe grieued for other mēs cauſes, whē they fal into grieuous ſinnes, thē they are when they be oppreſſed with euil fortune, yea they ar ſo much the more grieued, as that euil is more pernicious, and leſſe able to be cured. Wherfore we can not deny, but that mercy is a good affection, for as much as it obeyeth the worde of God and reaſon, eſpecially ſeyng the Lord by his own mouth hath pronounced, that the mercifull are bleſſed, bycauſe they alſo ſhall obtayne mercy.

Nemeſis.

The other affection which hath his beginning of Heuineſſe or Griefe, is called Nemeſis: the ſame hath no Latin worde, although of ſome it be called Indignatio, that is Indignation, which yet by that word do not expreſſe all that affectiō: for Indignation extendeth farther than Nemeſis. But leauyng the word, let vs thus define the thing. Nemeſis is a griefe, which is taken for ỹ proſperity of wicked men, bycauſe they ſeme vnworthy of that fortune. Iuſt and holy men are

Holy men oftē tymes ar ſicke of Nemeſis.

ſicke oftentymes of this affectiō. Dauid when he ſaw the vngodly flouriſhing, ſaid: My fete were almoſt moued. Abacuk alſo, was grieued that the vngodly were of ſuch force, that they could oppreſſe the ſaintes, and deuoure the iuſt. And Iob ſeemeth in a maner to complayne vnto his friends for the ſame thing. Farther Plu-

Plutarche.

tarche in the lyfe of Homere praiſeth this affection, and by occaſion therof he farre preferreth the Peripatecians in diſputing of Affections before the Stoikes, & eſpecially by the iudgement of Homere, who affirmeth that God at the length will angerly puniſhe, after that the wicked haue a certayne while flouriſhed. Howbeit this is to be obſerued, that men are not grieued with this affection, for that they ſhall ſuffer any loſſe, by reaſō of the proſperous ſucceſſe of the wicked, or bycauſe that they by their power can hurt them. For if they were in this maner grieued, thei ſhould not be troubled with Nemeſis, but rather with feare. But Nemeſis is then, when a man for the lucky ſucceſſe of the wicked, is moued with aldomake & hatred of the vnworthineſſe of the perſon.

How mercy & Nemeſis agree and differ.

This affection in two things cōmunicateth with Mercy: firſt bycauſe either of them is a Heuineſſe: farther, bycauſe eche of thē is ſtirred vp by the vnworthineſſe of the thing. Mercy, bycauſe good men āre grieued and oppreſſed, and Nemeſis, bycauſe wicked men lyue happely. But in this afterwarde they differ, by-

cauſe

cause Nemesis hath a respect vnto prosperous fortune, & Perry vnto sharpe fortune. Wherfore Nemesis is in a maner a meane affection betwene Enuy & Perry, for of either it semeth to take somewhat of mercy it taketh vnworthinesse: of Enuy prosperity, which it hath a respect vnto. Farthermore Aristotle teacheth ỹ none are affected with Nemesis for other mens vertues: for if other [illegible] they of vicious and corrupt men, become iust, moderate, strong, and tem[illegible]en, we are not then angry, bycause when they are adorned with ver[illegible]ey are no lenger counted wicked men. But then at the last we are a[illegible]with Nemesis, when those good things come vnto wicked mẽ, with wh[illegible]thinke ỹ good mẽ ought to be rewarded, as are riches, honours, power, ga[illegible], & such like. But godly men must wisely deale with this affection, that when their myndes are affected with it, bycause of the felicity of the vngodly, let them haue a regarde vnto God, which is the true gouerner and distributer of all good things. Wherfore if men should bestow these outwarde goods vpon the vnworthy, their vnthankfulnes might iustly be reproued. But such a reprehension hath no place in God, bycause he doth all things most iustly. This thing Dauid when he did not diligently consider, sayd: My fete were almost moued. As though he should haue sayd: By reason of this Nemesis I had almost grieuously fallen. Wherfore we must seldome geue place to this affection, least we seme to reprehende the Prouidence of God.

Aristotle.

We must seldom geue place to Nemesis.

Now must we speake of enuy. Cicero thinketh that it should rather be called Enuidence, for they among Lattin men are sayd to be sicke with Enuy, whiche are enuied. But Enuidence pertayneth to them, which consume away with this disease. And therfore he thinketh that Enuy or Enuidence is therfore so called, bycause that they which are enuious, do to much looke vpõ other mens fortune. Enuy therfore is a griefe which is takẽ for an other mãs prosperity, especially of those which are equal & like vnto vs. For a poore mã enuieth not a king, neither do beggers enuy noble men. We enuy those that are like & equall vnto vs. And the likenesse is to be vnderstand, as touching kinred, riches, beawty, age, witte, dignity, and such like. The cause of Enuidence is not, bycause we feare that some hurte is at hand of those whom we enuy: for that should be feare. But of a certayne hatred and stomacke we can not abide the prosperity of other men, especially of our matches and like. And therof Enuy is the cause.

Inuidia.
Inuidencia.
Cicero.
How enuy and enuidẽce differ
Enuye.
The definition of Enuie.

Enuy is euermore counted euill, and it is by the holy scriptures grieuously reproued. For it is most manifestly against Charity. For the Apostle sayd vnto the Corinth. the 1. chap. Charity enuieth not. For *Paul* taketh not properly there ỹ worde ζηλοῖ which is turned enuy. But to the Galathians he more playnly forbiddeth enuy, writing: Be not ye made desirous of vayne glory, prouoking one an other, and enuieng one an other: Where not only Enuy is reproued, but the mother of it is also shewed, namely desire of glory. As also we may in this history perceaue. For the Ephraites enuied Gideon, bycause the glory of so great a victory semed to redound vnto him. And this affectiõ is of force in all those things, wherin we desire to excel. Neither abstayneth it also from vertues: for ỹ enuious persons would not that his matches and like should excell him in any ornament of vertues. But the cause why enuy is conuersant among like, is this, bycause although the prosperous fortune of like or matches, doth take away none of our goods, neither maketh vs lesser then we are, yet the Enuious person so thinketh of the good things of other men, as though by them his honor & dignity, gayne, and other ornamentes were darkened. And this is not to be left vnspoken of, ỹ euery enuious person is one that reioyseth in another mans hurte: for he reioyseth in the aduersity of his equall. Yet are not those to be counted for one and the selfe same vice, seyng they pertayne vnto contrary motions of the mynde. For Enuidence is a griefe or sorow, when he that reioyseth in an other mans hurte is affected with ioy. Yet are these vices, although they be diuerse, otherwise so ioyned together, that there is no enuious man whiche is not moued with the reioy-

Charitye & ζηλοῖ.

Desire of glory is the mother of Enuy.

Of ἐπιχαιρεκακία.

Euery enuious manne is ἐπιχαιρεκακός that is one that reioyseth at an other mãs hurt

syng

ling in the hurt of an other. And hereby it manifestly appeareth that Enuidēce plainly is contrary vnto Mercy. For it lamenteth an other mās misery, but the enuious man reioyseth therin, bicause of the disease of reioysing in the hurt of an other wherewith he is sicke. They that are affected with Nemesis want not also this motion of the mynde. For he which is sory for ỹ prosperous successe of wicked men, the same man is also affected with pleasure, when he seeth them oppressed and vexed. The Latines haue no worde to expresse this kynde of ioye, wherewith both the enuious man, and he that hath Nemesis is affected, in beholding an others mans prosperity.

Nemesis is ioined also with ἐπιχαιρεκακία

Of emulation. Lastly we must entreate of Emulation, which is a griefe of the minde, whiche we conceaue for good things whiche happen vnto other, whiche we want, which we thinke should beautify vs, & would gladly attayne vnto them. By this motiō of the minde we desire not, that other mē should be depriued of their ornamēts, but that grieueth vs, bycause we our selues are destitute of thē. And it is a point of a good nature, in this maner to be affected: therfore Emulation is numbred among laudable Affections. Cicero in his Tusculan questions, defineth it to be a griefe, which procedeth of that, that an other enioyeth that good thing whiche we desire. The same writer obserueth also, that Emulation is sometymes so taken, that it nothing differeth from Enuidence: wherfore it is sometymes reproued. But if the definition therof be receaued, as it is now alledged, it is an affection laudable, bycause it maketh men better: for it vseth to bring forth the imitation of good things. But we must take hede, whiche vndoubtedly is easely done, that it degenerate not into Enuy, and Emulatiō procede not so farre, that we should wish that men fortunate and noble, and also wise men, might be spoyled of theyr ornamentes & good things. Wherfore Cicero sayd, that that Emulation is laudable, which is not like vnto riuality. For this is the nature of those that be Riuales, so to enioy their delightes, that they vtterly exclude all other. But addyng these cautions, Emulation is both good and holy. Wherfore Paul exhorted the Corinthians to emulate Charity, and the chiefest giftes. This affection is chiefly occupied about vertues, and al thinges which are had in honour and admiratiō. For that which a man contemneth and dispyseth, he vseth not to emulate. Emulation hath Hope cōtinually ioyned with it, of obteyning that which it desireth. For if a man should dispayre, it is not possible that he should emulate. And thus much of these affections.

Emulation is counted among laudable affections.

We must beware that Emulation degenerate not into enuy.

Cicero.

Riuality is the enuy betwene two louing one woman.

The matter wherin Emulation is occupyed.

Emulatiō hath hope ioyned with it.

Wherfore we gather that the Ephraites were moued with enuy against Gideon, bycause they would haue him depriued of the glory whiche he had gotten. Neither contended they so, bycause they studyed to do the like, although peraduēture they made that their pretence. But Gideon maketh not mentiō vnto them of his vocation, labour, industry, loue of his countrey, his good acte, & such other thinges, which might haue serued to the amplifieng of hys deserte towarde the people, and of his dignity. For by that meanes he should the more haue moued them to enuy: but after a sort he gaue place vnto them, & interpreteth their affection, as though it were an honest emulatiō. And teacheth them, ỹ they haue now ỹ fruit of this affectiō, bycause they had not only imitated him, but they had done more then he had accomplished. But now let vs returne vnto the History.

The Ephraites were licke of Enuy, and not of Emulation.

4 And Gideon came vnto Jorden to passe ouer, he and the 300. mē that were with him, weary, yet pursuing them.

5 And he sayd vnto the men of Succoth: Geue, I pray you, morsels of bread vnto this people that are at my fete, for they are weary: & I will follow after Zebah and Zalmonah kinges of Madian.

6 And one of the princes of Succoth sayd: Are the handes of Zebah, and Zalmonah now in thine hande, that we should geue bread vnto

vnto thine army?

7 Gideon then sayd: Therfore, when the Lorde hath deliuered Zebah, & Zalmonah into myne hand, then I will beate in peeces your flesshe with thornes of the wildernesse and with briars.

8 And he went vp thence vnto Penuel, and spake vnto them lykewise, and the men of Penuel answered hym: as the men of Succoth answered.

9 And he sayd also vnto the men of Penuel: when I come agayn in peace, I will breake downe this Tower.

10 Nowe Zebah and Zalmonah were in Karkor, & their hostes with thē, about fiften thousand, al ẏ were left of all the hostes of the childrē of Kedem: & they which wer slayne, were an hundreth & twenty thousand men that drew swordes.

11 And Gideon went thorough them that dwelt in tabernacles, on the Eastside of Nobah, Iogbehah, and smote the hoste, for the host was careles.

12 And when Zebah and Zalmonah fled, he followed after them, and tooke the two kynges of Madian, Zebah and Zalmonah, and discōfited all the host.

13 So Gideon the sonne of Ioas returned from the battayle, before the sunne rose vp.

After a long parenthesis the history returneth vnto the last order of ẏ thing that was done, and declareth in what sorte the ende of the battayle was. When the Madianites and they of the East had wounded themselues one an other, and a few of them whiche remayned, fled away: Gideon pursued after them, & passed ouer Iordane. And because he had laboured all the night, and sawe that his three hundrethmen were weary, he would somwhat refresh them. Therfore he required meat of ẏ city of Succoth for his fellow souldiers. And Succoth lyeth beyond Iordane in the tribe of Gad. Iacob builded it, when he departed from saluting his brother Esau. Whiche I therfore speake, because there is an other place which is likewyse called Succoth, but it belongeth vnto Egypt, and is numbred among the first mention places of the children of Israell. Two Succoths.

Gideon desireth that he might haue geuen him Kichroth, that is round peces of bread for his weary souldiers. Vndoubtedly, if he had required great plenty of bread or meat generally, they of Succoth might after a sorte haue ben excused. But by name he desired onely bread. Wherfore they whiche would not do that, can not but be condemned of great inhumanite. He bringeth two causes of hys requeste: my fellow souldiers, saith he, are weary, namely because for the publique health they haue laboured all night: wherby he signified that they were not vnworthy of their reward. Farther we pursue the Madianites, puttyng our selues agayn in daunger for the health of the Hebrues. Either of these cause were sufficient ynoughe to allure their benevolence. He bringeth two causes of hys requeste.

The princes of Succoth answere, namely one for them all, and therfore it is sayd in the singular nūber, Vaiiomer, and he sayd. Wherby is signified that onely the princes and senators of this city were in the faulte, and therfore they were at the length (as afterward shalbe declared) punished by Gideon, and he threatned them only, as it is here written. They do not onely refuse to geue bread, but also they scorne the man. Are, sayth they, the handes of zebah and zalmonah in thy power? Thou speakest vnto vs with so greate a stoutenesse, and so desirest bread, as though thou haddest already taken them. Gideon was grieuously angry with these mockes for so vnworthy a contempt, and he freely and playnely forespake.

ſpake, what he would do agaynſt them.

If theſe vngodly and rude men had bene wiſe, they would haue ioyned themſelues vnto him, to aſſiſte his endeuor in fighting for the common health. But this they do not impudently deny bread whiche men vſe to geue vnto ſuche as are weary and hungry, although they be ſtraungers. A wonderfull diuerſity vndoubtedly of things: The Madianites which were ſtrangers, were afrayd and fled: but thoſe whiche were Iſraelites, mocke Gideon the conquerer. If thou wilt ſaye they were ignorannt of hys vocation: we may aunſwere, that they could not denye, but that his worke was good. But graunt that they doubted of the vocation and principality of Gideon, what excuſe at the laſte can they moſte wanton deriſion haue? For ſo did Nabal the Carmilite behaue hymſelfe towarde Dauid, when he required ſome meate of hym for hys Souldiers, makyng mencion of hys fayth, and the fidelitye of hys men, in ſafegardyng hys thynges. But he dyd not onely denye vnto hym that humanity, but ſent awaye the meſſangers laden with contumelyes. The thynges which Gideon required, were iuſte and honeſty. For ſtipendes and vittailes are due vnto the Magiſtrates, for as muche as he laboureth for the publicque vtility. Wherefore Paul ſayeth: Therefore ye geue vnto hym tribute, bycauſe he is the Miniſter of God, namely in defendyng the innocent, and puniſhyng the guilty. Wherefore they of Succoth were bounde to geue thoſe thynges whiche were deſired, by the duety of iuſtice. For the ſame Apoſtle writeth, render vnto euery man that whiche is due: to whome tribute belongeth, tribute, to whom cuſtome is due, cuſtome, &c. The Ethnikes alſo ſaw this, whē as there are many ciuiles lawes extāt, whiche doo both weyghtely and moſte iuſt prouide, that Souldiers ſhould haue vittayles founde them, when they goo on warfare. And howe muche they ſynned in mockyng ſo greate a man, we may gather by the wordes of Chriſt, who ſayeth: If a man ſaye vnto an other man foole, or Racha, he ſhalbe guilty of iudgement and Counſell: how muche more ſhall he be condemned, whiche wantonly ſcoffeth and mocketh hys Magiſtrate? Some princes dyd ſeuerely puniſhe thoſe whiche with contumelyes reproched euen theyr images: what ought this man to doo with thoſe, whiche ſo mocked hym to hys face? Theſe thynges I therfore ſpeake, that we ſhoulde not thinke that Gideon did vniuſtly threaten them. It is not for priuate men to reuenge theyr owne iniuryes: But it is the office of the Magiſtrate to reuenge both hys owne iniuryes and other mennes, and in reuengyng hys owne, he reuengeth alſo other mennes iniuryes. For what ſoeuer contumely is committed agaynſte a prince, it redoundeth vnto the publique wealth and all princes. Gideon at thys preſent dyd onely threaten, yet he ſtayed not there, leaſt by occaſion of reuengyng of hys owne iniury, the commodity of the victorye, whereunto he was called by God, ſhoulde be hindred. He differred therefore that whiche belonged vnto hymſelfe: but with ſpede he proſecuteth that, whiche chiefely pertayned to the delyuery of the publicque wealth. But princes at thys daye do otherwiſe, who rather make warre amonge themſelues, and that for very lyght cauſes, then they will take in hande a common cauſe and defence agaynſte the Turke. Yea and there are ſome, and thoſe of the Cardinalles, whiche write that they will (if they can) call backe Ceſar himſelfe from that courſe of victory, wherwith he might obteyne agayne euen the City of Conſtantinople, and to puniſhe the Germaynes and Engliſhemen, and other whiche fell from the Churche of Rome.

Stipendes and victuales are due vnto an hoſte whiche goeth on warfare.

Furthermore, Gideon is for thys thyng to be prayſed, namely bycauſe, although he meate wanted, and he was deſpyſed of the Hebrues, yet he deſiſted not from that vocation, wherein he was conſtituted by G O D. But nowe both princes and miniſters of the Churche will not abyde in theyr office, vnleſſe thynges neceſſary for theyr lyuyng be moſte aboundantly miniſtred vnto them. He threateneth thornes and briars vnto the princes of Succoth. For that Citie

whiche

whiche the Ethnikes call Troglodita, had a deserte in the circuite therof, wherin greine many thornes and briars. *Penuel* is of *Strabo* called the face of God: in which place Iacob wrastled with ꝧ angell, and sayd at the last: I haue seene the Lorde face to face, and my soule hath escaped safe. The name of *Penuel* in mocking Gideon imitated them of Succoth, and because they putting their confidence in the Tower whiche they had, did so scorne at Gideon, therefore he threatened to ouerthrowe it after his victorye. But howe this Capitayne of GOD got meate, it is not written: and peraduenture GOD so strengthned him and his hoste, that without meate he perfectly obtayned the victorye whiche he had begon.

Why he threatneth thornes & briars.

Penuel.

He findeth his enemyes lying in securitye: it was nyght when he passed ouer Iordane: and they had but euen now escaped out of the borders of the Israelites, and they thought ꝧ Gideon would be in quiet at the least for that nyght. These were the causes, that they so securely rested themselues. There were fiftene thousand souldiers together, as certayne small remnauntes: for at the beginnyng there came one hundreth and twenty thousand fighting men, which stoode in true battle, and bore weapons: wherebye we may easely gather what a greate nomber there were of boyes, scullions, and vnprofitable men, whiche vse to followe hostes. When the two kynges were taken, Gideon returned, when the Sunne was elevated, that is, after his rysing: by whiche kynde of speakyng, we manifestly know, that this warre, as it was begon in the nyght tyme, so also was it finished by nyght.

14 And he tooke a seruaunte of the men of Succoth: and enquired of him: and he wrote to him the princes of Succoth, and the Elders therof euen seuentye and seuen men.

15 And he came vnto the men of Succoth, and said: Behold Zebah and Zalmonah by whom ye vpbrayded me, saying: Are the handes of Zebah and Zalmonah now in thy hande, that thou desirest, that we should geue bread vnto thy weary men?

16 Then he tooke the Elders of the City, and thornes of the desert and briars and brake with them the men of Succoth.

17 Also he brake downe the Tower of Penuel, and slewe the men of the City.

Gideon required of this fellowe beyng either a younge man or a seruaunte, to describe vnto him the names of the princes or Senators of Succoth. He trusteth not his memory, but will haue their names written, and studieth for this thing onely, not to commit any thing by anger with a furious minde. And therfore with mature deliberation he would punish onely the guilty, and not destroy the vnguilty together with the guilty. He knew that onely the heades of the City resisted him, wherfore he determined to punishe them alone. Theodosius, an Emperor otherwise most worthy of prayse, fell grieuously, because in the City of Thessalonia, for the killyng of one Souldier, whiche bare rule vnder him, he commaunded a great nomber of Citezins to be slayn, without any choise, wherby both the guilty, and the innocent were killed. Wherefore he was corrected by the authority of Ambrosius beyng Bysshopp, and compelled to publique repentaunce: and by the commaundement of the same man GOD be made a lawe, whiche is yet in the Code, that the sentence of death beyng pronounced agaynste any man, should be staied the space of thirty dayes, before he should be put to execution. But now a dayes it oftentymes commeth to passe, that some publique wealth is made grieuously oppressed, if two, three, or foure Citezins therof haue offended: all priuileges, liberty, and other ornamentes are in

A fall of Theodosius.

The Emperor corrected of the Bishop.

Why he saued the kinges of Madian alyue.

amount taken awaye. Further we muste consider, that Gideon did rashely saue one kyng Zebah and Zalmonah whome he had taken: for he woulde shewe them vnto the menne of Succoth and Penuel, that GOD had deliuered them vnto hym. He vexed the princes both with thornes and briars, as he threatened, that by their euill they might learne, howe muche and what they had offended. Iodeach is in thys place not onely to instruct, but (as I suppose) it signifieth in Latin animaduertere: whiche is to punishe. Thornes are counted euen of the Ebrukes among vnluckie plantes: and therfore it is no meruayle, if they be occupied in punishementes. But whether he slew them, or onely chastised them, by the wordes of the Hystory it appeareth not. But of Penuel it is manifest ynough, both that the tower was ouerthrowe and the Citezins slayne, because either they scoffed more wantonly than the menne of Succoth did, or els trusting to the fense of the place they resisted Gideon, wherefore when they came to the battayle they were slayne: or els let vs graunt that they of Succoth also perished with thornes and briars.

Thornes are vnlucky plãts.

18 Then said he vnto Zebah and Zalmonah, What manner of men were they, whom ye slew at Thabor? and they answered: As thou art, so were they: euery one was like the children of a kyng.

19 And he sayde, they were my brethren euen my mothers children. As the Lorde lyueth, if ye had saued their lyues, I would not slaye you.

20 Then he sayde vnto Jether his firste borne sonne, Vp and slaye them. But the boye drew not his sworde: for he feared, because he was yet a childe.

21 And Zebah and Zalmonah sayde, Rise thou, and fall vpon vs, for as the man is, so is his strength. And Gideon arose, and slewe Zebah and Zalmonah, and toke away the ornamentes, that were on the camels neckes.

Nowe is declared the punishement of these two kynges of Madian, whiche Gideon had therefore ordained or kept, to shewe them vnto those Israelites, whom he had determined to punishe, when he had obtayned the victory. Firste he asketh them, what manner of men they were, whom they slewe in mount Thabor. They answered that they were like hym, and so comely and beautiful, that they myght appeare to be the children of a kyng. And that maye also be vnderstande of one of them, when as it is sayde Echad: we maye also vnderstande it of euery one of them. There are some also which thynke that those that were slayne were in semblance and beauty lyke vnto the children of Gideon, wherfore they called a kynge, because they shewe hym beare dominion in the hoste. Hereby is gathered that Gideon was exceeding beautifull. But when hys brethre were slayne, we can not finde by the holy Hystory. But it myght be, that they committed thys aduoutrie when they came to make thys warre, or els before when euery yeare they inuaded the lande of the Israelites in the tyme of Barueck. Of mount Thabor we haue before spoken, when we entreated of the victory of Barak and Deborah.

Gideon was exceeding beautifull.

As the Lorde liueth, if ye had saued their lyues, Gideon myght haue saued these kynges lyues, if they had not slayne hys brethren: but because they had slayne them it was not so lawfull. For in the booke of Numbers there is a lawe, ordeined in the ordinaunce, that the heire of kynne muste not suffer the bloude of hym that is dead vnpunished, not that a priuate man shoulde kyll a murtherer, but he muste bringe him vnto the Iudge that there the cause being knowe he myght be punished. And therefore Gideon being a magistrate ought by that

It was not lawfull to saue these kynges alyue.

lawe

lawe to punishe them. Otherwyse he myght haue let them goo, for as muche as they were not Chananites, whom GOD had commaunded, that they shoulde not spare. Wherefore Gideon sweareth nothyng contrarye to the woorde of God. And he sayde vnto Iether. He commaundeth hys firste borne sonne, beyng then a younge manne, to slaye them, but he feared, neyther durste he drawe hys swoorde: The two kynges disdayne, & would not be killed with the hande of a chylde, euen as Abimelech would be slayne of hys Armor bearer, least he should seeme to be killed of a woman. Farther, they easely sawe, that they shoulde bee longe in payne or they were dead, when as the chylde by reason of want of strength coulde not rid them out of theyr lyfe quickely. And Gideon peraduenture dyd for thys cause commaunde hys sonne to doo thys thynge, to inflame hys hearte, euen from hys tender yeares agaynste the enemyes of the people of GOD, as it is written of Hannibal, who from a chylde vowed hymselfe agaynst the Romaynes: Or elles he dyd it to learne hym from hys tender age to obey the lawe of God, wherein was commaunded that the bloud of the next of kynne beyng shed, should be reuenged.

Why Gideon willed his sonne to kil ỹ kings.

But might not he haue committed that office vnto a hangeman? why would he so vrge hys sonne? To thys maye be aunswered two wayes. Firste that in the olde tyme it was not vncomely to slay the guylty. Farther, that it is not sene that the Hebrues had hangemen. And vndoubtedly, that thys was no office amonge the Hebrues, this testifieth, bycause in the lawe it is written, that a blasphemer beyng taken, was so stoned to death, that the hande of the wytnesses dyd throwe the firste stone agaynste hym: neyther was the puttyng to death of any body committed to any peculiar hangeman. And there are many examples whiche testifye that it was not ignominious to slaye the guilty. Saul when he woulde haue the Priestes slayne, called not hangemen to doo it, but turned to the noble men whiche were with hym, and commaunded them to inuade the Priestes: who reuerensyng theyr ministery and dignitye, durst not obey. Onely Doeg the Edomite durst execute so greate a wycked acte, who was not of leaste estimation with the kynge. Samuell also with hys owne hande slewe kynge Agag the prysoner. Ioab in lyke manner when he had caught holde of the horne of the altar, was slayne of Banaia the chiefe Capitayne of the hoste. Wherefore it seemeth that the Hebrues in that auncient tyme hadde no hangemen.

The Hebrues had no hangemen.

But as muche as maye be gathered by the Hystorye of the Ethnikes, Lictores began at Rome vnder Romulus, who (as Plutarche writeth in hys lyfe) were called so eyther of ligando, that is of byndyng, or bycause the Grecians call them λικτορες, or λικτηρες, bycause they executed a publique office. Romulus gaue them Roddes bounde together to carye, and to them was an axe ioyned. They had also cordes to bynde the Citezins withall, that beyng bounde, they myght eyther beate them with roddes, or strike them with the axe. But the men of more auncient tyme wanted thys office: euery man executed it without any infamy, as it was by the Magistrate commaunded hym. And in verye dede that woorke of punishyng malefactors, hath in it no dishonestye or vncomelynesse, For if it be honest, for a iudge or prince to geue sentence of death agaynst euyll doers, why then shall it not be iuste and honest to execute the same sentence? Yea and GOD hymselfe in punishyng, dyeth not onely euyll spirites, but good spirites.

Lictores, were ministers appointed to execute corporall punishment. Plutarche.

But thou wilte saye, why are Lictores and hangemen commonly so euyll spoken of? Firste, bycause the common people are afrayde of them, neither would any manne be punished for hys wicked actes: hereby it commeth that the syght of the hangman driueth into them a certayn horror. And that the people were so affected, ỹ maner of ỹ publique wealth of Rome declareth, where whē ambicious

Why Lictores and hangemen are of the cōmō people euill spoken of.

men flattered the people more then was meete, they sent away the hangeman out of the market place, and iudgement house of Rome, as euen the Oration of Cicero for Rabirius testifieth. The Citezins of Rome were not beaten with roddes, nor put to death. Their extremest punishement was banishement, they were caried into plandes, & at the length condemned to ẏ woorking of Pettalles. But the latter Romayne lawes, whiche are in the digestes, blotted out that exemption: for in very dede it was vniust. For a faulte woorthy of death ought not to be wynked at, although a Citezin of Rome were the author of it. And there were two principall lawes whereby the backe and head of the Citezins were prouided for, the lawe I saye Portia, and Sempronia, whose power and defence neuertheleſſe Paul (as we rede in the Actes) vsed, and so escaped both roddes and bondes. This is one cause why Lictores and hangmen are so hated.

The Romaynes vsed not a hangeman for their Citezins.

Portia lex & Sempronia.

2 An other cause hereof in the Papisticall opinion of irregularity, whiche as the Canonistes wyll haue it, is contracted of euery murther. These men thinke that a man can not so iustly kyll any man, that he may be promoted to the holye Ministerye: when as yet the Inquisitours of the heretticall prauity (as they terme it) doo dayly cause an infinite number, and those innocentes, to be kylled. The Popes Legates also in gouernyng of Cityes, and Prouinces, and makyng warres, although they be Cardinalles and Bysshoppes, doo styll continually cause bloud to be shed. But in the meane tyme, with greate hypocrisie they take hede, that the sentence be geuen by a laye Iudge (as they call hym) and so they wrappe themselues out of that irregularity. But the holy Scriptures do not so teache. *Moses* sayde vnto the *Leuites*, whiche with hym had kylled so many, ye haue consecrated your handes: so farre was it of that they shoulde be depriued of the holy Ministery. But the Pope saith, that Dauid for shedding of bloud, was in the olde tyme prohibited to builde the Temple. But in this place we muste marke the misterye wherin Salomon shadowed Christ, the peacable king. For he was by hym expressed, whiche hath gathered together the Churche, the true Temple of GOD without weapons, vnto the true and euerlastyng peace. But blonde beyng iustly and rightly shed, restrayneth not from the holye ministery. For *Pinhas* who was hygh Priest, thrust thorough two moste vnpure whoremongers. Elyas, a man of the stocke of the *Leuites*, slew with hys owne hande the Prophetes of *Baal*. And Samuell, a man of the same tribe, dyd hymselfe kyll Agag the king, & yet neither of them both were reiected frō their office. Neither do I therfore speake these thyngs, to commend the promotyng of murtherers vnto holy orders: but thys only I oppugne, that euery slaughter & euery murther maketh a man so irregular (as these menne saye) that he can not be ordeyned a Minister of the Churche. What if a man haue bene a Iudge or a Magistrate, or in iuste warre hath fought for hys countrey, can not he therefore be ordayned a Minister of the Churche? Peraduenture he hath obteyned excellent giftes of God, and is endewed with singular doctrine, adorned with a pure lyfe, instructed with dexterity of gouernyng, and godly eloquence: can not the Churche (as these men most absurdely thynke) vse hys gyftes? Undoubtedly that was not obserued in Ambrose, he was seruaunt vnto Cesar, and decided matters in the lawe beyng Prefect of Millan, and yet was he by violence taken to be a Bysshop. I knowe that *Paul* requireth that a Bysshoppe be no striker: but no manne doubteth, but that that is to be vnderstande of an vniuste murther or violence. But what should a man here doo? all thynges are by the Papistes handled superstitiously.

Bloud shed iustly & rightly, restraineth not from the holy ministery.

Aristotle.

3. Nowe the thirde cause why Lictores and hangemen are euyll spoken of, is this, because very many of them liue wickedlye and filthy, and were before tyme noughty men. Howbeit the office defileth them not: but rather by theyr faulte they pollute an excellent office. Aristotle in his. 6. boke of Politikes the last chapter

ser sayth, that good men abhorre this kind of office, namely of punishing of mē, bycause it hath a hatred annexed vnto it. For they doe oftentimes incurre the hatred of men: But in my iudgement, a good and godly man ought not for that cause to abhorre his administration. I remēber an aunswere of Chrisippus, who being demaūded why he exercised not the office of a magistrate. If I exercise it not rightly (sayd he) I shal displease god: but if I do rightly, I shal displease men: but I wil do neither of both. He semed to some to haue aunswered very prudently, but me thinketh he answered folishly. For he should rather haue aunswered cōtrarily that the publike welth ought to be governed, and that rightly, to please both God and good menne: but a wise and good man muste not haue a respecte vnto wicked men. By these thinges it is now manifestly shewed, that Gidion in that he himselfe killed the kinges of Madian, committed nothing that was not decent for him, neyther that he commaunded his sonne to do any fylthy acte.

ἀπέχθεια.

A saying of Chrisippus.

22 Then the men of Israel sayd vnto Gideon: Reigne thou ouer vs, both thou and thy sonne and thy sonnes sonne, bycause thou hast deliuered vs out of the hand of Madian.

23 And Gideon aunswered them: I will not raygne ouer you, neither shall my chyld reigne ouer you, the Lord shal raigne ouer you.

The people retayninge a benefite at Gideons hand, would haue made him king, that they might not be cōpted ingrate. But seing gratitude is a vertue, it ought to haue no vnlust thing ioyned with it: whiche these men obserued not, For they appoynted ouer their kyngdome by the lawe of god. In Deut. the. 17. chap. it is written, that he should be a king whom god had chosen. Neyther pertained it vnto the people, to appoint a kinge whome they would. Wherefore that which they doo now, is not frely to gene any thing that is their owne, but to gene that which is an other mans. The right to appointe a king, belonged to god, and not vnto men: which thyng also Gideon wysely sawe, neyther was Christ ignorant therof, when they which were filled with bread, came vnto him to create him a king, he wayghed the maner of his vocation, and for that his kingdome was not of this worlde, and vnderstoode that they vsurped an other mans right, and were not mued therunto: By like causes, he put of from himselfe such a burthē. The same thinges happened in a maner vnto the bishops of Rome. Which at the beginning were holy, for very many of the wer notable by constancy of faith, & martirdom. Farthermore their church was kindled with feruentnes of charity, & towards the poore moste liberal, so that it sent almes euen into the east part, to the Ilands and metalle places, where the holy confessours of Christ liued in exile. All which thinges got that chaire much fauor and grace with the faithful. Wherefore the supreame power and kingdome in the church was in a manner offred, some times vnto those bishops: which they like Gideon refused with a greate spirite & singuler modestie. Of which thing also what Gregorius the b. of Rome iudged, I will briefly declare. In his. 4. boke of Epistles. In the. 32. 34. 36. 38. & 39. Epistles he of that matter writeth at large, both vnto Mauritius the emperor, and also to Constantia Augusta, likewise to the Patriarkes, Alexandrinus, and Antiochenus, yea and to Iohn the Patriarche of Constantinople, and lastlye to Anianus Deacon of the same church.

It pertained vnto god to elect a king.

Christ refused kingdōe offred vnto hym.

What manner of men the olde Romayne bishops were.

Gregorius.

In the time (sayth he) of Pelagius my predecessor, Ioannes Constantinopolitanus when he had assembled a sinode, by an other pretence, clayned vnto him self the title of the vniuersal supreame Patriarch, which thyng Pelagius toke in euil part, and therfore made the acts of that sinode frustrate. Farther, he commaunded his Deacon which was his deputye, whome he had with the Emperoure, that he should not communicate with Iohn, being so arrogant and proud. Grego-

ry succeded Pelagius and decreed the same things, writing vnto the emperor, sayth, Peter the chiefe amonge the Apostles, neuer called himselfe vniuersall Apostle, and neuertheless Iohn bysshop of Constantinople now goeth about to cal him selfe the vniuersall Patriarche: straightway he crieth out: O times, O maners. And this reason he addeth to these things, if the vniuersal head be so ordeyned of men, by the ruine or corruption of such a head, the church also shall perisshe together. Of this place Nestorius was once bishop, who beleued most wickedly of the sonne of god. Macedonius had the same dignitye, who beleued not that the holy ghost was god. If those Patriarches had then beene vniuersall Bishops in the church, the whole church had fallen also with them.

Let none of the papistes cry that it is no strong argument: because it is none of ours, but Gregories their father: let them cry out against him, who afterward addeth: That he which maketh himselfe vniuersall bishop, taketh away from other bishops their office, for where anye man is vniuersall bysshop, he leaueth no office of a bishop vnto others. This also is the collectiō of Gregory, and not foūd out by vs. And vndoubtedly if a man at this day loke rightly and more nighly vpon the thing, he shal see that the bishops of the west doe gouerne their churches onely by the order geuen them by the bishop of Rome. Gregory afterwarde addeth that Iohn preferreth himselfe aboue the Emperor: which thing Gregory cōted for an absurdity. But oure men now a dayes thinke it necessarye that Cesar should be subiect to him: yea they haue ofte times resisted emperors, many times wearied them, and sometimes moued them out of their place. And yet Gregory their father detesteth and inueigheth agaynst it, as a thinge vntrust and not to be suffred. And writing vnto Augusta he is yet more vehemēt, saying that the same belongeth vnto Antechrist. Wherfore let not our mē meruayle, if we sometime cal the bishop of Rome Antechrist, for asmuch as their Gregory, calleth him by ꝑ most goodly title, which wilbe vniuersal bishop.

Gregory counteth it for an absurdity that the Pope should be preferred before the Emperour.

The Synode of Chalcedonia erred.

The Synode of Calcedonia, as the same Gregory sayth, gaue vnto the seat of Rome this prerogatiue, namely vnto Leo the first of that name. Howbeit no mā vsed it, because our elders being men most holy, saw it was not meete for anye mortal man. Onely Christ is the vniuersal hed of the church. For he is the smal grayn of mustardseede, whiche hath increased into abrode and large tre, that it ouerspreadeth the whole worlde: and he is that little leauen, wherwith three peckes of meale wer leauened. And the stone hewed out without handes, whiche is become so great a moūt that it hath filled al thinges. Wherfore Christ him self, for as much as he is able to be with vs, is to al vs the vniuersal hed, to whom euery one of vs cleaueth as membres. Moreouer Gregory admonisheth Alexandrinus and Antiochenus, that they shoulde receaue no Epistles, whiche had written in them a tittle of so great pride. And he sayth, that to receaue such a title, is to fall from the sayth. Now let our men go, and obtrude this yoke, whiche by the testimony of their Gregory we can not receaue, except we should go back from faith: Namely in attributing that to a manne, which we must beleue is proper and peculiar vnto Christe. Neither doubteth he to affirme, that this Iohn transgressed the decrees of Christ, the rules of the Apostles, and Cannons of the fathers. All these things sayth he, hath be violated in the vsurpation of this one title. And he addeth, what wilt thou aunswere vnto Christ in the last day of iudgement, thou that hast arrogantly take vpon thee his office, and wilt haue al his members subiect vnto thee? He commaunded, that we shoulde not call anye a father vnto vs vpon erth. But thou commandest men to cal thee vniuersal father. In what estimation therfore hast thou the wordes of the Lorde?

An error of Gregory

Howbeit in collecting of these places of Gregory, I thinke there ar some thinges which ar diligently to be take hede of, namely two of the which the one is, that he sayth ꝑ Peter was the chief membre of the vniuersal churche: Paule, Andrew

drew and Iohn, were heades of singular churches. This I therefore admonish you, forbycause the Apostles wer not bysshops of singuler churches, for they wandred abrode thorough out the whole worlde, they founded churches & wan sondry nations vnto the Lord, and al they were members, and that principal mēbres of the vniuersal church. Wherfore this lētēce of Gregory is not to be admitted. The other thing, which I iudge is to be obserued, is that Gregory doth testify that this his Iohn did fyrst vsurpe vnto himself the title of vniuersality, which assuredly I cannot be perswaded of. Forasmuch as Theodoretus in his booke de hæreticis, when he writeth of Nestorius, oftentimes sayth, that he was made vniuersall patriarke. Yea and Iustinianus in suis nouellis, attributeth that title to diuerse Patriarches. And (to speake as the thing is) I suppose, that Gregorie this puny little saynt would haue had the thing or matter of an vniuersal bishop, although he reprehended the name and title. For as the history of those times teacheth, and his epistles testify, he abstained not from gouerning of other churches he shewed indeede that the name should be auoyded, namely least the patriarch of Constantinople by that title should eyther preferre himselfe, or be equal vnto the bysshop of Rome.

In other error of Gregory.

Theodoretus.

But before these times, Ciprian withstoode the churche of Rome, who sought then to clayme vnto it self some tiranny, and he iudged that appellatiōs should not be brought vnto the seat of Rome, but would haue Ecclesiastical causes iudged in euery singuler prouince: namely, that they which in any place wer condemned by the iudgement of bysshops, should not be restored by the ayd of the seate of Rome: when as yet he chiefly reuerenced the church of Rome, & acknowleged it as ẏ Matrix in these our regiōs. And assuredly to haue it in great estimation, is a farre other thing, then to graunt vnto it tiranny or dominion aboue al other. For to the first we may after a sort agre, but to the other we must not assente, vnlesse we will fall from the fayth. Afterwarde in Augustines time, when he was present at the Synode of Africa, there was great and longe alteration about this thinge, and at length the bishop of Rome could neuer proue (whiche thing yet he chiefly endeuored to do) that this power was geuen him in the counsell of Nice, that menne from all partes of the worlde might appeale vnto him. Wherefore if it were eyther for lacke of knowlege or of some rashnes, or by the people, or by flatterers geuen to any bysshop of Rome, it should by the example of Gideon, Leo, and Gregory haue bene refused.

Ciprian resisted the church of Rome.

The counsel of Affrike resisted the church of Rome.

We must not trust vnto the inconstancy of the common people, which is al wayes moueable: now they will haue Gideon to raigne, a litle afterwarde you shal see that they were most vngrate againste him: for (as the history declareth) they slew his children. Gideon refuseth not the principality, as though he would not labour in the publike wealth: but bicause he vnderstode that it was no lawful vocatiō: which the Popes also ought to regard. He had before his eyes ẏ law in Deut. now alledged. The Pope ought also to loke vpon the words of Christ: Kinges of the nations (sayth the Lord) bear rule ouer theyr subiectes: but ye shal not do so: and being demaunded, who should be greatest, he aunsweared, that he which was lowest, and which more serued others. This is to gouern the church, not to commaund, but to serue. Peter himselfe also taught ministers not to beare dominion ouer their flocke. And Paule hath written that Christ is set the hed of the church, & not man: although in it they are aboue other to be much made of, & to be honored, whych more then other proket the faythfull, and are more largely endewed with good gracious giftes: and as Christe required of *Peter*, doo more depely loue him: and which ar more aboundantly endewed with those qualities, which *Paule* to *Timothe* and *Titus* requireth in bishops. If we highlier honor such men in the church aboue other, not as lords, not as vniuersal bishops, not as heads of the church, but as excellent ministers thereof, the authority and obedience of the word of god should therby be nothing diminished.

The inconstancye of the common people.

What the Popes oughte to haue before theyr eyes.

Who are in the church to be reuerenced aboue other.

An error verye hurtful in the church.

But they do not so. They haue fixed the excellency and dignity of the ministers of the church, vnto chayres, places, and cities, howsoeuer he be in greater price & honor, which sytteth in those chayres or places, and what maner of man soeuer he be in lyfe and maners. And so is there no regarde had to the graces and giftes of God, but onely to the place and seate. This vndoubtedly was the fountayne, ofspring, and beginning of all euils and superstitions. Our elders thought it good, that in cities which were more famous, where marchandises were traded, and were assemblies of men, where Proconsuls or Presidentes gouerned, there also the bishops should be of greater authority and iurisdiction. Whereby custome obteined, that those Churches and chayres were had in greater honor.

But (as it commeth to passe) ambicion crepte in, and in those places bysshoppes were ordeyned, not alwaye suche as were more worthye, but such as were better fauored of Princes. And oftentimes the better learned and more holy were geuen ouer to small and abiecte bishoprikes. When Augustine was Bishop of Hippouerhegium, one called Aurelius gouerned the most honorable church of Carthago. And who knoweth not that Augustine in doctrine, maners, and authoritye, farre excelled Aurelius? The same thinge happened vnto Gregorius Nazianzenus, who was bysshop in an abiect place, namelye in Sassimis, when as many other, not to be compared with him, obtayned the chief chayres. After this way & maner the bishop of Rome began to be preferred aboue other, namelye bycause of the moste ample dignitye of the citye: whyche cause neuertheless he vnderstanding that it was no firme groundsele of the honor which he had obteyned, he hath fained other causes of his excellency. And first he pretendeth that he had this priuiledge by ỳ counsel of Nice: which yet he could not proue before ỳ fathers of Africa, bycause in that Synode the charge onelye of suburbe churches was committed vnto hym. Not a charge to beare dominion, but to geue counsel to admonish, and if there wer any things of more waight, to referre the same to the counsell. As to the bishop of Alexandria the suburbe churches of Egipt, and to the bysshop of Antioch of the suburbe churches of the east parties. And it was not geuen the bishop of Rome, to be the vniuersall pastor. Neyther is it possible that a weake and mortall man should feede the flocke of Christe in all countries.

The cause why the bishop of Rome was preferred before other.

Farthermore the bishop of Rome boasted, that he was set to be the head of the church: whych cannot be meete for any man. For from the heade ar deriued mouinge and sense by the sinewes, into al members, as Paule very well teacheth to the Ephesians and Colossians. But no man can performe that, as of himselfe, by closures & ioynts to quicke the mẽbers of ỳ church vñ the spirite of god. It lõgeth onely to christe, to destribute vnto his mẽbers spirituall mocions, illustracion of the minde, and eternall life. Indede kings and magistrates may be called heades of the people, bycause they gouerne ciuily, and from them we may looke for good lawes and ciuyle mouinges: but in the church men entreat not of ciuile life, but of spirituall and eternall life, which we cannot loke for, but at gods hand, neyther can any mortall men quicken the members of the church. Kinges & magistrates when they are godlye, in my iudgemente ought to haue the chiefe place in the church: and to them it pertaineth, if religion be il administred, to correcte the faultes. For therfore they beare the sworde to maintayne Gods honor. But they cannot be heades of the churche. Paule to the Romaines and to the Corinthians, where he maketh rehearsal of the members of the churche, putteth some to be eyes, some noses, eares, hands, and feete: but he ordayneth none with the dignity of the heade, who yet to the Ephesians sayth this of Christe, that god had geuen hym to be the head of the body of the church. Let the papistes shew written in any other places of the holy scriptures, that Christ gaue an other hed vnto ỳ church, & they shall haue the victory. But I know assuredly they cãnot. For if that could haue bene done the church should be a two hedded monster. But it is a sporte to heare what Iohn, sometimes B. of Rochester in defendyng the Pope answered

The bishop of Rome cannot be hed of the whol church.

Magistrates & princes may be called heads of the people.

We must not make the church two headed.

to

to this. To graunt two heads of the Church (sayth he) is not absurd: for the Apostle writeth, the man is the head of the woman, & neuertheles euery wife hath by-side her husband which is the head, an other head also. Wherefore he concluded that we may thus affirme of the church, namely that it hath both Christ and the Pope to be head. But this man falleth by a false Sillogismus of equiuocatiō. For speaking now of a head, as it is attributed vnto the Church, he falleth to a natural head. In matrimony the husband is the head of the wife, not the natural hed, but as touching æconomical life. But the natural head of the woman, is the beginning of her natural life. And vndoubtedly if we looke vpon the natural head in the church, we shal finde that it is not one head: but looke howe manye men there be in it, so many heades shal there be: for there is none without an heade in it. And when we speake of the head of the Churche, we must keepe our selues in the Metaphore: and as it should be absurde and monstrous, for one man to haue two natural heades, so shal it be iudged as portentous, for the Churche to haue two Metaphorical, that is spiritual heads. We must alwaies, whē we entreate of any thing, persist in the same order and kinde: which thing if wee doo not obserue, we shal easily be deceaued by equiuocation.

How the husband is the hed of the wyfe.

But let vs returne to the Pope, who least he shoulde seme to be destitute of testimonies of the holy scriptures, taketh two places out of them. Whereof the one is: Vpon this rocke I wil builde my Churche, and wyll gyue the keyes. &c. But that place pertaineth to al those which confesse the verity of faith: for Peter, when the Lord demaunded what the Apostles beleued of him, aunswered in the name of them al, that he was the sonne of the liuing God. Wherefore, that which Christ speaketh vnto him, pertaineth to all them, whych together wyth him beleue and profesle the same selfe thing. For the keyes are geuen vnto the Church. And in Iohn, the Lord after his resurrection gaue them vnto all them: at the last also, when he should ascend vp into heauen, he sent them all alike to preache throughout the world. And as touching the foundation, the Church hath no other foundation but Christ. For Paul vnto the Corinth. sayde: No man can lay any other foundation, then that which is already layde, which is Christ Iesus. And if at any time the Apostles be called foundacions of the churche, that is to be vnderstand, bicause they in the first time of the Churche cleaued vnto the foundation, as the first and greater stones, not bicause the Churche leaned vnto them as to the principal foundation.

Of the keyes & foundation of the Churche.

How the Apostles are called foundations of the Church.

The other place which they bring out of the scriptures, is, bicause Christ saith vnto Peter, feede my Lambes. But they are exceedingly deceaued: for it was not the office of Peter onely, but also of the other Apostles, to feede the flocke of the Lord. But it was so sayd peculiarly vnto Peter, bicause he had denyed the Lord thrise, and therefore he might haue seemed to haue fallen from the fellowshyp of the Apostles, vnles he had of Christ bene restored by certaine woordes. And that not onely he, but also other ought to feede the shepe of Christ, his own woordes testify, which he writeth in his Epistle, wher he admonisheth other Ministers to feede the flocke of the Lorde. But graunt, that the Lorde gaue vnto Peter anye principal thing: what hath the bishop of Rome common with him? Let hym declare his spirite, and as Peter hath labored for the Church, let hym also labour: which thing if he performe, then wil we acknowledge him, not as an vniuersal bishop, but as a good Minister of Christ. He sayth that hee hath the chaire that Peter had. What seate I pray you speaketh he of? The holy ghost is not bounde to seates. But graunt that it were so, Antioche had Peter sitting in it before Rome had. For that church he planted, and long whyle gouerned. But they say that he was slayne at Rome. But the Iewes crucified Christ himselfe at Ierusalem, which is a thing of greater waight. Wherfore if we should follow this argument, the bishop of Ierusalem should be preferred aboue all other. Yea, and Peter, as it is written to the Galathians, was not the Apostle of the Gentiles,

Not onely to Peter was the cōmaundement geuen to feede the flocke of Christ.

The spirite of Christ is not bound to chaires

but

but of circumcision, as it was agreed betwene Paul, Iames, Iohn, and Barnabas. Neither do we euer reade that Peter prescribed the other Apostles any thyng, or that they depended of him. Yea Paul most manifestly testifieth, that he receaued nothing of Peter. Farther, it is certaine ẏ Peter was slain vnder Nero, & Iohn liued euen to the time of Traiane. And they say that Cletus, Linus, and Clemens succeded Peter at Rome. What then, shal we thinke that Iohn the Apostle was subiect vnto Clemens? And of necessity he should be so, if the Bysshop of Rome be the vniuersal head or generall bishop. But who wil say that this may be suffred?

An Epistle of Clemens.

Moreouer, lyes may be confuted with lyes. Our aduersaries bring the Epistle of Clemens, which is a fained Epistle, as a thing certaine. We wyl grately thē in this thing, and we wyll now graunt that to be true, which is false. Let them marke his superscription, which is written after thys maner: Clemens to Iames the brother of the Lord, by the prouidence of God ẏ bishop of bishops, & gouernour of the Church which is at Ierusalem, and of al the Churches euery where. What wyl they say here? The bishop of Rome ascribeth his title vnto the Bysshop of Ierusalem, and attributeth this vniuersall charge of all Churches vnto him, and not to himselfe. This argument maketh verye muche agaynste those, which haue vnto the Churches obtruded this Epistle for true, & ratefied it. But that can nothing hurt vs, which is takē out of that epistle, against our doctrine. For we know that it is a fayned thing, as that which was neuer alledged by any of the fathers. And in it the same Clemens affirmeth, that he hym selfe wrote the litle booke called Itenarium Perri: which booke (as it is said in the Decrees) is counted among the Apocripha bookes. But of this thing I haue spoken sufficient, & these thinges haue I rehearsed, onely that we might vnderstand, howe much Gideon is to be preferred before the Antechristes of Rome.

Clemens Iacobo fratri domini, Episcopo Episcorū, & regnanti Ecclesiam que est Hierosolymis, & omnes que sūt vbique, Dei prouidentia.

Whither the gouernment of God bee excluded by humane Magistrates.

Here is put forth an other question, whether the rule and gouernmēt of God be therfore excluded, bicause the Magistrate of a publike wealth, or of Aristocratia, or of a kingdome, is geuen vnto a man. The cause of the doubt is, bicause when it was sayd vnto Gideon: Thou shalt raygne ouer vs: he answered, I wyl not raygne ouer you, but the Lord shal raign ouer you. It is not hard to dissolue this question proposed: forasmuch as the administration, wherwith God gouerneth publike wealthes, bindeth not the Magistrate, which is his Vicar & Minister. And assuredly God raigned together with Dauid and Iosias: and the Israelites at that tyme had a certaine Magistrate, and one of their own, with whom also God himselfe also gouerned. Wherfore the wordes of Gideon do not teach this, that God cannot raigne there, where as is a lawfull king. But this thyng onelye he regarded, that the present state of thinges, whiche was instituted by God, ought not to be altred without him. Ther was a publike wealth then in Israel, they had Senatours, and in al places ther wer Iudges appointed: wherfore the forme of the publike wealth could not by men be chaunged, wout great offence. If so be thou wilt demaund, when it is to be thought that God doth gouern & rule in other Magistrates? I answer: Then, when this is onely prouided for, that Citizens may line vertuously. And forasmuch as piety is of al vertues ẏ most excellent, the Lord doth then raigne, whē althings ar referred vnto it. Farther, as touching ciuil actions, when to euery man is rendred his own, & Magistrates gouerne not for their own commodity, but for the publike vtility.

When God is sayd to gouerne pub. wealthes.

When the thing is otherwyse, shall wee saye that God raygneth or no, as when Nero, Domitianus, Commodus, Heliogabalus, and suche wycked men wer gouernours? Did God then cease from gouerning of the worlde? I thynke we must make a distinction of these thinges, which are done in those kingdomes, of the good thinges I say from the euil: forasmuch as there is no Empire so vitiate and corrupt, but that it stil retaineth in it many good thinges. Let vs looke vpon the gouernment of Nero, & we shal se ther in a maner, an infinite number of wicked and mischeuous actes, where yet many partes also of Iustice flourished.

A distinctiō of those thynges which are done vnder Magistrates.

Pro-

prouinces were gouerned by prophets, and magistrates, which execute lawes, not altogether ciuilly. It was lawful for Paul to appeale vnto Rome, neyther could the Iewes by the lawes be permitted to iudge him as they lusted themselues. And the same Paul, when he had shewed that he was a Citizen of Rome, escaped both from bondes and from stripes. Wherefore seing in a gouernment most corrupt, very many good and profitable thinges flourished, the same coulde come frō none other but from God. It is therfore manifest that god at that time forsooke not the care and administration of thinges.

But if thou go forward and aske, whether the vices and corruptions of Empires are to be referred vnto God: I wyll answer, that the true cause of synne is in man, but the wil of God doth neither allow those vices, nor cōmaunde them in his lawes: yea, he prohibiteth and detesteth them. But he vseth them to punish the wickednes of the people: for, for the synnes of the people, he maketh an hipocrite to raygne, and in his fury he geueth kinges. For such thinges are euyl and synnes, and haue in them a consideration of punishments: & as they are punishmentes, they pertayne vnto the iustice of God. How God ordereth himself toward the faults of Princes.

But when Princes are so corrupt, what is to be done? We must obey, but vsque ad aras, that is, so farre as religion suffereth. Maye priuate men take vpon them to alter a corrupt Princes? They may do it in admonishing, in geuing counsel and reprouing, but not by force of weapons. Yea, Citizens may fight for the defence of the publike wealth, as long as it lasteth. Wherfore Pompeius, Cicero, and Cato, are not lightly to be condemned, for that they resisted Cesar, going about to styrre vp insurrection, although at that time the publike wealth was very corrupt. But when he had once obtained the Empire, he ought not by priuate men to be depriued with weapons. Wherfore Augustus said vnto Strabo, who spake euil of Cato, being then dead, that he was a good Citizen, which contended that the present state of thinges should not be chaunged. In the publyke wealth of the Hebrues, which flourished in the time of Gideon, God gouerned in very deede. It was (as I haue said) Aristocratia, where Elders were chosen by common voices, so no sufficient in which office, vnles they rightly behaued themselues, they were both punished, and put out of their roume: but if there happened any hard warre, God himselfe raysed vp Iudges, but they were not chosen by the people, neither did the children succede the Parentes in that office. After this maner did God gouerne the Hebrues. The wordes of Gideon sufficientlye declare, that the Iudges exercised not the office of an ordinarye Magistrate. It was in the Lord to rayse vp for the time whom he would, therfore the Lord said vnto Samuel: They haue not reiected thee, but me, that I should not raigne ouer them. Hereby we gather, that when anye thing is offered vs, we must alwayes weigh, whither the same be good of his own nature, and whither it bee lawfully geuen, and may lawfully be vsed. Which if it be not, let vs put alwaye from vs, whatsoeuer is offred, as Christ reiected Sathan, when he promised hym all the kingdomes of the world, neither receaued he the kingdome offred him by the people. Thus the Pope considereth not, who for his vnlawfull Supremacye or tyranny, contynually warreth, and there is nothing which he attempteth not: so farre is he of to refuse these thinges. &c. Whither it bee lawfull to ryse vp against euyl Princes. What we must consider when any thing is offred vnto vs.

24 Againe Gideon said vnto them: I would desire a request of you, that ye would geue me euery man the earings of his pray (for they had golden earinges, because they were Ismaelites.)

25 And they sayd: we wyl geue them. And they spread a garment, and dyd cast therein euery man the earinges of hys pray.

26 And the weyght of the golden earinges that he required, was a thousand seuen hundreth syckels of gold, beside collers, & pomanders,

ders, and purple rayment that was on the kinges of Madian, and beside the chaynes that were about their Camels neckes.

27 And Gideon made an Ephod thereof, and put it in hys City, in Ophra. And all Israel went a whoozing after it in the same place, which thing was the destruction of Gideon and hys house.

Here is set foorth an example of a most grieuous fal, very much to be lamented. A man holy in miracles, and notable in faith, filthely falleth. Wherye man therefore is admonished, not to trust vnto his former lyfe, and thinges that he hath well done.

Kimhis opinō of the Ismaelites and Madianites.

They had golden earinges, by cause they were Ismaelites. Kimhi thinketh that the Madianites and Ismaelites were al one, which he saith is confirmed by the booke of Genesis, wher it is written that the brethren of Ioseph sold him to the Madianites, and straightway it is added that the Ismaelites sold hym in Egipt, wherfore he gathereth that they were al one, namelye which had they of spring of Agara. And she (as some say) was Ketura the handmayd of Sara, afterward the wife of Abraham. But the Chaldey Paraphrast interpreteth the Ismaelites, Arabians, and not Madianites. Yea and Iosephus in his booke De antiquit. by the children of the East he vnderstandeth Arabians. They turne this Hebrue woorde Scheharonim lunulas, y is litle Moones, wherof is mencion made before. For in the Arabike toung Schehara signifieth luna, that is the Moone. The other woorde Netiphoth is derined of Nataph, which signifieth to drop. For that woorde signifieth a drop, namely that is abourflerous. That was enclosed in final bellels either of gold or of syluer, that with them both the necke might be adorned, and

Of the vse of earynges.

the nose fylled with a most sweete smel. But the ornament of earinges was most auncient, and vsed in the time of Abraham. For his seruant gaue vnto Rebecca bracelets, when he desired to haue her for a wife, for Isaac his maisters sonne. The Romanes also sometimes vsed them, as we may gather out of Plautus in Epidico: Dost thou not remember (sayeth he) that I brought thee an earing on thy byrth day? The Egiptians also vsed them. For it is written of Cleopatra, that she tooke from her eare a most precious pearle, and dissolued it in vineger, whe she contended with Antonius for a sumptuous preparation of a banket. The Carthaginenses also wer decked with bracelets, as Plautus in Penulo testifieth. For thus he writeth: And as I suppose, they haue no fingers on their hands, bicause they go with ringed eares. Gideon tooke also purple garmentes: but whether he vsed them to his purpose, it appeareth not. He made an Ephod. The Hebrue woord Aphad is to binde, or to gird, wherof this noune is derined, signifieing a garment which compassed the shoulders, and then it was bound together, and

Ephod.

it after a sorte ginded together the inward coate. Gideon did therfore make this ornament, to be a monument of the victory which he had gotten, as some write: in which thing if he sought his owne glory, he cannot but be blamed. But if this were onely his desyre, to keepe in perpetual memory the benefite of God, he is not to be accused, for as much as oftentimes such monumentes were erected, as y holy scriptures testify. Iacob erected a stone, whe he went in to Mesopotamia, and whilest he fled from Laban in Gilead, he builded a great heape of stones together. And it were to long to rehearse all the monumentes or tokens, which were in the old time set among the people of God, that the memory of the benefites of God should not be forgotten. Gideon made an Ephod, and vsed a signe,

Wherin Gideon synned.

not so apt and conuenient. He thought haue written a song, as Barac and Debora did, or erected a pyller, or some such like thing.

God had not commaunded in the law, to make an Ephod to this vse, but only that the Priestes should put it on, when they should doo sacrifice. Neyther is it needeful now to describe the fourme of this garment, for as much as in Exodus

it is

it is moſt manifeſtly ſet forth: this thing onely I will admoniſh you of, that there were two kindes of it, as the holy ſcriptures declare, & as Ierome both to Marcella, & to Fabiola, & againſt Iouinianus the firſt booke teſtifieth. There was one which onely the high Prieſt vſed. It was made of purple violet coulour, ſylke, & ſcarlet, it had gold wrought in it, & ſundry kindes of moſt precious ſtones. There was alſo an other which was called Ephod bad, that is a linnen Ephod, whyche the Leuites alſo vſed in holy ſeruices. Wherfore in the. 1. of Samuel the. 2. chap. we reade, that Hanna made euery yeare for Samuel a litle coate and an Ephod, when ſhe had then offred him vnto the Lord, to miniſter at the tabernacle. Yea and Dauid being girt with an Ephod, daunced before the Arke of the Lord. The children alſo of Dauid were girt with an Ephod. But Gideon made his a pontifical and precious Ephod, for the other kinde was ſimple & of linnē, wherefore he ſhould not haue neded ſo great coſt to make ſuch a one. For there wer gathered (as the hiſtory teacheth) a thouſand ſeuen hundreth (as manye expound thē) ſicles of gold. Some ſuppoſe that Gideon did therfore make an Ephod, that euē as Micha durſt take vpō him, to haue a holy miniſtry at home in his own houſe, ſo did Gideon now attempt the ſame. But of this ſentence we wyll afterwards ſpeake, when we declare Auguſtines minde of this thing. But nowe following the interpretation which we haue alreadye begon, which is of thoſe which ſay, that Gideon made this, to remaine as a ſigne and monument of the benefite of God geuen vnto the Hebrues, this I iudge is to be added, that the vulgare men began to haue in admiration the ſigne which was ſet vp, and as they wer prone to ſuperſtitions, they iorneyed thither, and offred peace offringes there, whych thing was a ruine and ſnare vnto them: for by litle and litle they fel into idolatry. Neither was Gideon without blame. For he erected ỳ monument, & abuſed the ſigne: & when he ſaw how the people fel, yet tooke he not away that monument, but rather winked at it. Ezechias afterward did more rightly, who when he ſaw the people offer inſence vnto the braſen ſerpent, he brake it downe. Certaine Rabbines labour to excuſe Gideon, becauſe wyth a good mynde he cauſed the Ephod or monument of the benefite of God to bee made, but the Iſraelites miſuſed it. But they go about that in vaine, for as much as the ſcripture ſayth, that it turned to the deſtruction of Gideon and his houſe.

Two kyndes of Ephodes.

Auguſtine intreating of this place, thinketh that the figure of Synechdoche is here to be vnderſtand, ſo that by this word Ephod, al prieſtly ornamentes may be noted, as though Gideon would in his Citye haue an holye miniſtery: which was plainly againſt the wil of God, who had appointed to be worſhipped at the Arke of the couenant. That was no other thing, then to plucke away men from the tabernacle of God, & after a ſort to deuide the church. Gideon & the people did not (ſaith Auguſtine) ſacrifice vnto idols, but with theſe garmentes they conſtituted a worſhipping vnto the true God in Gideon his houſe, that is in Ophra. But foraſmuch as they did otherwiſe then God had preſcribed, they fell therfore into a certaine kinde of Idolatry. And that Gideon worſhipped not idols, it doth not onely hereby appeare, in that he ouerthrew the altar of Baal, cut downe his groue, and offred vpon the alter of God, the bullocke conſecrated vnto Baal, but alſo becauſe the people al his life time (as we ſhal ſtraightwaye heare) are ſayde not to haue worſhipped Baal.

Auguſtine.

This word whooring is to be vnderſtand Methaphorically, which is a thing very cōmon in the ſcriptures. For the Church is the Spouſe of God, and therefore it ought to worſhip him onely, and to depend onely of him. Wherfore, euen as a maried woman, if ſhe leauing her own huſband, follow other men, is counted an harlot and vnchaſte: euen ſo alſo the Churche, when it forſaketh the worſhipping of the true God, and geueth place to ſuperſticions, is luſtily called a harlot and an adultreſſe. And this is it whiche is nowe written, that the children of Iſrael went a whooryng after the Ephod, inſtituted by Gideon.

The Methaphore of whooryng.

Wherefore Auguſtines opinion is, that Gideon would haue had God worſhipped ſo in his country, that the ſame thynges might ther haue bene done, which were done in Silo, where the Arke was. Which opinion, although it can not be confuted by the ſcriptures, yet it appeareth not very lykelye: For we reade not that he had Prieſtes with him. Neither doo the Hebrue Doctors (who otherwiſe are diligent in expreſſing of thinges done) attribut theſe thinges vnto him, but rather agree with the other ſentence, namely that he conſtituted it for a monument of the victory which he had obtained, which afterward was an occaſion of ſuperſtition. Wherefore it ſemeth to be ſpoken more probably, that this erected ſigne was had in admiration of the fooliſhe people, ſo that they thought it to be a place very meete to doo ſacrifice there, and eſpecially for the offring of peace offeringes vnto the true God, which ſeemed not worthy of reprouing. For at that time it was lawfull to doo that in a maner euerye where, but ſuperſtition dayly creeping more abrode, they began to attribute more then was meete vnto that ſigne, as to a thing deuine, and which had in it ſome power of God, and for that cauſe they offred ſacrifices, and did incenſe vnto it, keping neuertheles a pretence of the worſhipping of God, and the name of God the Lorde, as in the time of Ezechias they did incenſe and ſacrifice vnto the brazen ſerpent.

Whence came the begynnyng of reliques and inuocation of the dead.

And in the ſame maner werede happened at the beginning of the ſepulchers, bones, and reliques of holye men. The Chriſtians buried the dead bodies of the Martirs, as honorablye as they coulde, and to haue the memorye of them kept, they began to haue places of prayer at their tombes, not vndoubtedlye where they would worſhip and inuocate the Martirs, but where they might heare the woord of God, receaue the Sacramentes, and exhorte one an other to defende the faith. And in deede that place ſeemed not a litle commodious for ſuch a purpoſe: For the ſepulchres of Martirs ſeemed to admoniſh & inflame the myndes, to enterpriſe the ſame battailes, and to behaue them ſelues moſt conſtantly for the name of Chriſt. Wherfore it was thought that in aſſembling to the Sepulchres of Martirs, two commodities were gotten. Firſt, becauſe ſome honour might be geuen to ſo great Confeſſors, whileſt the memory of them was not ſuffered to be forgotten, but with verye great ioy thankes were geuen vnto God for their happy victory. The other was, becauſe men might bee ſtirred vp to enterpriſe the like, and to hope for the like gifts at Gods hand. And after the ſame maner began the images of Chriſt and of the Apoſtles priuatelye to bee made, namely that their death, which ſemed vnto the world full of ignominye, myght be made more honorable, and that the memory of them might flouriſhe, and by beholding of thoſe images ſo ſet vp, men might be prouoked to the iuſt and laudable imitacion of them. If the thing had abidden within theſe bondes, it might haue bene borne with al, neither was there any thing there which might iuſtly be condemned: but euen as the act of Gideon was turned at the length to idolatry, ſo in ſucceſſe of tyme folowed the inuocation of Martirs at their ſepulchers, and the images of ſaintes began to be ſet vp and worſhipped, not onely in priuate places, but alſo in temples.

The beginning of the images of Sayntes.

The act of Gideon was a ſnare to him, and to his houſe, for both hee ſynned, and his children (as we ſhal heare) were horribly ſlayne. It brought alſo great miſery vnto the Iſraelites. For from this ſuperſtition they fel by litle and litle to the open worſhipping of Baal, wherfore they were moſt grieuouſly oppreſſed of their enemies: howbeit as long as Gideon lyued, they worſhipped not Baal. Hereby we gather, that al worſhipping of God, inſtituted without his woorde, is to him vnacceptable, and to vs moſt daungerous. There is but one God, and he wil be worſhipped but one way, namely as he himſelf hath cõmaunded. And if to the worſhipping of him, ther be any thing to be added by the decree of men for comelines ſake, and for a iuſt and ciuil order, the ſame ought to bee but lyttle, and alſo mutable, as it ſhall bee thoughte good for to aduaunce edification.

Gideon ſinneth two wayes.

Wherefore Gideon ſynneth two wayes, both in that hee abuſed the Ephod

which

which he made for a signe, and also because when he saw superstition to come thereby, he prohibited it not. The good intent of Gideon excused not his act, although he had a shewe of pietie. Leo the first of that name, in his Sermon of the Passion of the Lorde, sayth that Peter, when he cut of the eare of the seruant of the highe Priest, was moued with a godly motion. But what godlye motion coulde it be, which Christ reproued, yea and so reproued it, that he affirmed that he which so drewe the swoorde, should perishe with the swoorde? What other thing was this, then to haue a zeale of God, but (as Paule sayth) not according to knowledge. Paule also the Apostle, when he afflicted and destroied the Christians, thought that he dyd God high seruice. Leo the first.

These thinges haue a shewe of a good intent (as they call it) or of godlynes, but they are not in very deede that which they shewe for. Euen so encreased the pompe of the Masse, by no other meanes, then by a shewe of a good intent. For it seemed good vnto our Elders to adorne the Supper of the Lord. Wherfore this Pope added this thing, and an other that thing, so that at the lengthe the thyng came to thys poynte, that these additions excluded the institution of Christ, in such sorte that it may seme to be any other thing els, then the Supper of the Lord, for those thynges are obserued which men haue inuented: but that which Christ willed, namelye that brethren should communicate together, and celebrate the memory of his death, this I say is abolished.

But why the woorshippinges instituted by mans inuention are to bee abiected, this is an assured reason: because in woorshipping of God we must do all thinges chiefely throughe fayth, but it is of no force if it want the woord of God. Wherefore if rites which are retayned for the woorshipping of God, lacke hys woorde, faith may not be geuen vnto them, and therfore ar they rather synnes, then woorkes pleasing God. For all that is not of fayth, is synne, as the Apostle saith. But they say that in those woorshippinges, the authoritye of the Fathers, which were present at Counsels, ought to be sufficient, neither ought we to esteeme their sentences of any lesse value then the holy scriptures. But I wil turne the same to them againe, and aske whither they thinke Gideon was a holy man? That they cannot deny, forasmuch as the Epistle to the Hebrues the xi. chapter notably testifieth him so to be. I wyll demaunde of them also, whyther Aaron were a holy man? They wil not deny it I suppose: when as hee was of God appointed to be the highe Priest, and the fellowe of Moses in woorking of miracles. And yet for all that either of them, when they instituted a woorshipping without the woord of God, are grieuously accused by the holye Scriptures. Let them therefore cease to obtrude vnto vs the Saintes: but when we require the woord of God, if they wil that we should beleue them, let them bring foorth the holy scriptures. We know that rites and woorshippinges instituted euen by God himselfe, are not acceptable vnto him, when they are done without fayth, as Esay, Ieremy, and Dauid most manifestly teache, howe muche lesse wyll hee receaue those thinges which are inuented of men, whiche for that they are not grounded on his woord, doo vtterly want fayth.

Why woorshippings inuented by man, are to be abiected.

The authority of the fathers is not sufficient.

Of a good Intent.

BVt because there is something alledged of a good Intent, whereby some go about to excuse Gideon, I thinke it good briefely to touche those thynges, which are necessary, as concerning it.

As touching the signification of the woorde, Intent signifieth a motion of the mynde, whereby by some meane we tende vnto an ende, as if a man shoulde study by geuing of gifts or by seruices to attain vnto any honor. For the nature of thinges is in such sort, that many thinges are so conneced together betwene themselues, that by the one is made a steppe vnto the other. For by medecines & drinkes we attaine vnto healthe: by studies, reading, & teachers, vnto wisdome.

Wherfore an intent is an action of the will, for it is his office to moue and stirre vp the mynde. And forasmuch as the wyl doth not perceaue the thinges that he desireth, before that it hath the knowledge thereof, it moueth not, nor forceth the minde before knowledge, which raygneth in the power of intelligence or vnderstanding. It perceaueth both the end, and those things which serue to the end, and ministreth them vnto the wyl. Therfore Intent stirreth vp to the end, as to a terme, by those thinges which vnto it are directed. Let this be his definition. A wyl tending vnto the ende by some meanes. Wyl, which is his generall woord, is an act of the power that wylleth. The differrence is taken of the obiect, namely of the ende, and these thinges which are ordeined vnto it: as nowe as touching Gideon, his intent was a motion of his wyll, to keepe the memory of the victory geuen him, by the Ephod which he had made. In will therefore be comprehended at once both the end and the meane.

The definition of an intent.

An Intent in deuided into a good intent and an euyll. And to a good intent this is chiefely required, that the ende be a thing iust and good: which yet is not sufficient. For if a man should steale to geue almes, he vndoubtedlye should set before his eyes a good thing, but bycause the meane is euyll, therefore the intent can not be called good. But if the ende bee both vnlawfull and euyll, then shall the intent also be euyll. Wherefore that the intent be good, both the ende and the meane must be honest and good thinges. Howbeit certayne thinges are by theyr nature so euyll, that we can neuer vse them rightly. As theft, periury, adulterye, and suche lyke. Wherefore the Apostles rule must alwayes be firme, that wee must neuer doo euyll thinges, whereby good thynges maye followe. Therefore an euyll intent is two maner of wayes: that is, eyther by the naughtynesse of the ende, or els of the meanes. But the intent can neuer bee good, except bothe ende and meane be good. Thus farre the Philosophers and schoole Deuines agree wyth vs. Nowe must we see wherein they differ from vs.

There is bothe a good intent & an euyll.

In euill intent of two kyndes.

Two thinges are required in a good intent.

The Philosophers doo thinke that the righteousnes of the ende and meanes dependeth of humane reason or naturall vnderstanding, as though it were sufficient to put a differrence betweene iust thinges and vniust: but that we denye, and requyre fully fayth and the woorde of God, as sure rules, whych thyng Augustine testifieth in many places, and especiallye vpon the .xxxi. Psalme, where he sayth: Doo not count thy woorkes good before faythe, whyche are nothyng els, then (as me thynketh) great strengthes, and a most swyft course out of the waye, and he which so maketh haste, runneth headlong to destruction: Wherefore a good intent maketh a good action, but fayth directeth the intent. Wherefore we must take heede, when we purpose any woorke, that our hart haue a regarde vnto fayth, whereby it may direct his endeuours.

Augustine.

Faith directeth the intent.

The schoole Deuines wyll easelye graunt that fayth gouerneth the intent, and maketh it good. But we differ from them for three causes. Fyrst, bicause we affirme that faith dependeth onely of the woorde of God: but they wyll haue it to leane vnto Fathers and Counsels, and that in no case maye be graunted vnto them, forasmuche as fayth must bee constant, and vtterlye without errour: whych twoo thynges are not founde in the Fathers and Counsels, bicause they speake thinges one contrary to an other. Fathers very often stryue wyth Fathers, and Counsels are against Counsels: and those Fathers are rare, yea in a maner none, whych haue not sometyme erred, and that in thinges most waighty, and very many Counsels haue neede of amendement. Doth not the scripture by expresse woorders testify that all men are lyers?

1. Faith must not cleaue vnto fathers & coũsels

2. The other thing, wherein wee can not assent vnto the schoolemen, is, bycause by a good intent they affirme that our woorkes are made meritorious, yea and that of eternall lyfe. Which thing how farre of it is from the truth, the nature of merite may teache vs: wherefore I mynde not nowe to speake.

3. The thyrde thing wherein we differ from the schoolemen is, bycause they wyl

wyll haue the worke to be made good by an habitual good entent as they speke: That is to saye, done without any good motion of the hart. They sayn that our actions do please god, as prayers, rendyng of Psalmes, and geuing of Almes, although in act we thinke nothyng of God, & they suppose ỹ thys habitual entent which they place in him, is sufficient inough. So that if thou shouldst demaũd of him, wherby doth these thyngs, why he doth so? he may be redy to aunswer, that he doth it to the glory of god, especially whē in doing of it he hath not a cōtrary mind or repugnant will. But this can we not graunt vnto them, for asmuch as in this negligence, wherby when we worke we thinke not of god nor of his glory, the commaundement of god is violated, which commaundeth vs to lone god withall the hart, withall the soule, and withall the strengthes. Wherfore we rather counsell that this maye bee knowleged a synne, then to be counted a good worke.

The habituall entent of the Scholemen.

But bicause they perceiued that theyr sayinges haue some absurdity, they added, so that in the beginninge of that worke, we thinke somewhat of god and his glory, and so that that which is purposed, be directed vnto hym. But no man doubteth but that the begynning of all those thinges whiche we do, oughte to be good: but afterward, if fayth folowe not those thinges whyche we haue well begonne, and if when we are working, we haue not a respect vnto god and his glory, we shall runne hedlonge into sinne, which may not be dissembled. Farther, if we should worke as we ought to do, and as the law requireth, yet should we (as Christ sayth) be stil vnprofitable seruants: so far is it of, that we can clayme vnto our selues any merites. Wherfore so long as we desist from thinkinge vpon the honor and glory of God, we fall, nayther are such falles to be dissembled, but rather to pray that they may be turned frō vs, forasmuch as of their own nature they are sinnes, although vnto the beleuers for Christes sake they are not imputed vnto death. Wherfore let there be added to our workes a good entent: But yet such an entente as is adorned with fayth, and let vs performe the same not in habite but in acte. Wherfore the Lord sayth in the Gospell of Mathew the. 6. chap: The lyght of ỹ body is ỹ eye. And if thyne eye be symple, ỹ whole body shal be lyght. But if the light which is in thee be darknes, how gret shal the darknes thē be? These things Augustine (in his questions of the Gospels, ỹ. 2. boke, c. 15. quest. and against Iulianus in ỹ. 4. boke, c. 3. chap.) iudgeth to be vnderstāded of a good intent. And in like maner writeth he in his .10. Tome, the. 2. Sermon, where he entreateth vpon this place, we must not do righteousnes before men, to be seene of them. The intent (saith he) is alwayes to be applied vnto the glory of God; but the wyll to haue it knowen vnto men, is to be auoyded, but so much as shall seme to pertayne to the honour of God. And to that tendeth that whych Christ speaketh: A good tree cannot bringe forth euil frutes, neither an euil tre, good fruite, as much as the tree signifieth the entent. Wherfore this act of Gideon poureth a good intent (if those thinges be true whyche we haue sayde) cannot be erused, when as fayth gouerned it not.

Fayth is not sufficient in hs bite, but we must beleue also in acte.

Augustine.

28 Thus was Madian brought low before the children of Israell, so that they lift vp their heds no more: and the lande had quietnes .40. yeares in the dayes of Gideon.

29 Then Jerubbaall the son of Joas went and dwelt in his owne house.

30 And Gideon had 70. sonnes ỹ which came out of his thigh: for he had many wyues.

31 And his Concubine that was in Sechem, bare him a sonne also, whose name he called Abimelech.

When we heare that the earth had quietnes, we maye note two metaphores. The first Metaphore is, whereby the land is taken for them that dwell vpon it. The other is, whereby silence is put for peace: for that in peace the tryes of souldiers, the noyse of weapons, the blast of trumpets, and the running to and fro of horsemen and sotemen are not harde. Augustine in this place doubteth, howe it could be, that God suffred superstition and idolatrye so longe vnpunished. And he bringeth two answeres therfore. First, that Gideō did indede kreyght waxes as sone as the warre was finished, gather a masse of golde, but he made not the Ephod by and by, but longe after, namely towarde the end of his life: for that the Ephod was made as sone as the victory was accōplished, but the people fell not to idolatrye, till aboute the latter tyme of his life. An other cause he addeth, because in that superstition the name of God was kept, neyther was the worshipping of Baal and other gods of the Gentles admitted for that, as long as Gideon liued, the Hebrewes came not to that mischief, & therfore god dealt not so sharply agaynste them. And it was no small benefite to geue them peace for. 40. yeares: of which thing, seying I haue spoken before in the former iudges, I shal not nede now to repeate the same agayne.

Augustine.

Why the punishmente was differred 40. yeares.

Ierubbaal wente and dwelte in his house. He coueted not a perpetuall rule, as did Cesar, who after .v. yeares did agayn, couet to continew vnto himselfe the prouince of France other .v. yeres. But Gideon when he had obteined peace, ceased from warres, and dismissing his host, led his life at home in his owne house, in a manner like a priuate man. Suche are vpright mindes which indede wante ambicion.

In his commentaries vpon the 1. of Samuell the 25. chap.

He had .70. children, for he had many wiues. Of hauinge many wiues I will not nowe speake muche, because it is to be entreated of in an other place: this is sufficiente to be sayd at this present, that god in the old lawe permitted the same after a sort vnto the fathers.

VVhich came out of his thigh. This is therefore written, least peraduenture we should suspecte that of those .70. children some were adopted. Besides the rest which he had of his wiues whiche were many, he had Abimelech by his concubyne.

Of Matrimony and hauing of Concubines.

The place doth now admonish me, somwhat to speak of hauing of cōcubines, wherof is often mencion made in the bookes of the old testament. But first must we define what matrimony is, that thereout we may gather the difference of concubines: for vnlesse the nature of it be manifest, we can not se how that hauing of a concubine differeth from it. Matrimony, mariage, wedding, and wedlocke signify all one thing. And matrimony (as it is had in the booke Inst. Iustin. wher mencion is made of the power of the father) and in the digestes de ritu nuptiarum, is defined to be a coniunction of man and woman, and an inseperable conuersation of life, and a communication of gods law and mans law. But this difinicion muste be perfected by the holy scriptures. Wherfore we must adde, that this coniunctiō of man and woman was instituted by god, for the bringing forth of children, for the auoiding of vncleannesse, that they might liue like angels: and for helpe and commodityes. In this difinicion vndoubtedly is the continuall vse of man and woman holden in the mariage. The inseperable conuersation of life pertaineth vnto the forme, for with this purpose and will man and wife muste marye together. For though by aduultery that copulation be taken away, yet when the matrimony is contract, they ought both of them to haue this in their mind, that beyng once ioyned they must abide alwaye together. This belongeth also to the forme, that the communication of gods law and mans law be had betweene them. For they must be both of one religion, & communicate humayne thinges one to an other

Of Matrimonye.

Matrimonium coniungium, nuptie connubium.

The difinition of matrimony.

ther. For the wife goeth into the family of the husband, and with the husbande is counted all one flesh. Yea and the substance of either parties are made in all poyntes cõmon, but the efficiẽt cause of this ordinãce was god himself, euen frõ the beginning, who made vnto Adam a helper. And the end (as we haue sayd) is the procreation of children: for god sayd, Increse and multiply. But as touching the other ende, namelye for the auoydinge of whoredome, Paule in the. 1. to the Corinth. hath very well and playnly written.

Whither bõds or writings ar required to contract matrimony or no.

If thou wilt demaund, whither bondes or writynges are required for the cõtracting of matrimonye, we maye answere, that they are not required. For the consent of eyther party is sufficiente, as it is had in the Authentikes, and in the Code, where entreaty is made of mariages. But that whiche Ierome writeth to Oceanus, that hereby a wife is discerned from a concubine, bycause a wyfe must haue bondes and a dowry, which thinges concubines had not, thys I say is not vniuersally to be receaued. For his sentence is to be drawen vnto ỳ wife, which before was a concubine. As touching her she neded bondes, that shee might no more be counted a concubine, & ỳ the children which she had alredy, or afterward might haue, might be legitimate. But a dowry is not required of necessitye, because (as it is a cõmon saying,) a dowry hath not place without matrymony, but matrimony may cõsist wout a dowry. For a dowry is geuen for the easier sustayning of the burthẽ of matrimony. The Cannons haue added, and ỳ profitably, ỳ matrymonyes should not be contracted priuely. For if the assent of the man and wife be secrete and without witnesses, Iudges can pronounce nothyng of suche a matrimony contracted. Wherefore if theyr wils should be changed, and after these secret matrimonies, they should contracte solemne and publike mariages, the first mariages geue place vnto them, and the conscience is kept both perplexe and also wounded.

Ierome.

A dowry is not necessarye to cõtract matrimonye.

Agaynst secret mariages.

But to speake of hauing of concubines, two thinges ar to be considered. First what the Romaine lawes ordeyned of it: Secondly, in what sort it was among the Hebrewes vsed, or what is to be vnderstand, when we reade that the fathers had concubines. As touching the first hauing of cõcubines, was by the ciuile law a certayne kind of matrimony: for a concubine was not a harlot, which was common to many, nor also a harlot, which was kept of a man together with his lawful wife. And how much it differeth from a wife, it shall appeare by the definitiõ of a concubine. For a concubine is she which hath the vse of mariage wyth one that liueth sole. But for that shee is not vnseperable, (bycause they that are so ioynes maye easely be seperated) therefore a concubine differeth muche from a very wife. Farther humayn rights ar not communicated with her, for a Concubine goeth not into the family of him with whome shee is conuersant. Yea and theyr goodes and facultyes are not commune together, neyther are the children borne of that contunction, counted lawful and iust heyres, vnelle they be made legitimate by the benefyte of the prince. Howbeit it is by the Romayne law forbidden that a manne shoulde haue manye Concubines at once, and it is prohibited to haue a Concubyne together with his wife. Moreouer by the Romayne lawes, such can not be counted as Concubynes, whych may be vsed as harlots, as a free virgine, and a widow vnder. 25. yeres of age: for if a man medle wt them, eyther it shalbe matrimony, or els iudged whoredome. Howbeit a widow maye be a Concubin, if before witnesses it be declared, that she is taken not for a wife, but for a Concubine. And lastly there can be no Concubine, whiche may not become a wife, although not in that place where she dwelleth, yet at the least in an other place, which I therfore add, because by the Romaine law it was not lawful for the President to marry a wife of that prouince wher he gouerned, whiche yet he might haue as a Concubine.

Of hauing of Concubines.

Hauyng of a Concubine semed to the Romaynes to be a kind of Matrimony.

The definition of a Concubine

And if thou wilt demaund, whether the Romayne law allowed Concubines

or no. I wyll answer, that they did absolutely allow thé, because they condémed not hauynge of Concubines as a thing vnlawfull, so that it were vsed as before is sayd. Yet it shadowingly reproueth that coniunction, when as it suffereth not the children borne of Cõcubines to be lawful & iust heyres, vnlesse at the length of a Concubine she should become a wife, or vnlesse it be by the authority of the prince. Howbeit we must know that the children of a Concubyne, were admitted vnto a certayne little portion of inheritance, but yet not to a like and equall portion with the legitimate. Yea and the children borne of a concubyne, are not in the power of the father. But when of a Concubine she is made a wife, then it was necessary that there shoulde be tables of Matrimony.

Whether the Romaine lawe allowed concubines or no.

If we will retayne the Romayn law, a handmayden cannot be made a Concubine: for by that law a handmayden could not be made a wife. For the coniunction of a free man with a hand maiden, the Romayn lawes called Contubernũ, neyther did they count it for a iust matrimonye. Howbeit by handemaydens the Romaynes vnderstode not hired seruantes, but such as were bought: whiche I therefore speake, because our hired handemaydens, are free persons, and therfore it is lawfull to contracte iust matrimony with them.

But now let vs consider of the law of the Hebrewes, & what is to be thought of the Concubines of the fathers. They wer in very dede wiues, although oftentimes they were handemaydens, as Agar, Bala, Zilpa, and as this Concubine of Gideon. In the iudgement seate, and as touching ciuile actions, it seemeth that free men of those places where these fathers were conuersant, could not contract matrimony with them, and therfore paraduenture in holy scriptures they were called Concubines. But yet before god, that is by the law of matrimony instituted by hym, they were wyues. Wherfore in the boke of Genesis Agar whyche is called a Concubine, is also called a wife. Therefore there were two differences betweene the Hebrewe lawes and the Romayne lawes: because wyth them hauinge of Concubines was no matrimony, but with the Iewes it was before God: although openlye and by ciuill reason, because of the seruile condicion of the woman, thee was not acknowledged peraduenture for a wyfe. Farther, herein they differ, because the Iewes had handmaydens to theyr Concubynes: & the same was not lawfull for the Romaynes, if we followe that lawe, that thes should be a Concubine, which may be made a wife. Whi as the Romayne lawes counted not that for matrimony, which was contracted with a handmaydē. But this ciuill law was not in Ieromes tyme retayned in ẏ Romayn Empire, eyther because ẏ Ecclesiastical canons had mitigated it, or els for some other cause. For in hys Epistle to Oceanus, he speaketh of certayne, whyche had theyr handmaydens in steede of wiues, for this cause not callinge them by the name of wyues, to auoide burthens, and charges, who yet if they became rich, made theyr handmaydens wiues. But we must know moreouer, that where Concubines seeme to be allowed and permitted in the decrees, the same is to be vnderstand of thos which are in very deede wiues, although by the Romayn lawes and ciuilly they were counted for Concubines, bicause that woman was not solemply maried, although there was a mutuall consent betwene them of matrimony. This which I haue brought is had in ẏ distinction. 34. chapter. Iaqui & Christiano. Whereof the first is the decree of the councell of Toletanus: the other is the testimony of Isidorus in his booke de distantia noui & veteris Testamenti. But when in the decrees there is mẽcion made of Cõcubines, which ar not in very dede wiues, they are vniuersally prohibited. And that is, when eyther party will not alway dwel together, neyther acknowledge one an other as man and wife.

The Concubines of the fathers were wiues.

Ierome

After what maner the decrees permit Concubines.

And this shalbe sufficiẽt at this time as touching these things. Let vs now retvrne vnto Gidion, who had by his Cõcubine a son named Abimelech. The Etimology of ẏ name is: My father ẏ king. Peraduẽture ẏ cõcubine of Gideon was arrogãt & proud, which coũted Gideon for a king, and therefore called her sonne by this name, and kindled in him the flames of bearing rule, that he might right sone play the tirant, and claim vnto himself a kingdome as dew vnto his father.

Why the son of Gideon was called Abimelech.

32 So Gideon the ſonne of Joas died in a good age, and was buried in the ſepulchre of Joas his father, in Ophra Abiezer.
33 But when Gideon was dead, the children of Iſraell turned away, and went a whoryng after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God.
34 And the children of Iſraell remembred not the Lord their God, whiche had deliuered them out of the handes of all their enemyes on every ſide.
35 Neither ſhewed they mercy on the houſe of Jerubbaal Gideon, according to all the good thinges whiche he had done in Iſrael.

What a good age is.

There is often mencion made in the holy ſcripture of a good age. And in the 15. chap. of Geneſis, it is promiſed vnto Abraham as a certaine excellent good thing. And it ſemeth to ſhewe two things: firſt a iuſt ſpace of lyfe, ſo that death ſhould not come vntimely, and ſtrike as yet in tender age. Furthermore it ſignifieth proſperity of life and a profitable end. Wherfore it is required therunto that the minde be ſound, the body not broken with diſeaſes, no want of riches, the family, countrey, and dignity abiding firme: this is iudged a good age. But what ſhal we recke of eternal life? I thinke Gideon obteyned it alſo, for as much as in the Epiſtle to the Hebrues the. 11. chap. he is numbred with thoſe fathers, which liued adorned with faith. Thou wilt ſay peraduenture that his faith was not iuſtifieng and perfect, but onely of that kinde of faith which ſufficed to worke miracles. But I do not thinke that the Apoſtle, when he made mencion of Gideon, and of the other fathers, wrote of that faith. For the faith whiche there he ſpeaketh of, he defined in the begynning that it is an ὑπόϛασιν or (as they ſay) the ſubſtaunce of things to be hoped for, & a certaynty of ỹ which is not ſene. And in compoſing the Catalogue of the mẽ, which where adorned with this faith, he maketh mẽcion of Abraham, whõ he teſtifieth to haue ben iuſtified by faith. Wherby is gathered that the faith whiche is there attributed vnto the ſaintes, is the true and perfect faith, by whiche the godly are counted iuſt before God.

Whether Gideõ was at the laſt ſaued or no

But they ſay, he fell into ſuperſtitions. I graunt ỹ, but he might be renewed by repentaunce, whiche is the effect of true faith, and at the laſt attayne eternall lyfe. But thou wilt ſay, what repentaunce was this: when he ouerthrewe not the Ephod whiche he ſet vp, neither reuoked the people from ſuperſtition? Undoubtedly there is neuer any repentaunce counted fruitefull, vnleſſe that be amended which was done amiſſe. To this I aunſwere, it might be (as Auguſtine ſaith) that this ſuperſtition began toward the latter end of his life, which thing, being repentaunt, he had decreed to take away if he had liued. But being preuẽted by death, he was not able to performe it.

And was buried. They made no prayers or ſupplications to deliuer his ſpirite from the paynes of Purgatory, And we read not in any place of the old teſtamẽt that for the ſame cauſe there were either ſacrifices or oblations made.

And when Gideon was dead, the Iſraelites went a whoryng and worſhipped Baal. Wherby we may learne how ingrate men are towards God. He had adorned them with ſo many benefites, & yet their good prince being dead, which kept them in their duty, they fel ſtraightway frõ ỹ true worſhipping of him. Wherfore it hereby manifeſtly appeareth how diligẽtly we muſt pray for good princes & a godly Magiſtrate: for then is vnderſtand with how great a commodity they were geuen vnto the people, when now at the length the anger of God waxing fierce, they are taken away. For that there were many Baalim, in this place is perticular mention made of Baal-berith whiche a man may call Iouẽ fœderis, or Iouẽ fœderatum. Hym made they a God ouer them, and worſhipped him for the Lord. The ſumme of the worſhipping of him ſtandeth to be this, that they refer-

What Baal-berith was. The Iupiter of couenaunt.

red

red al ẏ good things which they had, as receaued of him: & they beleued ẏ he turned away frō them those euils which they were not troubled with. By reason of which faith, they counted him for their God, & worshipped his outward image.

And forgat the Lord their god. We can not worship straūge gods but straight way we must call away the true God. He is one, and therefore he refuseth to be worshipped with more. Wherefore it remayneth that they do not worship the true GOD, but their owne inuentions, as many as doo with the true God ioyne other whiche are idoles: for there is no true God whiche wilbe worshipped that way. Or els this is the sense of it, that the Israelites did wonderfully fal from the true God, bycause they did not onely worship Baal, but they so worshipped him, ẏ they vtterly forgot the god of their fathers and grandfathers, & altogether abiected ẏ worshipping of hym. Which thing they vsed not alwayes to do: for many tymes they so allowed outward gods, ẏ yet in the meane tyme they retayned some part of the olde worshipping.

Neither shewed they mercy on the house of Gideon. That happened vnto thē, which must nedes come to passe. When we departe from the true God, the offices of charity are neglected, for he whiche is euill agaynst God, can not be good to men. This vnderstoode the Emperor Constantius the father of Constantine: who thought that they would not be faithfull vnto him, whiche for to kepe still their dignity, departed from the worshipping of Christ. Gideon in dede deserued so to be punish'd: but they ought not so to haue dealt against hym, especially seing they behaued not themselues so for the reuenging of religion.

An example of Constātius the Emperor.

To shewe mercy, is a phrase much vsed of the Hebrues, and it is read in many places in the holy Scriptures, neither signifieth it any thing els, then to do good, and to be of a gentle louing and ready minde to helpe those whiche haue nede. And that whiche is nowe spoken, by a certayne anticipation comprehendeth the narration whiche we shall heare in the chap. following, of the calamity and destruction of the house of Gideon. In the meane tyme let vs consider the nature of the worlde: it is wonderfully infected with the vice of ingratitude: we see in a maner no notable or excellent gifte bestowed vpon any man, whiche by the children of this worlde is not recompensed with great ingratitude. And yet for this occasion we must not suffer our selues to be withdrawē from doyng good, least when as other are euill, we imitate them in departing from our office. Let vs go forward to do good vnto our neighbours and brethren: who if they be thankful, let vs chiefly reioyse for thē, and afterward for our selues. But if they be otherwise, let vs turne our selues vnto God himselfe, for whose cause we do rightly, decreing with our selues, that we must not haue a regard what the sinnes of mē deserue, but what God requireth of vs, or what is decent for vs, remembryng ẏ God very often permitteth the vice of ingratitude in the worlde, wherby our mindes may be the more erected vnto him, for whose cause all our thinges are to be instituted, and let vs so direct vnto him those things which we do, that we require nothing of this worlde to be rēdred vnto vs as a reward. Farther, whē we see that mē do for the most part after this maner reward those with great euils, whiche haue done them much good, we may cal to remēbraunce the life to come, where shalbe rendred vnto euery man according to his workes. Whiche thing if we had not a cōfidence that it shall one day come to passe, we should vtterly take away the prouidence of God.

We must not desiste frō wel doyng bycause of ingratitude.

Why God permitteth ingratitude in the worlde.

¶ The.ix. Chapter.

1 Then Abimelech the sonne of Ierubbaal went to Sechem vnto his mothers brethren, and spake vnto them, and to all the family of the house of his mothers father, saying.

2 Say, I pray you, in the audience of all the men of Sechem

them, whether is better for you that all the sonnes of Jerubbaal, whiche are 70. persons, either that one man reigne ouer you? Remember that I am your bone, and your flesche.

3 Then his mothers brethren spake of him in the audience of al the men of Sechem all these wordes: and their hartes were moued to follow Abimelech: for sayd they, He is our brother.

4 And they gaue him. 70. peces of siluer out of ỹ house of Baal-berith, where with Abimelech hired vayne and light fellowes whiche followed him.

5 And he went vnto his fathers house in Ophra, and slew his brethren the sonnes of Jerubbaal, seuenty persons vpon one stone. Yet Jothan ỹ yongest sonne of Jerubbaal was lefte, for he hid himselfe.

6 And all the men of Sechem gathered together, with al the house of Millowe, and came and made Abimelech king, by the playne of the image whiche was in Sechem.

The destruction of the house of Gideon is declared, & the detestable vsurpation of tyranny. Abimelech went, as I suppose from his fathers house: for he vnderstoode that he could not there easely go about that whiche in his minde he purposed. He was minded to bring into *Israell* the power of a king, and being otherwise a priuate man, went about to alter the state of the publique wealth. Which thing was vtterly vnlawfull. For that forme of gouernement, whiche the Hebrues then vsed, was instituted & allowed by God, euen as it is written in Exodus and *Deuteronomy*. Wherby is also gathered, that if at any time the people would haue a king, he ought to be created, whom the Lord appointed. Farther, if they should haue appointed a kyng by humane reason, so great a dignity pertayned not vnto him, whiche was borne of a concubine. It semeth that it should rather haue bene geuen vnto the other sonnes of Gideon, and to the first begotten, before the rest.

Abimelech accuseth his brethren vniustly.

It is good to marke by what guile he worketh. He accuseth his brethren, as though they affected the kingdome. VVhether (saith he) is it better, that I or they reigne? As though he would say, one of these two thinges must nedes come to passe, and except I obteyne the kyngdome, they will clayme it vnto themselues: which was vtterly false. For they wet about no such matter, yea it is rather to be thought but they followed their fathers steppes: who when ỹ kingdome was offred him, refused it. Therfore it is very likely that they as legitimate children would follow the example of their father. He goeth to those men chiefly whom he hoped would soone be wonne to come vnto him, namely vnto the kinsfolkes of his mothers.

He vseth glorious reasõs. First he declareth ỹ the rule of one alone is better thẽ ỹ dominon of many. And ỹ is most easy to persuade humane reason. Wherfore Homere sayth: It is not good ỹ many raigne, let there be one Lord. Which verse Aristotle bringeth in his Metaphisikes. Whiche thing in dede might be graũted as touching the institution & perfection of the nature of man. For in a kingdome occasions in deliberatyng are not ouerpassed and corrupted: and the execution of things decreed, is not delayed and slacked, as we see often happeneth where many beare rule. But in this corruption of nature it semeth to be otherwise, for as much as in it hangeth a daunger & that most grieuous, least the kingdome should fall into the hands of a wicked man. Wherfore it is better to retayne Aristocratia, that is, the gouernaũce of many good men. Abimelech vrgeth not with the other argument, as he did before, namely the publique vtility, but the proper cõmodity of his kinsfolkes. *I* am (sayth he) your flesche, and your bone. As though he would

Homerus. *Aristotle.*

Whether a kingdome be better then Aristocratia, or no.

would haue sayd: When I am created kyng, I will chiefly haue a regard vnto you. I will increase you with riches, dignity and power. Wherfore it is better for you to chose me for your king being your kinseman, rather then a straunger. He sayth that he is their flesh and bone, when as yet he was more flesh and bone of his brethren, and of his father which was dead. For children pertayne more vnto the father, then to the mother. But this fellow lieth in all things, and speaketh to get fauor, and ꝯ guilfully. It is an Hebrew phrase, to be ꝯ bone and flesh of any man. Laban spake so vnto Iacob, when he required of hym Rachel for a wife. This sayd the Israelites also vnto Dauid, when they created hym kyng. And Paul to the Ephesians sayeth, that we are the members of Christe, flesh of his flesh, and bones of hys bones: for as much as he is our head and the head of the Churche, as the husband is ioyned vnto the wyfe. In summe, it is a speeche whereby is declared the greatest coniunction that may be.

What to be flesh & bloude of any mā, signifieth.

Abimelech offendeth most grieuously in these reasons. First, in that he affirmeth, that it is better that one do rule, and that the gouernement of many is to be auoyded: there I say he deceaueth and is deceaued: because this thing was not to be weighed by the nature thereof, but by the worde of God: for we must not obey humane reason, but the commaundementes of God. Farther, he deceaueth the Sichemites, whē as he sayth: Ye are my flesh and my bone, for although we must haue a respect vnto our kinsfolkes, yet that must be done without any preiudice of the publique wealth, or breach of the cōmaundementes of God. Whervnto thou mayst adde, ꝯ in electing Magistrates, a regard must be had to the comō cōmodity, & not to a proper profit. But the people is moueable, especially to seditions & tumults: therfore the Sichemites ar cōtent with the reasons of Abimelech, and gaue him money, whiche they would not willingly haue done for lawfull vses. The money was in the Temple, either because it was gathered of oblations, and therfore as holy there kept, or els because it was then the manner (as in the olde tyme it was at Rome) that the common money should be kept in the Temple of Saturne, whiche was the threasory.

The reasons of Abimelech are confuted.

Why the money was in the Temple.

Seuenty peeces of Siluer. Some interprete it a pounde of Siluer, & other some, Siluer peeces of money. But whatsoeuer it was, this summe we can not know precisely and exactly. But this is certayne if they were peeces of money, we must thinke they were of a great deale more weight, then are ours: for an hoste could not be hired for so small a price. And the men with got them to this warre, are set forth by two wordes of very great signification: Rikim that is vayne, poore: Pechizim, that is light, and hedlonge. And as R. Dauid affirmeth in libro Radicum, these men are vnderstande to be light, chiefly in science or knowledge: in whiche signification the same worde is read in the Prophete Zophonia the 3. chapiter. Euen at this daye also suche men are ready to go on warfarre, namely beggerly fellowes, whiche haue wasted and consumed their goods, and whiche are light hedded, yea hedlong to take vpon them, and to do any wicked acte. And that commeth hereof, bycause they are lyght in science or knowledge, that is, they want iudgement and ryght reason. Vndoubtedly warfarre is a thyng lawfull and iust, if a man vse it ryghtly. For, for as muche as the holy Scriptures doo teache, that the Magistrate beareth the swoorde to reuenge wicked actes, and to defend the good, it followeth that he may arme souldiers, and call together his Citezins to a iust warre. Wherfore Christian men in the old time went on warfarre, when they were compelled to take wages euen of Ethnike princes. For the army of the Thebeians was holy: for they were al in a maner slayne for Christes sake, and Christian souldiers sometymes when the hoste was almost destroyed with thyrste, by prayers thorough Christ obteyned water of GOD. But amonge these holy souldiers, are not those hired warriers woorthy to be numbred, whiche for three crownes a month sticke not to put their lyfe to sale, & strayght waye offer themselues, and runne vnto euery one that calleth them, when

What manner of men Abimelech adioyned vnto him.

Warre maye sometimes iust be made.

Hyred souldiers are not cōmendable.

they beare a Trompet or a Drumme, and addice themselues to hym that offreth them most, hauyng no regard at all vnto the cause whiche they defend.

The Sechemites, if they had bene wise, ought, when they had heard the accusation agaynste the children of Gideon, to haue enquired whether the thyng were so or no, and when they had founde it so, they ought to haue brought them to the Senadrim, that they might by their iudgement haue bene punished. But if they had founde it otherwise, it was their parte to haue chastned and kept vnder Abimelech as a false accuser. But they did otherwise, they consented to the conjuration, and gaue the common money vnto Abimelech. At the least they should haue remembred this, that to them (whiche were but certayne members of that publique wealth) it pertayned not to create a kyng. At the length he proceedeth to the murther of his brethren, vndoubtedly a heynous crime, whiche (as it shalbe declared) sprange of a very great ambition. An accustomed example both in the holy Scriptures, and also in the Ethnike histories. Cain slewe Abel. Ioseph was solde of his brethren. Ioram the sonne of Iehosaphat (as it is in Paralip. the 21. chap.) slewe all his brethren. Absolom also an vngodly sonne spared not euen his owne father. Romulus among the Ethnikes slewe his brother Remus, and Domitianus slewe Titus, Basianus Caracalla also slewe Geta. And vndoubtedly tyme would not serue me, if I should rehearse all the examples of lyke sorte.

The sinnes of Sechemites.

Senadrim was an assembly of 70. Elders.

Examples of murtherers of kinsfolkes.

I am not ignorannt that these manquellers pretended some excuses for their wicked acte, but they were but vayne. Firste, they pretended that they for the publique wealthes sake destroyed their brethren and kynsfolkes whiche were all desirous to be kynges, because the kyngly power, whiche one pertayneth onely vnto one, can not be very commodiously distributed vnto many. So Alexander the Macedonian aunswered vnto Darius, that the worlde could not holde two Sunnes, as though one should hinder the other in gouerning. Neither was Cicero ignorannt of this reason, who in his 3. booke de Officiis sayth, that Remus slewe Romulus vpon a certayne shewe of vtility, as though he sain that the kingdome should better be gouerned by one, then by two. Whom yet he confesseth to haue offended, beyng deceaued with this shewe of vtility, and that he put of all humanity and piety. The other thing whiche they pretended is, that therfore they slewe their brethren or kynsfolkes, because they had conspired agaynst them. But when (I praye you) complaynte they of conspiracies, euen then when they had slayne those, whom they complayned of, & they could not defend themselues.

Pretences of murtherers of their kinsfolkes.

In aunswere of Alexander the great.

Cicero.

He slewe 70. brethren, excepte one namely Iotham, of whome shall mention be made afterwarde. The Hystorye writeth that there were 70. slayne, either because Abimelech so willed and commaunded, or elles because onely one wanted of that summe: whiche thyng we may see oftentymes vsed in the holy Scriptures, that some certayne number is mentioned as a full number, from whiche yet some may be taken away.

The maner of the scripture in reckenyng of numbers.

He slewe them vpon one stone. It is thought to haue bene some notable signe which was appoynted for a place of execution. Abimelech therfore is by a greate and detestable murther of hys brethren consecrated kynge. Kynges were appointed to profit men, and to defend them: but he begynneth his kyngdome with murther. Wherfore he ought rather to be called a Tyranne, then a king. The place where he was created, is set forth: wherfore we must vnderstand that this worde Alon, signifieth a plant, whiche R. Dauid in libro Radicum supposeth to be a pine tree: Ionathan maketh it a chestnut tree: and Ierome turneth it alwayes an oke. Sometimes it signifieth a plaine: and the Chaldey paraphraste interpreteth it Mischar, that is, a playne field, thether assembled the Sechemites to create a kyng. There was an image or piller set vp (as some thinke) to a superstitious worshippyng: whiche thyng although it be not agaynst the wicked manners of thys people and impiety of Abimelech, yet it is not of necessity

that we should so thinke: for we rede many tymes in the Scriptures, that images were erected, not for diuine worshippynges, but for other causes. In the booke of Genesis the 31. chap. a heape of stones was set vp in mount Gilead as a border and monument vnto the posterity of Iacob and Laban: and in the 35. chap. of the same booke, a piller was erected by the tombe of Rachel. Yea and Absalon adorned his tombe with an image.

The family of Millo.

The family of the mother of Abimelech was not noble, when as she tooke her name of the towne. Millo is the name of her house. That worde signifieth otherwise a gulfe filled, whiche Salomon built by the City of Ierusalem. The Sechemites created a king, the other tribes neither were at it, neither wer they called. So was there a schisme among the Israelites, whiche is wont vsentymes to happen when the worshipping of god is violated. These thynges haue I briefly noted as concernyng the hystory.

Now let vs more nighly looke vpon the wicked and flagicious actes, by which this man came vnto his tyrannye. First he was very ambitious, he deceatefully and falsely accuseth his brethren, vseth the corruption of bribery to worke treason, is a robber of the commō threasory, he wrought by open violence, and at the last committed murther of his brethren, called Parricidium.

Of Ambition.

What Ambition is.

What honor is

Excellent men are iustly honored.

As touching the first, Ambition is to much desire of honor. And honor is that reuerence which is geuen vnto any man, to beare testimony of his excellency. And that testimony is borne vnto hym iustly and of right: because it is mete, that we recompence somewhat vnto them, whiche doo helpe and worthie vs, and are endewed with gifftes of God. And we haue nothing more worthy or better then honor. Farther, that they and their like may go forward to exercise themselues longer and more constantly in helping & keeping [illegible]. Moreouer, that we adding such reuerence, may get vnto them authority, whereby they may the more aptly and commodiously execute theyr office. Yet is it to manifest that it is lawfull euen for holy men also to embrace the honours, whiche are geuen vnto them for vertue, doctrine, and pietyes sake. For they both desire and allow things that are iust, and do reioyse that men performe that whiche the law of God will haue done. And he commaundeth to honor the father, the mother, the magistrate, and such like. Wherfore if men obey his precepts, holy men can not but accept it thankfully. Thou mayst adde, that if it should not so be, their ministery would be contemned, whiche is by all meanes to be auoyded.

It is lawfull for godly men to receaue the honours offred them,

What must be taken heede of when honours are admitted.

But because we are prone to pryde, vaunting, and arrogancye: therfore we must be ware, and that circumspectly, that for the desire of honor, we abuse not that whiche after a sorte may be iust. Wherfore I thought it good to note those thinges, which I iudge are to be taken heede of in this thing. First, that we rest not in this kinde of good, as in the last ende. Whatsoeuer we do, must be directed vnto God, and especially that honor whiche is geuen vnto vs, when we rightly and orderly execute our duetyes: so that thereby both we our selues may know, & also teach other to glorifie God, & not men in good workes. For this hath Christ commaunded, that we should so bringe our workes, whereby they whiche see the, may glorifie God the heauenly father. Neither ought this to moue vs which is comonly spoken, y honor is the reward of vertues. For y is not to be vnderstād, neither as touchyng y vertues themselues, nor yet in respect of the me which are adorned with the. For it should be very yll with either of the, if they had no other ende performed then honor. The ende of good men is eternall lyfe, and the heauenly kyngdome. And the ende of vertues, is to prepare and renewe vs to the glory of God. But honor is called the reward of vertues, as touching other,

Honor is the reward of vertue.

whiche

whiche doo beholde and wonder at the giftes of God in good and holy men: and and when they desire to offer or recompence them somewhat, and haue nothing excellenter then honor, then doo they geue that. Wherefore after this maner is honor counted the reward of vertue. The other caution is, that a man doo not so burne with the desire of honor, that he care not howe he come by it, whether it be by right or by wrong. Saluſt hath writtē an excellent ſentēce of this thyng: The good man and the euill doo both a lyke deſire vnto themſelues glorye, honor, and rule: this man the true waye, but the other, bycauſe he wanteth good actes, contendeth to attayne it by guiles and diſceates. Thirdely we muſt beware, that a man deſire not more honor, then his merites and vertues require: or ertorte dignity and honors, when as rather he is worthy of vituperation. For this ſhould be both abſurde, and alſo want all maner of iuſtice.

Howe honor is the reward of vertue. 2

Saluſt.

3

Abimelech tooke not heede of the thynges whiche I haue rehearſed, but incurred them all. For he ſet before hym the kyngly power, or rather tyranny, as the laſte ende: for to it directed he all hys actes and cogitations, alſo he contended vnto it by diſceates and guiles, and not by the good waye and iuſt meanes. Yea he ſeemeth rather to graunte vnto a ſentence of Euripidis: That ryght it ſelfe is to be violated for dominions ſake. And for as much as he wanted merites, he rather extorted honor, whiche is geuen as a teſtimony of vertues, then gat it vnto hymſelfe by iuſte meanes. He deceaueth hys Citizens with no obſcure kynde of bryberye, for he flatteryngly requireth of them the kyngdome, bycauſe he wouldе beſtowe vppon them greate and moſte ample benefites, for as muche as he was theyr kynſeman. The lawes alſo of the Ethnikes doo condemne ſuche inordinate ambition. For as muche as in the lawe Iulia, de ambitu, it is decreed, that he whyche by bryberye obtayned honours, ſhoulde be condemned, both by paying of money, that is, a hundreth crownes, and therewith all made infamous.

Abimelech is ambicious.

A ſentence of Euripidis.

The Ethnike lawes condēne inordinate ambition.

He deceaueth hys brethren by a falſe accuſation, as we haue ſhewed: and goeth farther and committeth treaſon agaynſte the people of the Hebrues. For he attempted to alter, yea rather to euerte the ſtate of that publique wealth. In the digeſtes ad l. Iuliam, Maieſtatis, he is ſayde to committe that cryme, whiche dyd any thyng agaynſte the people of Rome, or agaynſte the ſafety thereof. And who ſeeth not that Abimelech very diligently conſpired agaynſte the libertye of the Hebrues. He infringeth this lawe alſo: whoſoeuer hath with hym men armed with ſwordes and weapons, and kepeth poſſeſſion of ſome certayne places: whiche thyng the hiſtory affirmeth that Abimelech dyd. For he gathered together ſouldiers and came into Ophrath, & inuaded his fathers houſe. Wherefore he committeth treaſon, which (as Vlpianus teſtifieth) is next vnto ſacrilege. Abimelech alſo is guilty of robbyng the common treaſure, when as he abuſed the money, whether it were publique or holy, to hys owne priuate vſe.

Abimelech falſely accuſeth his brethren & cōmitteth treaſon.

Abimelech is guilty of robbyng the cōmō threaſore.

Of murther of parentes or kinſfolkes called Paricidium.

LAſtly, whiche was moſte heynous of all, he polluteth hymſelfe with the murther of hys brethren: of whiche wicked cryme there are many thynges inwritten in the ciuile lawes ad l. Corneliam de Parricidiis. And as farre as I can gather out of the lawes & hyſtories, in the old tyme the name of that crime was geuen vnto thoſe whiche murthered their parentes, grandfathers, great grandfathers &c. vnto thoſe alſo which murthered their ſonnes, neuewes, and ſonnes in the .iiii. degree &c. But afterward Pompeius extended the ſignification therof farther, & they were called Parricidæ whiche ſlew their brethren, ſonne in lawes, daughter in lawes, father in lawes, or mothers in lawes, and ſuche other. Althoughe there was an olde lawe, and geuen by Numa Pompilius: He that wit-

Parricidium.

A lawe of Numa Pompilius

lingly bringeth a man to death, let him be taken for a parricide. And also Augustine in his 3. booke de Ciuitate dei the 6. chap. counted Romulus guilty of Parricidium, bycause he slew hys brother. And there he derideth the Ethnikes, which affirmed that theyr gods suffred Troy to be destroyed, bycause they would take vengeaunce of the adultery of Paris. But howe (sayeth he) were they fauorable vnto Rome, when as the builder thereof committed strayght waye at the beginnyng parricidium? But the same Augustine in his booke de Patientia (which yet is supposed to be none of his) in the 13. chap. appointeth a certayne latitude or degrees betweene Paricides: for (as he sayth) he sinneth more haynously which killeth his parentes or children, then he whiche murthereth his brethren. And he whiche sleeth his brethren, offendeth more, then he whiche destroyeth those whiche are farther of a kynne. And the wicked cryme of sleayng parentes or grandfathers, semed to be so horrible, that at Rome for the space of 600. yeares, from the building of the City it was not committed. Yea and Romulus, making no mencion of it in his lawes, and beyng demaunded, why he left it out, aunswered, that he could not be persuaded that any suche thyng can happen vnto men. Solon also beyng asked why he lykewise by hys lawes restrayned not parricidium, aunswered: that he by occasion of his lawes would not admonishe men of so horrible a wicked cryme, and stirre them by vnto it after a sorte by hys admonishyng. For it oftentimes happeneth that they whiche prohibite certayne vices, prouoke men to fall into them, whiche very often will doo those thynges whiche they are forbidden.

Augustine.

Romulus in his lawes made no mencion of Paricidium.

In aunswere of Solon.

But as for the murther of brethren and kynsfolkes, it was a thing vsed euen from the begynnyng, as all histories do testifie. And the punishement of paricides which slewe theyr parentes or children was by lawes (as it is had ad legem Corneliam de parricidis) that they should be sowed in Culeo, that is, in a lether sacke, & with them were put an Ape, a Cocke & a Viper, & thē they were cast into the deepe of the sea, or into the next riuer. But they which slewe of their kinsfolkes or cousins, were punished with the swoorde onely. These punishementes, if they were at any tyme by the Magistrates neglected or winked at, God himself punished, as the history of Samuell declareth of Absalon, whych slew his brother, and most cruelly inuaded his father. He striketh also with furiousines & madnes those men whiche commit such horrible wicked actes, as both the Poetes & also the historiographers write of Nero & Orestes. For either of thē whē he had slaine his mother, was mad. And it is a cōmō saying, ỳ they which cōmit so great a wicked acte, cā not be quiet in mynde. Wherfore Cicero in his Oration for Roscius saith, ỳ certaine yong mē of Terracinēsis which were accused for killing their father, wer by this meanes absolued, bycause they wer foūd in ỳ morning sleping, for ỳ iudges could not beleue ỳ they could slepe, which had cōmitted so detestable an acte. Domitianus also whiche slew his brother Titus, was killed by ỳ vengāce of God. And in like maner Bassianus Caracalla, whē he had destroyed his brother Geta. And not to ouerpasse our Abimelech, God (as we shall heare) sent an euill spirite betweene hym and the princes of Sichemites, and either party was taken with a certaine furie, so that at length they destroyed one an other.

Cicero.

The punishement of Parricides.

7 And they told it vnto Iotham, who went, & stode on the toppe of mount Gerizim, & lift vp his voyce & cried, & said vnto them: Herkē vnto me ye men of Sechem, that God may herken vnto you.

8 The trees went forth to anoynt a king ouer them, and sayd vnto the olme tree, reigne thou ouer vs.

9 But ỳ olme tree said vnto thē, should I leaue my fatnes, wherwith by me they honor God & man, & go to aduance me aboue the trees.

10 Then the trees sayd vnto the figge tree, come thou and reygne ouer

fyng vnto Danae by a showre) began to haue a pleasure in himselfe, because he be-
yng a vile man did those thinges, whych he knew by that table the chief God in
the olde time committed. I did it (sayth he) and I dyd it with a good will. Cicero Cicero.
also: Homere (sayeth he) fayned these, and transferred humayne things vnto the
gods: I had rather they had transferred thinges diuine vnto vs.

Augustine in his. 2. booke of Confessions the. 15. and 16. chap. complaineth and
soroweth, that he being a child and younge man, learned profitable wordes. But Augustine.
yet in thinges vayne. I would to god (sayth he) I had beene instructed in profita-
ble writtinges: I had Iupiter thundring and therwithall cõmitting aduoultry. The
mindes and affections of men at prone inough vnto vices: wherfore it is wicked-
lye done, that children and younge men should in that age be by vyle and filthye
fables stirred vp vnto sins. Apologies are profitable, whych consisting both of
honest wordes, and good argumentes, do rightly instruct that first age. Esope the Esope
auncients writer happely exercised hymselfe in this kinde, although there are
some which referre his Apologies vnto Hesiodus, who was cõtẽpter thẽ Esope.
But this our Apology (wherof we now entreat) was written long before Esope
and Hesiodus tyme. For the time of the Iudges, and namelye of Gidion, was an
hundreth yeares and more, before the war of Troy. There is an other Apology
also in the. 2. boke of kinges the. 14. chap. where Amasias obteyning the victory of
the Edomites, prouoked the king of Israel to make war with him. Vnto whom
the king Ioas answered thus: The thistle of Labanon sent vnto the Cedre that
is of Libanon, and sayd: Geue thy daughter to my son to wife. And ẏ wyld beast
went out of Libanon and trode downe the thistle. By which Apology he shewed
that he was so much greter, thẽ Amasia the king of Iuda, as the Cedre excelleth
the thystle, and admonished him that he should after that sort be troden down &
oppressed of his host, as was the thistle by wilde beastes.

These things haue I therfore rehearsed, lest the Greke and Ethnike writers
should be thought to be the first inuenters of these profitable sayninges. Al men The vse of Apologies.
agre in this, that the vse of Apologies are then to be had, when we haue to do wt
rude persons. For they vnderstand neither perfect Sillogismes, or vnperfect, ney-
ther are they able to perceaue inductions, so that of perticulars they cannot
gather vniuersals. And they passe not vpon the examples of noble men, for that
they themselues are abiect and base. Wherfore when such wayes of doctrine can
not take place, there remayneth nothing but fayned narrations, wherby beyng al- 1.
lured by the newnes of the thing, they geue much heede to the thinges which are
spoken, and sometimes at the length are perswaded. They are good also to help
memory: for things ẏ are so new & pleasant, do very much delighte thinges that 2.
are so sweete, are not so easely forgotten. Farther, men will easlier suffer them-
selues to be reproued by Apologies, then by open wordes: for the playne truth 3.
engendreth hatred. But beyng couered wt Apologies and darke speeches it may
be suffred. At the beginning the hearers know not wherto the thing tendeth: ther
fore for ẏ they knowe not what wilbe spoken, they tary out the end, & are at the
last peraduenture perswaded. Christe finished the whole parable of the vine: and
at the end the Phareseis and Scribes vnderstode that it was spoken against thẽ.
So also among ẏ Romayns Menenius Agrippa by an Apology wõne thẽ people,
which wer departed, to ioine thẽselues agayn to ẏ Patricias. For these causes
ar Parables, dreames & visiõs of prophets very much vsed in ẏ holy scriptures.

The fable of Esope of the frogges which desired a kinge, differeth not much
from this Apology which we ar now in hand withal: for to thẽ after the beame or
post which they despised, was geuen a dragõ, which by litle & litle eat thẽ vp al.

And I wil begyn at ẏ declaration of the fable wherin it is said: If ye haue done
rightly and orderly, reioyse with Abimelech, and Abimelech with you. But if not,
let a fire come out from him, & consume you. The olyue tree, vine tree, & fyg tree
is the surname of Gideon: and the trees which desire a kingare the Sechemites.

And as a mong trees there are some noble and some abiect: so also amonge men there ar some noble and excellent, and some vnnoble and of no reputacion. The bramble brier signifieth Abimelech. Plini in his 24. booke and. 14. chapt. writeth of this kind of thorn. And as touching this matter, these are the properties therof: it is a plant vile and abiect, as was Abimelech, who was a bastard and borne of a hand mayd, so that he was not to be compared with his brethern. And as he without any vtility governed the Israelites, so is the brãble wont to bring forth no frute. The bramble also pricketh, euen as Abimelech very muche hurted the Israelites. Moreouer some write that the bowes of brambles are sometimes so vehemently shaken and moued with the winde, that out of them is fire kindled, wherewith not only they theselues burn, but ẏ whole wood wherin they grow is burnte: which thinge Iotham no we foretelleth to come to passe of Abimelech. Wherfore the properties do wonderfully well agree.

Of the brãble or brier. *Plini.*

But here are two questions offred vnto the readers. The first is, because it is said that the trees went to the Olive tree, vine tree, figge tree, and bramble, to create them a king, when as the Sechemites went not vnto Abimelech, and vnto the sonnes of Gideon, but rather Abimelech went vnto them. The other is, wee do not here reade that the sonnes of Gideon refused the kingdome offred vnto them, or answered those thinges which the trees sayd, when they were called to raygne.

The latter question I thinke may be dissolued two wayes, sayinge, that the sonnes of Gideon in dede answered not so: but they would haue answered so, if they had beene demaunded. Wherefore Iotham knowyng so right well al their myndes and will, seemeth not to speake so muche from the purpose. Or els we may say, that Gideon himself answered for his sonnes, when he said, I will not raygne ouer you, God himself shall raygne ouer you. And that we maye vnderstand, what the three noble trees ment by their answeres, this two be called a gayne to remembrance, that the kingdome was offred vnto Gideon, not onelye for himselfe, but also for his sonne, and sonnes sonne. Wherefore he refused the kingdome for three. And herof it commeth (as the Rabbines suppose) that ther are three kindes of trees brought in.

But as touchinge the first question, the Sechemites and Israelites came not vnto Abimelech, to make him their kinge, but yet the holy ghoste so speaketh by Iotham, because he is he that knoweth ẏ harts, & knew that that people laboured with this desire to haue at the length a king. For they had manifestly declared it before, whē they offred ẏ kingdome vnto Gideon, & afterwards more manifestlye they shewed it in the time of Samuel, when they altogether desired to haue a king geuen them, as other nations had.

What manner of argument is gathered out of this Apologye. Argumentum a comparatis A maiore ad minus. *Maior.* *Minor.*

Out of this Apology is drawen an argument of thinges compared together. For the sonnes of Ierobbaal are compared with Abimelech, as farre nobler then he, euen as the olyue tree, vine tree, and fyg tree do farre excell the bramble and brier. And the reason is from the greater vnto the lesser by negation, as though it should haue beene sayd: If euen they would not raigne, and iudged that it was not lawful for them, which were most excellent, endewed with vertues & faculties, apte and mete for to raygne: much lesse is it lawful for him to raigne which wanteth vertues, and is vnapte for a kingdome. But they which were noble, & might haue raygned, would not, neyther did they thinke that it was lawfull for them. Wherfore Abimelech neyther could, neyther ought, to haue bene by you appoynted kinge. The first proposition is manifest ynough by the rule of things compared: and the second most manifestly appeareth by the Apology. We maye by this like argument reason of the Ecclesiasticall state.

For

ouer vs.
11 But the fygtree sayd vnto them: Should I forsake my swetenes, and my good fruite, and go to aduaunce me aboue the trees?
12 Then sayde the trees vnto the vine: Come thou and be kinge ouer vs.
13 But the vine sayd vnto them: Should I leaue my wyne, which maketh merry both god and man, and go to aduaunce me aboue the trees?
14 Then sayd all the trees vnto the bramble: Come thou and raigne ouer vs.
15 And the bramble sayde vnto the trees: If ye will annoynte me kynge ouer you, come, and put your trust vnder my shadow: and if not, let the fyre come out of the bramble, and consume the Ceders of Lebanon.
16 Now therefore if ye haue done truly and vncorruptly, to make Abimelech king: and if ye haue delte well with Ierubbaal, and with his house: if moreouer ye haue done vnto him according to the deseruyng of his handes:
17 (For my father fought for you, and aduentured his life, to deliuer you out of the handes of Madian.
18 And ye are risen vp against my fathers house this day, and haue slayne his children, 70. persons vpon one stone: and haue made Abimelech the sonne of his mayde seruant, kinge ouer the men of Sechem: because he is your brother.)
19 If ye, I say haue delte truly and vncorruptly with Ierubbaal & his house this day, reioyse ye with Abimelech, & let him reioise with you.
20 But if not, let a fire come out from Abimelech, and consume the men of Sechem, & the house of Millo. Also let a fire come forth from the mē of Sechē, and from the house of Millo & destroy Abimelech.
21 And Iotham ranne away, and fled, and went to Beer and dwelt there from the face of Abimelech his brother.

Iotham the brother of Abimelech inspired (as it appeareth) with the spirite of god, threatneth that punishments are at hande both for him and for the Sechemites. He ascended vpon the mount Gerizim, whiche was nere vnto the citye of Sechem. In the booke of Genesis. 34. chapter. there is mention made of this citye: at that tyme Hemor the father of Sechem possessed it, who rauished *Dina*: wherefore the citye was destroyed by Simeon and Leui. And afterwarde Iacob gaue it vnto Ioseph, to haue it beside his common lot in the lande of Chanaan for his posterity, as we reade in the same booke the 48. chapter. Wherefore it was in the tribe of Manasses, and as Ierom in his Hebrew questions vpon Genesis testifieth, Iacob was there healed of his haltyng, which he got by wrastling with the aungell, as it appeareth in the same booke the 34. chap. namely ✠ he came Salem to the citye of Sichem. And we must know, that Salem there is not a name of a citye, but signifieth safe and sounde. Otherwise Salem longed not to the Amorhites but to the Iebusites, whiche afterwarde was called Ierusalem. In his Epistle to Eustochius, whych contemneth an Epitaph of Paule, the same Ierome writeth that this citye lay situate by the side or roote of mount Gerizim, and in his time it was cal-

The citye of Sechem.

Ierome in place of Genesis is opposed.

Eg. iii. led

ted Neapolis, and it longed vnto the Samaritanes. And the same is it which Iohn maketh mention of in his Gospel the .4. chapter, wher it is written Sichar, but (as Ierome sayth) by a corrupt word, for it should have bene written Sechem. Thither went Iesus, when he went out of Iewry into Galile.

The Mounte Gerizim & Eball.

But the mount Gerizim and Eball lay one over against an other, and in one of them every yeare were recited blessings, and in the other, cursings. Thither did Iotham afterward, peradventure at that time (as some suppose) when the multitude was assembled, according to the institution to heare the blessings and cursinges of the law. Which thinge yet (to speake as it is) semeth to me not verye likely, for as much as I rather beleve that for the worshipping of Baal, that ceremonye was omitted, and partelye because it seemeth that the multitude did for this cause assemble thither, with a solemne assemblye to constitute Abimeleche theyr new kyng. Wherefore in that solemnitye, Iotham spake these thinges, undoubtedly by the holy Ghost, as the euent taught. The summe of his oration conteineth an erpobation of the wickednes which they had committed, and a threatning of most grieuous punishments. And that the thinge might be made more playne and manifest before theyr eyes, he vseth a most elegant Apology.

Of a fable and Apology.

What a fable is, Augustine.

An Apologye they saye is a kinde of fable. And they define a fable to bee a narration of a false thing, fayned for commodities sake, or oblectation. For as Augustine sayth in his .2. booke and .11. chapt. de Soliloquiis, a fable is a lye made for delectation: although properlye it cannot be called a lye. For the falsenes is strayght way found out, and specially in Apologies. For in them are brought in insensible or vnreasonable creatures, talking one to an other, and entreating of matters very weighty. And as sone as the hearer perceaueth it, straight way he vnderstandeth that the thing is fayned, and not so done in dede. And vndoubtedly certaine thinges in fables are very likely, and some are most farre distante frō probability. For it is very likely, that sometyme there arose a contention betwen Aiax and Vlisses, for the armor of Achilles, which was iudged at the length vnto Vlisses, and that Aiax therfore toke such a displeasure, that becomminge madde he slewe himselfe. But contrarywise it is altogether improbable that a woman was turned into a plant or into a stone. Wherfore an Apology may be counted a fable which is not likely.

Certain fables are likelye and some are not.

An Apology.

The kindes of a fable. What fables are to be repudiated, & what to be admitted. Filthy fables are to be repudiated.

The kindes of a fable, are Comedies, Tragedies, Satires, and Satirations of Lirike and Heroike Poetes, & also Apologies. But which of these fayned thinges are lawfull, and which are vnlawfull, thus may be discerned. They which haue filthinesse & scurilitye, that is, wurth ioyned together with filthines, ought not to be admitted. But those which are written honestlye and shamefastlye, so that they refresh the mind with some pleasure, and ar also profitable to setforth good maners, are not be despised. That filthye ones are to be repudiated, the Apostles confyrmeth by two testimonyes. To the Corinthians in the first Epistle he writeth: Euill communications corrupt good maners. And to the Ephesians the .5. chapter it is written, let whoredome and all vnclennes and couetousnesse not reigne in you, as it becommeth saynctes: then is added αἰσχρότης μωρολογία, and εὐτραπελία, and wherbe are not comelye. By these wordes he reproueth all those cōmunications which are contaminated with filthines & scurilitye. The same thing saw Plato in his thirde boke de Repub. wher he excludeth Poetes which spake of gods, as though they should speake of men. Because they in so writing, do both vnworthely intreate of the nature of god, which is best and most high, & also they excuse the sinnes of common men, when as they testifye that both the gods and also nobleme committed the same sins, which thing assuredly we may see in the cōmonye Eunuchus of Terence, where Chera a wycked ponge man (beholding a wanton table in the harlotes house, wherein was painted Iupiter persynge

Plato.

Terence

For if the fathers which were endued with a great spirite, notable in wonderfull vertues, and excellent doctrine, woulde not execute the office of a Pope by Monarchy in the Church, or take vpon them principality ouer all Bishops and Churches: that is much les to be graunted vnto their posterity, which are much inferiour vnto them, yea not to be compared with them. But they woulde not: wherefore neither is it meete that those shoulde. The first proposition appeareth (as we haue already said) by the rule of thinges compared: but the minor is proued both by Ciprian, and also by the Counsell of Carthage, likewyse by Augustine, Leo, and Gregory. The argument is applied vnto the Pastors of the Church.

Furthermore, by this act we gather, what euyll commeth by chaunging the state of a publike wealth, especially when it was allowed by the woord of God, as was the Aristocratia of the Hebrues. Neither was there any cause, why they should chaunge that forme of the publike wealth: for God hym selfe gouerned them, gaue them .70. Elders, and raised them vp Iudges in perillous tymes. In like maner ther was no cause why the Church should chaunge the forme of her gouernment. Neither can they which brought in the Papacy alledge any thing which the Hebrues could not haue said to iustify their petition for hauing a king. The Churche oughte not to haue altred the forme of the gouernmēt therof

For as these men saine for themselues, that the Church shoulde be rightlier gouerned by one, namely the Bishop of Rome, then by many Bishops, of whyche euery one fully should haue care, as touching his owne portion: so myght the Iewes haue alledged, that their kingdome shoulde be farre better gouerned by one, then by many. And they might haue spoken that with muche more likelyhood, when as the land of Chanaan extendeth not so farre as the Church, & bery many thinges as touching ciuil matters maye be better executed by a king that is absent, then the Church which extendeth most largely, can be gouerned of a Pastor that dwelleth in Regions most farre.

Fire commeth out of Abimilech, because oppression taketh his beginning of Tirannes. So sayd Samuel vnto the Hebrues, that the king would make theyr children Carters, their daughters handmaidens, and compel them both to eare and till their ground, and take awaye from them their best Olyue gardens and vyneyardes. Neither was that which Samuel rehearsed, the right of a king and appointed of God, but that, which as the Prophet saw, kings would afterward vsurpe. Otherwise the law of a king is contained in Deut. the .xvii. chap. From the Pope, as it is here said, there is come forth a fyre, whiche hath wasted and corrupted all Churches. Tirannes oppresse and gouerne not.

But it is meete to consider what the profitable and fruitful trees answered when they were required to take vpon them a kingdome. They saide they were content with their owne good thinges: and therefore they would neither receaue a kingdome, or suffer anye alteration of their state. After the same maner euen holy and godly men doo. Ambrosius very much and long time resisted, because he would not be created bishop of Millane. Augustine also many wayes laboured to be no Elder or Bishop. And among the Ethnikes Numa Pompilius long time & much deferred, before he would take vpon him ỹ kingdom of Rome. Diocletianus, although before he gouerned very tirannically & very cruelly, yet after ỹ, he resigned it, & being desired to take vpon him the Empire again, he vtterly refused it. Saul also (to turne to the holy history) hid him self among the stuffe & burthens, when he should be publikely consecrated. But now a dates, because we haue thornes and brambles euery where, al men with a wonderful ambicion desire to be created Bishops or Popes, and by their tumult and importunity, all Christendome is in a maner shaken. Wherfore it is the part of good men to be content with their vocation, and not rashly to remit themselues vnto that vocation which is against ỹ woord of God: especially when in that vocatiō, wher in they are placed of God, they may be both beloued of him, & also profitable vnto mē as the Olyue tre, vine tree, & fig tree in this Apology testify of thē selues. Holy men wyl not be promoted aboue other men.

But

Oblation.

But how answered the Olive tree, that his fruit is much made of, not onely of men, but also of God? That is therefore so said, because God in his tabernacle would haue lightes burning, which wer maintained with the purest oyle. Furthermore, Minacha, whither it wer of meale, or of graynes, of fruite, or of fine cakes, it was cõmaũded to be ouersprinkled with oyle. Moreouer, Priests, Prophets & Kinges, wer annoynted with oyle. Also with oyle wer made many plasters, salues, cered clothes, and diuers and manifold medicines. And in many other countries, for want of aboundaunce of butter, meates are seasoned wyth oyle. And in the Psalme. 104. it is said, that it is good to beautify the face. Wherfore it is not absurdlye sayde, that both God and man make much of this liquor. But in that it is said, that wyne maketh God mery, it ought not so to be vnderstand, as though God either drinketh, or hath neede of wyne, to make him mery: but because in sacrifices pourynges out of wine were had. And as the Rabbines declare: the Leuites in the oblation of sacrifices, did then begin to sing with the voice, trumpets, and harpes, when the wyne was poured out.

Of wyne and dronkennes.

A division of that which shal be intreated of.

But because very manye vntemperate men, being reproued for dronkennes, are wont by this sentence to excuse their sinne, which otherwise is most filthy, saying that they abuse not wyne, forasmuche as they vse it to that ende, for which it was inuented, and created of God, namelye that men wyth it shoulde make them selues mery: therefore I thought it good to refell their wantonnes. Wherfore first I wil declare the iust vse of wyne. Afterward I wyll shewe the abuse thereof, teaching it to be against the law of God. Then wil I bring examples, manifestly to open that the abuse of it is a thing as wel damnable as filthy and detestable. Moreouer I will rehearse the horrible effectes of this euyll. And lastly I wil answer to those cauillations and sophistical argumentes, by which the Epicures defend dronkennes, and the abuse of wyne.

Healthful and honest vses of wyne.

1. As touching the first I deny not, but that wine hath excellent properties. For it quencheth thirst, which might also be done with water, but not so commodiously: because wine in quenching of thirst, maketh a man strong, and engendreth spirites, whereby nature is very much recreated. Further, it is medicinable for colde and weakenes both of the stomake, and also of the other powers, whiche serue for the life of man. Wherfore Paul writeth vnto Timothe to vse wine for
2. the stomacke, and often diseases thereof. It is sometimes also not vnprofitably occupied outwardly for woundes. Wherefore in the. x. of Luke it is written, that the Samaritane bound the woundes of him whom he found halfe dead, and pou-
3. red wine and oyle in them. Moreouer wyne maketh mery, and helpeth not a lytle to driue away sadnes and heauynes of the minde. And therfore Salomon writeth in his Prouerbes the. 31. chap. Geue strong drinke to them which ar heauy, & wyne to them that haue griefe of hart. Let them drinke and forget their pouerty, and no more remember their sorrow. And we rede in the. 104. Psalme, wine reioyceth the hart of man.

The wonderful liberality of God towardes men.

For so great was the goodnes of God towardes men, that he would geue vnto them not onely thinges necessary to lyue by, but also largely bestow on them delicates: because properly and by himselfe he delighteth not in the penifulnes, sadnes, and heauines of men, but desireth to haue them liue holilye, and godlyly, with an honest and holy mirth of hart. Wherfore he hath graunted vnto thē, not onely the vse of wine, but also oyle, and most pleasant odours, also flesh, and likewise diuers and manifold kindes of meate. Undoubtedly the vse of wyne is sometimes profitable vnto those, which ar recouered of their diseases, & must be restored to their old health, and as a certaine Philosopher sayth, a heuines & certaine bitternes of old men are by it likewise mitigated and lenified, as hoppes, which otherwise are most bitter, become swete, being liped in water. But we

must

must take heede that we keepe a measure, otherwise the gladnes which by wine is sought, is easely turned into most great beastines. For the intemperance of wine doth easely lose his utility. Yea if men come to dronkennes, then is the use of wine a very heauy thing, and ful of daunger. Wherfore it is necessarye to put a difference betwene the vse and abuse therof.

We must keepe a measure in drinking of wyne.

Moreouer, this is to be added, that to haue to much drinke, or to be droonke, may be taken two wayes, either properly, or Methaphorically. This difference Marcilius Ficinus plainly teacheth in the argumēt of his Dialogue de Iusto, and maketh one kinde of dronkēnes aboue the Moone, or celestial, stirred vp by drinking of heauenly drinke, wherby the minde being set without it selfe, and aboue it selfe, forgetteth al mortal diseases, and onelye considereth thinges diuine, by the brightnes wherof, first it wareth dimme, but after that it somewhat tasteth the sauour of them, it is by a new heate chaunged from his first habite or quality, whereby wythin a while it clearely beholdeth spiritual thinges, and whilest it healthfully tasteth them, it is with great fruit nourished. Wherfore it is written in the Psalme: we shal be made drōken of the plentifulnes of thy house. Yea and Museus an auncient Poet saith, that the reward of vertue, is perpetual dronkennes. And Orpheus before Museus said, that the same was signified by the ceremonies and holy seruises of Dionisius. The other kinde of dronkēnes he sayth is vnder the Moone, and worldlye, which is stirred vp of drinke called Letheus, that is, carnal drinke, whereby the minde being set without it selfe, and vnder it selfe, it forgetteth things diuine, and doteth. Neither is it to be doubted, but that this kinde of dronkennes is vtterly to be auoided. Of the first kinde of dronkennes, which is Methaphorical, there is plaine mencion made in the Prouerbs of Salomon, where wysedome stirreth vp men to drinke wine, whiche she hath set forth on her table, plentifully and aboundantly. Yea and Christ also our Sauiour, which is the true wisdome, promiseth vs such a wyne in the kingdome of heauen. By Translation also is described the wyne of compunction and sorye, which God wyl geue the vngodly to drinke, wherby they shal become mad, and according to their desertes be turned into furiousnes.

A distinction of dronkenues.
Marsilius Ficinus.
Museus.
Orpheus.

But leauing these Methaphores, let vs returne vnto dronkennes properly taken, wherof we now intreate, & let vs declare by testimonies of the holye scriptures, that suche abuse of wyne is prohibited and forbidden. To the Ephesians Paul saith: Be ye not made dronke with wine, wherin is wantōnes. But be ye filled with the spirite, speaking to your selues by Psalmes, Hymnes, & spiritual songes. Upon which place Ierome saith: we cānot at one time be filled wt wine and the holy ghost. For the Apostle putteth these thinges as contraries, euen as we cannot serue two maisters. He that is filled with the spirit, hath wysedome, meekenes, chastnes, and chastity: and he which is filled with wyne, hath folishnes, furiousnes, malepertnes, and filthy lustes. They which are not filled with wine, can easely sing Psalmes, Hymnes, and spiritual songes: which thing they cannot do, which haue gorged themselues with wyne. The same Paul also forbiddeth vs to care for the flesh, for the lustes therof. And Christ by expresse wordes saith vnto his Disciples: Take heede your hartes be not ouercom with surfeting and dronkennes, and in the old testament in the Prouerbs the. 31. chap. it is written: Geue not wine vnto kinges. And in the. 23. chap. Looke not vpon the wine when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, and goeth downe pleasantly. And in the. 2. chap of Ecclesiastes, Salomon saith, I he thought to geue my hart to wine and pleasant thinges, and at the length he founde that this study and purpose was mere vanity. Laughter (saith he) I thought to be error: and I said vnto ioy, why deest thou in vaine? Declare. This mirth of wyne and pleasant thinges, ought not to be often vsed of holye men, for as much as Christ hath taught that they ar blessed which mourne: they (saith he in Mathew) shal receaue consolation. But in Luke the. 7. chapter it is added, that they shall

Dronkennes condemned by the holye scriptures.
Ierome.

laugh

laugh. And it is the surest way, that we presently want some ioy, to laugh perpetually. In the. v. of Esay it is written, wo vnto you which rise vp earely to follow dronkennes, and to drinke euen til night, to be inflamed with wyne: and the harpe, and viole, timbrel and pipe, and wine are in your feastes. &c. And againe in the same chap. wo vnto you that are mighty to drinke wine, and are stronge men to mingle dronkennes. Ioel also in the first chapter writeth: Awake ye vp which are dronken with wine. And this is not to be passed ouer, that in Leuiticus, Aaron and his sonnes are cõmaunded not to drinke wine, before they come to sacrifice before the Lord. And Paul twise commaundeth that the Ministers of the Church should not be geuen to much wine. And when he counselled his Timothe to vse wyne for the stomake and diseases, he addeth that it should be but a litle, least he should fall to the bridle to dronkennes. In the olde law also the vse of wyne was forbidden the Nazarites: and the Rechabites are in Ieremy commended, because at their fathers commaundement they abstained from wyne: at which time yet they knew that these thinges were written, which nowe in the history we haue in hand, as cõcerning wine, namely that with it both God and men ar made mery, and that also which is written in the. 104. Psalme, that wine maketh mery the hartes of men. Wherfore let vs gather that these are not contrary, to vse wine temperatly and moderatly, and that it was geuen of God, to make vs mery in a due time, and in a right vse.

There are certaine tymes wherin myrthe is not cõuenēt.

Neither ought we to be ignorannt of this, that some suche tymes chaunce, wherein it is not meete for Christian & godly men to geue them selues to mirth: sometimes we must mourne for the synnes which we haue committed. And sometimes we are troubled with very grieuous miseries: and when we are vnder the hand of the rod of God, we must pray more vehemently, wherunto fastings and chastning of the body much helpeth: which thing Paul declareth in his first Epistle vnto the Corinthians, when he saith, that it is lawful sometimes for the husband and wife to depart one from an other for a season, but yet with the mutual consent of them both, that they may geue themselues to fastings and prayers: although we must not for such abstinence appoint any certain dayes of the yere, but leaue the time to the prudence of the spirite. Howbeit this reason maketh much against those, which contend that we must continually drinke, that at no time we may want mirth. Yea and the same Apostle sayd of him selfe: I chasten my body, and bring it in to bondage. By which saying he admonished the Corinthians by his example to bridle the lustes. Ther might be manye more examples rehearsed out of the holy scriptures, manifestly to declare, that both dronkennes, and also to much vse of wyne are prohibited. But these shal be sufficient at this time. And this onely wyl I adde, that euen the verye Ethnikes knewe this thing also. Plato in his. 7. booke de Legibus, toward the ende writeth, that Minos by his lawes prohibited the Cretenses, that they shoulde not drinke together to dronkennes. And Seneca saith in his. 84. Epistle: Dronkēnes is nothing els then a voluntary madnes. And straight waye after: The quality of dronkennes continuing many dales, is furiousnes. Moreouer, they which striue with cuppes, although they ouercome other in taking much wine, yet will they or nyl they, they are ouercome of the tonnes. And it is filthy for a man to take in more then he is able to receaue, and not to knowe the measure of his stomake.

Plato.

Testimonies of the Ethnikes.

Seneca.

Hitherto we haue sufficiently declared, that the abuse of wine is both against the holy scriptures, and also humane reason: Now let vs proue the same by examples: that they which will not beleue by the sentences before alledged, maye yet at the least be taught by the examples. Moses a great man, iust, and loued of God, who gaue vs constitutions of the bridle (for he lined both before and after the flood) is set forth vnto vs, as an example vtterly to auoid dronkennes, when as he hauing dronke more wyne then was meete, laye in the tabernacle most filthely naked, and his priuy partes, which wer wont to be couered, he left

The dronkennes of Noah.

bare

bare and vncouered: and he which was woont to bee a schoolemaster of vertues, was a great offence vnto his children. Cham mocked him: the other two sonnes of a better and holier nature, were sory, and very much ashamed of their fathers filthines. By this act it is sufficiently declared, that shame, derision, and offence follow dronkennes.

But of this synne wee haue a notable example in Lot, who vndoubtedlye dranke not immoderately, to the end he would abuse his daughters, and to commit incest, but to put away cares and griefes which hee had taken, for the ouerthrow of the .v. Cities, for the losse of his deare wyfe, and also of his substaunce. Hee would also comforte his Daughters, that they shoulde not take to much thought, specially for the losse of their mother: although he ought to haue inuented other wayes of comforting. But this I speake onely, least any man shoulde thinke that he did with his will drinke to much, to pollute him selfe with most filthy lustes: yet for all that, to much aboundaunce of drinke was the cause of his most vyle incest, being otherwyse an olde man, and in a synne farre oute of purpose, for asmuche as the iudgementes of God were declared agaynste the filthy lustes of the fyue Cities. And which is wonderfull, wyne so alienated Lot from hym selfe, that he vnderstoode not with what women hee had companyed. Wherfore rightly sayth Seneca in his .84. Epistle before alleged: They whych are dronke doe many thinges, which afterward when they are sober, they are ashamed of. Lot sought to make hym selfe merry by wine, and he incurred perpetuall heauynes. Let them therefore which seeke to be made merry with ouermuche wyne, remember that they put them selues in to a moste present daunger, and by that meanes may easely throw their selues headlong into most greuous wyrkednes.

The dronkennes of Lot.

Seneca.

Neither is it to be allowed which some alledge for an excuse, that such euents are vncertaine, so that a man cannot tel for certain, whether he which drinketh to much shal fal into thefe filthy thinges or no: bicause the thing is so lately knowen, that euen the daughters of Lot being yet virgins, vnderstoode it, namelye that the olde man by wyne, might be drawen to filthye lust, and so be deceaued, that also he had to doo euen with his daughters. Who will therfore say that he knoweth not that which they vnderstoode? Lot was deceaued and snared by his daughters, but such as loue to much intemperate drinkes, drinken them, snare themselues, & openly fight against them selues. Neither thinke they with themselues that God with most grieuous punishmentes, taketh vengeaunce of dronkennes, and suffereth the abuse of his gift most precious, long vnpunished. These bibbers are wont sometimes to bring forth Lot as a patrone of their intemperance, neither doo they mistake, that the holy scriptures doe set forth the history of him as an horrible, and in a manner tragical example. God did not meerely punish that mans dronkennes: for he had to doo with his daughters, they conceaued by him, and the thing could not be dissembled: incestious children were borne, Ammon and Moab, of whom came the Nations of the Ammonites and Moabites, which were both hated of God, and enemyes vnto the Israelites. Lot him selfe (as it is to be thought) was allwayes sory for the sinne which he had committed, and was taken as of euerye man, and I graunt that the testimony of the holy scriptures is certaine, and shall remayne vnto the ende of the worldeas before as they were red, so often is noted and spreade abrode with infamy. Also be that God spared not a man, otherwise holy, the Neuew of Abraham, and harborer of Aungels: what will hee doo to those glottons and hogges, which hauing no vertue, day and night, either lye of syt drinking? That which we reade happened onto Lot, these men euerye daye exercise.

God punisheth dronkēnes with most grieuous punishmentes. Why the holye scriptures set forth the history of Lot.

But that which our drunkards alledge of Lot, the Romanes in the old time alledged of Cato, excusing their dronkēnes, bicause that most graue mā sometymes

Dronkēnes obiected to Cato.

in the night recreated his minde, not vndoubtedlye in bolling and bibbing immoderatly, but in sipping and drinking a little, adding therwithall muche honest talke. Neither considered they, that that good man was sober al the whole day, laboured muche in determining and iudging of causes, in consulting with other Senatours concerning the publike wealth, in hauing to do with the people, in executing the office of a Magistrate, in reading and writing. These should haue imitated these good and honest studies.

But let vs go on in rehearsing examples. Amnon Dauids sonne was slayne of Absalon, not assuredly when he was sober, but when in the banket hee was more merry then was meete, by drinking of to much wyne. And as it is declared in the latter end of the. 1. boke of Machab. Simon the high priest was with his. 2. sonnes Mattathias & Iudas slayne of his sonne in law, when in the feast they wer in a maner dronken with ouermuch wine. And the history of Iudith (although it be not found in the Canon of the Iewes) sheweth that Holofernus, otherwyse a most fierce Captain of an host, was so ouerwhelmed with wine, that vñ final a doo he was beheaded of a woman. I might adde how Sisera being dronken, was slaine of Iahel, although his drinke was milke, and not wine.

And if that we wyl besides these reade ouer the histories of the Ethnikes, we shal finde many and notable examples of those, which wer most grieuously hurt by dronkennes. Alexander of Macedonia, the Conqueror of the world, was most filthely ouercome with wine, and being dronke, slew Clitus his friend, most valiant and faithful, whose diligence, industry, labour, prudence, and strength, he had in warres long time vsed, to his great commodity. Wherfore when he had slept after his wine, and being awaked, and remembring the wicked act that he had committed, he was so ashamed and sory, that he wished himselfe dead. But yet he amended not the vice of dronkennes: yea once afterwards hee dronke so much wine in one night, that he fel into a feuer, and for that he would not temper himselfe from wine, within a while after he died. Wherefore Seneca in his 84. Epistle already alledged, writeth that Alexander, which had escaped so many daungers, and vanquished thinges most difficile, by intemperannce of drinking, and by that herculane and fatall cup, perished. M. Antonius, otherwyse a stout and valiant Emperour, a vanquisher in many battailes, so laded himself sometimes with wine, that euen in the Tribunall seate in the morning, before the people of Rome, whilest he was sitting to geue iudgement, he was compelled to vomite. And in Egipt he vsed much drinking, wherby he could do nothing noble, but was by Octauian driuen most filthyly to flight. What the Poetes write of the feaste of the Lapithanes and Centaures, it is better knowen, then I shall neede now to recite. And I thinke I haue now brought sufficient examples: which being diligently considered, serue muche to the detestation of dronkennesse.

Alexander of Macedonia.

M. Antonius.

The feast of the Lapithanes & Centaures.

But they which are not feared from the filthynes thereof by the woords of God, which we haue first set, and doo not abhorre it, being perswaded by the examples now alledged: shall peraduenture be wonne, and led from it, by considering of those euyls, which spring of the abuse of wyne. It is expedient that the tree be knowen by his fruites. And vndoubtedly suche a thing is dronkennesse to be counted, as the fruites are knowen, which spring of it. But that we may speake orderlye, wee wyll deuide the euyls thereof by their subiectes: for it hurteth the body, hereth also the mynde, wasteth the goods, and is hatefull to our neighbours.

The effectes of dronkennes.

The hurtes & damages comming of dronkennes.

As touching the body, by dronkennes come oftentimes sodaine deathes, dissolutions of the members, the disease called Apoplexia, and sundry and miserable chaunces. For the smoothe and plaine ground is vnto dronkardes a denne: for they fal, by reason of their legges, their armes, and sometimes their neckes: and are burnt when they fall into the fyre. The liuer is inflamed with to much drynke,

Apoplexia is, when mans senses are taken away.

the head is pained, the members are made weake and tremble, the senses ar corrupted, the natural heate is ouerwhelmed with ouermuche wyne, the stomake which is ouer largely distended, is sicke with crudity or rawnes, and with intolerable paines: the whole body is in a maner inflamed, and the thirst is augmented. Dronkardes lye groueling like blockes, and so are berined of their strength, that neither head nor foote can do their office. Wherfore it is written in the. 23. chap. of the Prouerbs: To whom is woe? to whom is sorrowe? to whom is strife? to whom is sighing? and to whom are woundes without cause? Or to whom is the rednes of the eyes? Euen to them that tary long at the wine, and to thē that go and seeke largely to poure in wine. Looke not vpon the wine when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, and goeth downe pleasantly: in the ende thereof it wil bite like a Serpent, and put out his sting lyke a Cockatrice. Thine eyes shal looke vpon straunge thinges, and thine hart shall speake leude thinges. And thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the middest of the sea, and as he which sleepeth in the top of the mast of a shyp. They haue striken me, and it payned me not, they haue buzsed me, and I felt it not. When I awake, I wyll seeke it againe. &c. And behold with how many punishments God afflicteth dronkardes. Esay in his. v. chapter, agreeth with Salomon: For he also saith, woe vnto those which are mighty and strong to drinke wine. And in the same v. chap. hee saith that dronkardes regarde not the worke of the Lorde, neither consider the worke of his handes. Moreouer, to suche men is woe: because (as Ierome vpon that place writeth) they are most vnhappye, who being from morning to night occupied in dronkēnes, glotony, and sundry pleasures, they vnderstande not the workes of the Lord in them: and not considering wherfore they were created, sleepe out in a maner their whole life. Wherfore Ioel cryed out vnto them: awake ye dronkards, weepe and howle all ye that drinke wine. But dronkardes are not by these cryes stirred vp, for they do not onely sleepe, but seme to be in a maner buryed. Wherefore Vergil aptly saith of a Citye, that it was buryed wyth sleepe and wyne.

Esay. 5.

Ierome.

Ioel. 1.

Virgil.

How much the mynde is hurte with wyne.

But now let vs see how much the soule or mynde is hurt with dronkennes. Dronkardes are oftentimes striken with the spirite of amasednes, and are turned in a maner into furiousnes: they become like brute beastes, so that there seemeth to remaine in them no vnderstanding. It is a grieuous thing wythout doubt for a man to wounde himselfe, or to depryue himselfe of any member, but of his owne free wyll to take away his minde from himselfe, it is an euyll intolerable. In Hosea the. 4. chap. it is worthely written, that wyne and dronkennes take away the hart. And in the. xix. of Ecclesiasticus it is written: wyne and women make wise men to apostatate, that is, to depart from right institutions, so that they are no more their owne men: for they are withdrawen from their office and vertue, & also fal from the right trade of life. And in the same booke the. 31. chap. it is written, wine dronken with excesse, engendreth bitternes of mind with braulinges and skoldinges. Dronkennes encreaseth the courage of a foole yf he offend: but it diminisheth his strength. In these woords ther is an elegant Antitheses, namely that wine increaseth the courage & spirits, & causeth greater audacitye, but it diminisheth and weakeneth the strength. Wherefore Plato in his. vi. Dialogus de Iusto, at the beginning: A dronkard (saith he) hath a tirrannical hart, for he would rule all men as he lust, and not by any reason or lawe. Dronkennes also bringeth oblision of lawes and vsages. Wherefore Salomon saith in his Prouerbes, that wine must not be geuen vnto kinges, least peraduenture they drinke, & forget the law ordained, & change the iudgement of al ỹ children of the poore. Plato also writeth in his. 3. booke de Repub. ỹ dronkēnes may be suffred in any mā, rather then in a Magistrate. For a dronkē man knoweth not the ground wheron he is. And if a Magistrate be dronk, thē hath ỹ keper nede of a keper. This is moreouer to be added, ỹ ther is nothing kept secret wher dronkennes

Plato.

Plato.

kēnes raigneth. Wicause it openeth not onely the secrete partes of the body, but also of the minde. And in drinking ar poured out woordes vnshamefast, foolish, vnapt, and wycked. Wherefore Horace describing the effectes of dronkennes, sayth: What is it that dronkennes committeth not? It discloseth thinges secrete, it establisheth hope, and thrusteth foorth the vnarmed man into the battaile. It taketh away the burthen from careful mindes, it teacheth artes. Who haue not full cups made eloquent? and whom being in extreme powertye, haue they not made careles? And Plato in his first booke de Legibus, toward the ende saith thus: When a man drinketh wine, at the first it maketh him therefull yet: afterward the more he drinketh, the greater and better hope he is in, and feeleth him selfe stronger. Then, as though he were wyse, the man is fylled wyth that confidence, liberty and audacity, that without feare he both saith & doth whatsoeuer pleaseth him. The same Plato in his. vi. Dialogue de Legibus, sayth: He which is fylled wyth wine, is stirred vp with a woodnes, both of mynde and body, and both drayweth, and is drawen euery where. And a dronkard is as a man out of hys wyt.

Horace.

Plato.

Seneca in his third booke of Natural questions, the. 20. chap. saith, that dronkennes tyl it be dryed vp, is madnes, and with ouermuch beauines is brought on sleepe. And in his. 60. Epistle to Lucillus toward the end: One houres dronkennes recompenseth his long madnes, with the wearynes of a long time. And in the. 84. Epistle: Dronkennes drayweth out al vice, and kindleth it, and detecteth it. It putteth away all shamefastnes, whose nature is to resist euyll endeuours. Where to much powre of wyne possesseth the minde, whatsoeuer euyll lay hidden, bursteth foorth. Dronkennes maketh not vices, but bringeth them to light. In dronkennes, he that is proude, his pride encreaseth, cruelty in the cruel man, malice in the enuious man, & all vices ar detected & brought to light. By it a man forgetteth himselfe, speaketh doubtful and stammering woordes, it causeth vnconstant eyes, a reeling pace, dislines in the bed, and the house to seme to go round about, tormentes in the stomake, when the wyne boyleth, & it distempereth euen the bowels. Cruelty for the most part followeth dronkennes, for M. Antonius, wonderfully reioyced at the heades and members of the banished men, that were brought him at a feast. Also in the. 20. chap. of the Proverbes it is written: Wine maketh a mocker, and strong drinke a troublesome fellow. Whosoeuer erreth in it, shal neuer be wyse. But because there are some which boast that they can drinke a great deale of wine and be stil sober, & of a sound iudgement, I desire them to harken vnto Seneca in the Epistle now alledged, who sayth: Let such men also say that by drinking of poyson they shal not dye, and by eating of poppy they shal not sleepe, and by drinking of Ellebore they shal not cast foorth and purge whatsoeuer is in the inward partes.

Barefoote.

The discommodities of wine when it is excessiuely dronken, which we haue hitherto rehearsed, pertaine both vnto the bodye and vnto the mynde. But now must we adde, how it bringeth hurt vnto our substance & goods. In the Proverbes the. 21. chap. it is written: He which loueth wine and fat thinges, shal not be riche. And in the same booke the. 23. chap. it is thus written: Keepe not company with wine bibbers, and those that deuour flesh. For the bybber and the glotton shall be brought vnto powertye, and he which geueth himselfe to much sleeping, shal be clothed wyth torne garmentes.

Dronkennes wasteth the goods

And here note the discommodious dronkardes ar vnto their neighbours, it is easye to see. They ar iniurious, and rayle vpon those whom they meete. And being out of their wyt, they fal into fyt by iustes, and so easelye polute other mens houses, and wiues. And by horrible meanes they rage against the fameles of their neyghbours. They geue euyll example, yea and offence vnto other Citizens. And by these & the lyke they spend and consume their substance vpon wyne, & dronkennes, they hauing no regarde to prouyde thinges necessary for their own house-

Dronkards discommodious to their neighbors

yea, whilest they are in their dronken fury, they handle their innocent wife and children enilly, and defraude the poore of their almes, whiche if they lyued more sparingly, they might be able to bestow vpon them. They make them selues vnprofitable for the publike wealth, when as dronkardes can neither execute the office of a Magistrate them selues, nor yet wel ar they able to obey those that gouerne. They trouble also and infame the Church, wherefore they are seperated from it. For Paul in the.1. to the Corrin. the.5. chap. nombreth dronkardes with those, with whom we ought not so much as to eate. There is scarce anye euyll which cannot be adioyned vnto the effectes of dronkennes.

But to conclude the matter, first we graunt vnto those (which doo naughtely vsurpe this place which we haue nowe in hand, and lay it for a coulour to defend the vice of dronkennes) that it is lawful to vse wine for necessity, for medicine, and also for mirth, but yet it must be tempered with sobriety, neither maye it excede a meane, yea it must agree with time, place, degree, age, and kinde. After this maner let the saintes reioyce before their God, namely with geuing of thankes, and celebrating diuine prayses. Neither Salomon in the.23. chapter of the Prouerbs, saith woo vnto those which drink wine, but vnto those which in it consume their time, which geue them selues to nothing but to drinking, contending who can drynke moste, prouoking one an other, and compelling others to drinke. These are reprehended, and not those whiche modestlye vse the gyft of God. Let men so make them selues mery with wine, that afterward they maye be more therefull to obey God, and to suffer heauy thinges, if neede bee. And let men beware they forget not them selues, that they ouerwhelme not their senses, and choke vp their strength. Neither is the holy scripture vngodlye and violently to be drawen vnto the licence of the flesh. Yea we ought so to bee readye that we may obey the Apostle, who sayd: It is good not to eate flesh, and not to drinke wine, if it should turne to the offending of the weake brethren. Let vs also remember that the kingdome of God is not meates and drinke, neither ar they commended of God, which can drinke more wyne, then the rest. The woorde of God is no defence for dronkennes, yea it detesteth it. We wil pleade therfore against these, with the doctrine of Ecclesiasticus, the.31. chap. where it is said: shew not thy selfe a man in wine, that is, shew not thy strength in drinking. For ther are some which try how strong and mighty they are in this intemperaunce, and also with ouermuch drinking of wine, do oppresse al the powers, both of the body and of the minde. The wise man goeth forward and sayth: for wine hath destroyed many. As the fornace proueth the hardnes of the swoorde in the tempering: so doth wine the hartes of the proude when they are dronke. Wine moderately dronken, is profitable for the life of man. What is his lyfe that is ouercome with wine? But it was created to make men mery: Wyne measurablye dronken, and in time, bringeth gladnes and cherefulnes of the minde. &c. These thinges may easely teache and answer those men, which vnder the pretence to make them mery, labour to defend and maintaine dronkennes.

An answer to those which defend ouermuch drinkyng.

Let them consider with them selues, that the gyftes of God shoulde neuer be seperated from the rule of modesty and temperaunce. Let them not forget that the Apostle in the Epistle to the Galathians, reckoned dronkennes among the woorkes of the flesh. He also admonished the Romanes that they shoulde not be conuersaunt in Chambers, in eatynges and dronkennes. And to the Thessalonians he sheweth the filthinesse of thys vyce, when he sayth it pertayneth vnto the nyght. They which are dronke (sayth he) are dronke in the night: as though he would affirme it to be a thing vnwoorthy, to be seene by the light of the day. But as concernyng this thing, these are sufficient: Let vs now returne vnto the history. We haue alredy said what the Olyue and vine trees answered vnto the trees which woulde haue promoted them to a kingdome, and wee haue manyfestlye shewed how the Olyue and Vine trees serue, both for God, and for men.

Of the fig tree there is no queſtion: for he maketh no mencion of God, but onely ſaith, that he wyl not forſake hys ſweetenes.

22 And Abimelech raigned .3. yeares ouer Iſrael.
23 And God ſent an euyll ſpirite betwene Abimelech and the men of Sechem: and the men of Sechem brake their promyſe to Abimelech.
24 That the iniury of the .70. ſones of Ierubbaal, and their bloud might come and be layde vpon Abimeleche their brother, whyche had ſlayne them: and vpon the men of Sechem, whyche had ayded hym to kyll hys brethren.
25 So the men of Sechem ſet men in wayte for him in the toppes of the mountaynes: who robbed all that paſſed that waye. And it was tolde Abimelech.

Tirannye is of no long time.

Abimelech exerciſed his tiranny three yeares, and no longer: for violence cā not be either perpetual, or of any long time. He iudged not the Iſraelites in ſetting them at liberty, neither did he them any good, but onely raygned. God at the length tooke vengeaunce, and made the bloode of the ſonnes of Ierubbaal to redound vpon Abimelech and the Sechemites.

And he ſent an euyl ſpirite betwene them, to reuenge the murther, which not onely Abimelech, but alſo the Sechemites committed. Abimelech was annointed king onely by the Sechemites, but (as the hiſtory here declareth) he vſurped his tiranny ouer all the Iſraelites.

God required the bloud of the ſonnes of Ierubbaal at the handes of Abimelech and of the Sechemites. Vnles men do with iuſt punithmentes punith murthers, God by himſelfe puniſheth them.

Of Murther.

BVt to make the thing more plaine, two thinges ſeeme to be intreated of. Firſt, what maner of murther is condemned by the word of God, & ought by the Magiſtrates to be puniſhed. Secondly, who are guilty of thys crime.

As touching the firſt, we muſt know, that not euerye murther is condemned. For if one kil a man by chaunce, in exerciſing a thing honeſt and lawful, he incurreth not the puniſhment of Homicides. Wherfore in the old law there were graunted Cities of refuge. For in verye deede he kylleth not: but as it is there written, God (wythout whoſe wyll nothing is done by chaunce) deliuered him to be killed. A Iudge alſo or Magiſtrate, when he puniſheth flagicious men, is not therefore a murtherer, bicauſe it is not he that killeth, but the law, yea rather God himſelfe, who hath wylled, and alſo commaunded that it ſhould ſo be done. Farthermore, he which is ſet vpon by theeues or enemyes in a ſolitarye place, or where he can not be holpen by other: if in defending him ſelfe, and according to the lawes, repelling violence by violence, hee ſlay a robber or theefe which inuadeth him, he is not guilty of murther: for as muche as in that caſe he is armed both by the lawes and by the Magiſtrate. For the publike wealth wyl not that a Citizen ſhould ſo periſhe: therefore it geueth hym leaue to defende him ſelfe by weapons. By thys meanes Cicero defended Milo, bycauſe hee had ſlayne Clodius, who firſt ſet vpon him by ſnares. Alſo the woman Thecoites obtayned of Dauid, that the Magiſtrate ſhoulde not kyll her ſonne, who had ſlaine hys brother, falling out in the fielde. They were alone ſayth ſhe, and therefore it is not knowen whyche of them inuaded one the other firſt. Souldiours alſo, when iuſt warre they ſlay their enemies, commit nothing vniuſtly.

Cicero.

Wher

Wherfore that murther, which is to be punished, & cõdẽned by ꝯ lawes, is the iudged to be cõmitted, when of purpose a mã is killed of priuate men. And they which were to be cõdẽned of this crime, were not by ꝯ Romanes called homicides, but sicarii. In ꝯ law Cornelia, the title is de Sicariis & not de Homicidis. And they are so called, whiche do weare about them Sica, that is a shorte shayne for to kil a man, and by the figure *Synechoche*, by the worde sica is vnderstand all kindes of weapons. And not onely they whiche kill are guilty of this crime, but also they whiche either in dede or counsell doo helpe, and in theyr sayings and aydes haue respect vnto this, how to kill a man. Yea the will is to be punished, although it haue not succeeded: which thing in the ciuile iudgement is not vsed, but onely in three kinde of crimes, namely of manqueller, called Sicarii, of rauishers, and of traitors. Wherfore that manqueller is to be punished, which throweth a weapon at any man, to the end he would kil hym, or hauing that mynde, woundeth him, although he dye not therof, as it is had in the digest in the same title in the law *Diuus*, where Adrian ꝯ Emperor answereth ꝯ we must haue a respect vnto the will, and not to the euente. And that is to be vnderstand, when the will manifesteth it selfe by any token. But I did not without cause say that all these thinges are thus, as touching ciuill iudgement: bycause otherwise before God the desire and decree of the minde, as touching all kinde of sinnes, are cõdemned for sinne. Christ sayth, he that beholdeth a woman and lusteth after her, hath already committed aduoutry in his heart. And that the will in those crimes is coũted for the facte, euen the holy fathers and Canons do decree. Ierome vpon Esay (as it is in the title de Pœnitentia, distinction the first, chap. Omnis) writteth: Thou hast not killed with the sworde, but thou hast killed with the will. Yea and Ciprianus in his Sermon de Mortalitate writeth, ꝯ he which desireth martirdome, is a martyr before God. It is one thing (sayth he) for the will to want martirdome, & an other thing for martyrdome to want the wil. These thinges are had in the same destinction, chap. Nunquid. And in the same destinction, chap. Periculose, Augustine is brought in, who sayth, ꝯ the Iewes did no lesse kyll Christ then the Romanes, although with their handes they inuaded him not. By this destinction he conciliateth the Euangelistes, who seme to disagree as touching the houre of the death of the Lord. One of them sayth, he was crucified the third houre, & the other, the first houre. Augustine affirmeth both to be true: For the Iewes at the third houre cried Crucify, Crucify: wherfore as touching them, they slew ꝯ Lord then, who yet was afterward at the first houre crucified by ꝯ souldiers of Pilate.

Sicarii.

The will is to be punished in this kynde of euill.

Ierome.

Ciprian.

Augustine.

Augustine.

But Abimelech and the Sechemites were murtherers and particides, not onely in wil, but in helpe, worke, and deede, and therfore it is no meruaile if God so seuerely punished them.

Furthermore we must cõsider, how meruelously and wonderfully God vseth the vngodly. By them (as we here see) he taketh vengeaunce of other vngodly, and sometymes by their labour, he both exerciseth and correcteth the iust. What more? They are his hangmen, whom also when he hath vsed, he destroyeth also at the last, either here, or after they be departed out of this life.

He sent an euill spirite betwene them. For they were stirred vp one agaynst an other. The Sechemites (as it is to be thought) against Abimelech, bicause he both oppressed and contemned them. And agayne Abimelech agaynst them, bycause (as the hystory declareth) they displyed him. And it is well knowen that by contempt is prouoked anger: for it is called an action, whiche perteyneth to estimation & opinion, bycause some thing semeth to vs not worthy of estimation, when peraduenture it is not so. Moreouer despising consisteth chiefly in three thinges: for either we contẽne onely in mind, when we despise any men & their goods, or when we do the any discõmodity, not thereby to seeke our own gayne, but onely to reioyse at theyr discommodity: or lastly when we adde wordes or deedes: whiche haue ignominy or contumely ioyned with them. These three things may

What contẽpt is.

Contempt consisteth in three thynges.

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we eaſely ſee in the Sechemites. Firſt, they deſpiſed Abimelech, when they receaued Gaalus a ſouldier as a captayne, hauing Zebul appointed theyr gouerner by the kyng. And vndoubtedly they ſo receaued Gaal, ỹ they did put their confidẽce in him. Wherfore it followeth that in mynde and eſtimation they deſpiſed Abimelech. Farthermore they damnaged him, when by conſpiracyes they ſpoyled and ſlewe thoſe that paſſed to and fro. Theſe, whom they iniuried, pertayned vnto Abimelech, or at the leaſt way, for that that he was kyng. Laſtly they added reprochefull wordes, as we ſhal afterward heare.

Chriſt prohibited anger as the beginning of hatred, murther and deſtructiõ, for he ſayd: He that is angry with his brother, is worthy of iudgement. For anger and reuengemẽt are ſeperate one from the other, onely as the roote & the fruit. For he that is angry with any man, if he hurt him not, that chaunceth, becauſe either he can not, or els feareth the punithmẽt of the lawes. He ỹ hateth hys brother (ſaith Iohn) is a murtherer. But amõg thoſe which are counted very angry, kings aboue other are numbred, when they perceaue ỹ they are deſpiſed of their ſubiectes. Wherfore Homere ſayth: Great is the anger of a kyng diſpleaſed.

Kinges are vehemẽtly angry *Homere.*

The conſpiracies of the vngodly are of no long tyme.

Hereby we learne that the conſpiracies of the vngodly can not continew lõg. They are in deede oftentymes ioyned together to do euill, but yet they are eaſely diſſeuered. The kings of the earth ſtoode vp, and the princes aſſembled together, agaynſt the Lord and againſt his Chriſt. But the Lord whiche dwelleth in heauen, ſhall laughe at them, and the Lord ſhal haue them in deriſion. Theues, robbers, whoremongers, & ſuch as conſpire againſt the Church, publique wealthes, & princes, do oftentimes confederate together: but ſtraightway great enemityes ryſe vp amõgeſt them, and they betray one an other, yea and ſometymes kill one an other. Wherfore wiſely ſayth Ariſtotle, that honeſty is onely the ſure foũdation of amity, becauſe that whiche is honeſty is not chaunged: but pleaſant and profitable thinges, do not alwayes abide the ſame. Princes of our tyme, as often as they haue made league one with an other, haue afterward not only ben made enemyes, but they haue gone to warre one with an other. Wherfore Salomon rightly writeth in ỹ 11. chap. of the *Prouerbes*: Although ỹ vngodly cõſpire, they ſhall not eſcape. Wherfore their fellowſhippes are to be auoyded, and we muſt enterpriſe or go about nothyng, hauing confidence in the amity of the vngodly.

Ariſtotle.

Chow Sinne dependeth of God.

NOw remayneth to examine how it is written that God ſent an euill ſpirite betwene them. But becauſe of that matter, I haue in an other place more more fully entreated, and will ſhortly ſpeake more aboundauntly of it, here I will but briefly teache the thing.

The ſcriptures teſtifie, that ſinnes ſometymes haue a conſideration of punithments: wherfore when it ſayd that god punitheth & taketh vengeance of the vngodly by ſinnes, he doth nothing vnwete of him ſelfe. For he bringeth not forth the deformity and filthynes of ſinne, but is the author of iuſt punithment. For ſinnes are to men euill, but vnto God, who vſeth them, good. God planteth no new malice in the vngodly: but yet he vſeth that malice whiche is in them by reaſon of originall ſinne, and other ſinnes whiche they adioyne vnto it. He ſuffreth it not to burſt forth, but when it ſemeth good vnto him, he gouerneth and directeth it whether ſoeuer it pleaſeth him. As the Phiſition comming vnto the ſicke perſon, doth by medicines drawe corrupt humors out of his body, and bringeth them out either by a purgation, or by a ſweate, or vomite, or letting of blond, as he iudgeth it beſt, yet doth he not graft in the ſicke perſon naughty and corrupt humors: ſo God cauſeth to be brought to light our malice, whiche was not brought forth before, but lay hid within, to make manifeſt his iuſtice, and to ope our ſinnes, and yet he ſuffreth them not to breake forth by chaunce or raſhely,

A ſimilitude.

but

but ordereth and gouerneth them according to his iudgement, that euen by the
he doth fulfill the limites of his prouidence. Wherefore Esay sayth that the kyng
of Babilone was like an axe or staffe in hande of God: for he would force hym a-
gainst the Iewes rather then against other nations. Wherefore ỹ malice of sinne
is wholy ours, but the gouernyng, successe, and effectes therof ar vnder the rule
of God, in that they can accomplish no more then he will suffer. Neither can the
vngodly bring to passe those thinges whiche they go about agaynst euery man,
nor also at all tymes, but they are gouerned according to the determinations of
God, whiche are most holy and iust. Neither is it absurde that one and the selfe
same action, as it is gouerned of God, is both good and holy, but as it commeth
of vs, it is vicious and corrupt.

And because we wil not go from our history, the sinne of cruelty and ambitiō,
was vtterly Abimelechs. But that it should burst forth, and first destroy the fa-
mely of Ierubbaal, and thē the Sechemites: that is to be referred vnto the gouern-
ment of GOD. Farthermore the disobedience and wicked desire of tumultes,
was altogether of the Sechemites. But that it should burst forth, when the fame-
ly of Gideon should be punished: and that they rather chosed Abimelech to they
kyng, then an other: and that their fury should rage agaynst him, rather then a-
gainst any other: ỹ was of the gouernement of God, wherby (as the holy hystory
sheweth) he sent betweene them an euill spirite, namely the deuill, by whose la-
bour, enticinges, and hatreds were on either side kindled, and wōderfully in fla-
mes, by diuers occasions serving thereunto.

Further more we must consider, that God is bound vnto no man, to geue vnto God is free & ge-
him his grace. For, if it should be geuē of debt, then should it not be grace: & yet ueth hys grace
he neuer, either not geueth it, or els beyng geuen, taketh it away, but vpon iust not being bound
cause. For he first created man vpright, and being indewed with it: but yet he by
sinning, spoiled both himself and his of it. And for as much as we are borne vn-
der originall sinne, and the children of wrath, to whom soeuer it is not geuen, it
is iustly not geuen: and to whom soeuer it is geuen, it is freely geuen. Moreouer
we daily heape sinnes vpō sinnes: wherefore god in withdrawing it, is not to be
accused of iniustice. For he compelleth no man to do euill, but euery man wilting-
ly sinneth. Wherefore the cause of sinne is not to be layd in him. For seyng he pre-
uenteth not in vs wicked desires, he ought not to beare the blame, if wicked ac- The cause of
tions doo spring out of a corrupt roote of wicked affections: yea the goodnes of is not to be
God is rather to be accused, who, ỹ is present, and so gouerneth the wic- layd in God.
ked affections, that they can not burst forth, nor be hurtfull and troublesome to
any, but when he hath appointed to chasten some, and to cāll them backe to repē-
tance or to punishe them.

Further ought we to thinke that after the sinne of the first man, God created Whence our
a wicked will, and euill affection, to corrupte all our whole kynde. It was not so frowardnesse
but that nature when it departed from God, fell by it selfe from lyght to darke- springeth.
nes, from the right way to vice, and from integrity to corruptiō. And how good
so euer it was before, it now is degenerated into euill. Wherefore let this be
holden for certain, that sinne entred into the world by men, and not by God, as
Paul testifieth to the Romanes. And in that Christ saith, that the deuill when he Sinne entred
lieth, speaketh of his owne, it is not to be vnderstand onely of himself, but also of into the world
his members, whiche when they lye or do euill, worke not by the worde of God, by man & not
neither are they moued by the inspiration of the good spirite. And they exceding- by God.
ly rewyre, and haue great pleasure in those thinges whiche they do, so farre is it
of, that they should be compelled by any violence.

Moreouer we must note, that when either the Scriptures or fathers doo seme Of permission.
to attribute God to be the cause of sinne, this worde permission is not then so to be
taken, as though he onely suffred men to sinne, and by hys prouidence or go-
uernement wrought nothing as concerning sinnes. In dede he letteth the not,
though he can, but bleth them, and sheweth in them his myght, and not onely

his

Auguſtine. his pacience, whiche thyng Auguſtine vnderſtood right well, and in diſputing agaynſte Iulianus, he confuteth that ſentence, wherin it is ſayd that God ſuffreth ſinne only accordyng vnto pacience, and proueth ỳ his might is alſo therunto to be added by the wordes of Paul, who wrote vnto ỳ Romaynes: If God by much pacience hath ſuffred veſſels of wrath prepared for deſtruction, to ſhewe forth his anger, & to make knowē his might. And vndoubtedly there are many thyngs in the holy ſcriptures, which can not alwayes be diſſolued by the worde of permiſſion or pacience. For the heart of the kyng is ſayd to be in the hād of ỳ Lord, ſo that he inclineth it whether ſoeuer it pleaſeth him. And Job teſtifieth, that it was ſo done as god would. But as touching the ſinne of the firſt man, when yet nature was not viciated and corrupted, we graunt, that the cauſe therof came from the wil of Adam, and ſuggeſtion of the deuil, and we ſay that God permitted it: bycauſe when he might haue withſtanded and letted it, he would not do it: but decreed to vſe that ſinne, to declare his iuſtice and goodnes.

Of the ſinne of the firſt man.

Cwhether we can reſiſte the grace of God, or no.

BVt now ariſeth an other doubt, as touching our nature, as it is now fallen, & corrupt, whether it can reſiſte the grace of God, & his ſpirite beyng preſent, or no: I thinke we muſt cōſider that there are as it were ſundry degrees of the helpe or grace of God: for his might & aboūdance is ſometymes ſo great, that he wholy boweth the will of man, & doth not onely counſel, but alſo perſuade. And when it ſo commeth to paſſe, we can not departe from the right waye, but we are of Gods ſide, and obey his ſentence. Wherfore it was ſayd vnto Paul: It is hard for thee to kycke agaynſt the prycke.

There ar ſundry degrees of grace of God.

There is no violēce or coaction inferred to mans will.

And yet muſt we not thinke that when it is ſo done, there is any violence or coaction brought vnto the will of man: for it is by a pleaſaunt mouyng and conuerſion altered, and that willing, but yet ſo willing, that the will therof cōmeth of God: for it is it, which willeth, but God by a ſtrange and moſt mighty perſuaſion maketh it to will. But ſometymes that power of God and ſpirit is, more remiſſe: which yet (if we wil put therunto our endeuor & apply our will) we ſhould not reſiſte: yea we ſhould obey his admoniſhmentes and inſpirations: and when that we do it not, we are therfore ſayd to reſiſte him, and oftentymes fall. And yet this is not to be vnderſtand as touching the firſt regeneration, but as concerning thoſe whiche are regenerated, whiche are now endewed with grace and ſpirite. For the will of the vngodly is ſo corrupt and bitiate, that except it be renewed, it can not geue place vnto the inſpirations of God, and admoniſhynges of the holy ghoſt: & it in the firſt immutatiō of mās converſion, it onely ſuffreth: and before the renewyng, it continually (as much as in it is) reſiſteth the ſpirite of God. But the firſt parentes whileſt they were perfect, if with ỳ helpe of grace beyng somewhat remiſſe, they had adioyned their endeuor, they might haue perfectly obeyed the commaundementes of God. But we although we be renewed, ſeyng grace is more remiſſe, remittyng nothing of our endeuor, we ſhall not be able conſtantly and perfectly to obey the commaundementes of God, but yet we may be able to containe our ſelues within the boundes or limites of an obedience begon: whiche thyng bycauſe we do not, therfore oftentymes we ſinne, and greuouſly fall.

Why the grace of god worketh not alyke alwayes in vs.

But why God geueth not his grace alwayes to his electe after one ſorte, and one increaſe, but ſometymes he worketh in them more ſtrongly, and ſometymes more remiſſedly, two reaſons may be aſſigned: Firſt, leaſt we ſhould thinke the grace of God to be naturall ſtrengthes, which remayne alwayes after one ſorte. Wherfore god would moſt iuſtly alter the degree & efficacy of his helpe: wherby we myght vnderſtand that it is gouerned by his wil, & not as we liſt. Moreouer it oftentimes happeneth ỳ our negligence & ſlouthfulnes deſerueth this variety.

Laſtly

Lastly let vs conclude the matter, that if we will speake properly, it is not to be sayd that God either willeth or bringeth forth sinne, in that it is sinne: for what soeuer God willeth, & whatsoeuer he doth, it is good. But sinne, in ỳ it is sinne, is euil. Wherfore god neither willeth nor doeth it, in that it is sinne: yea he detesteth, prohibiteth, and punisheth it by his lawes. And if at any tyme it be sayd in the Scriptures, that he either willeth or worketh sinne in men, that must be referred vnto other considerations, whiche I haue declared both in an other place, and also now here. And this is sufficient as touching this question.

And God sent an euil spirit. By an euil spirit I vnderstād either the deuill, or wicked affections, or cruelty stirred vp to reuenge iniuryes, but the end was to take vengeaunce for the bloud of the sonnes of Ierubbaal. What is vnderstād by an euil spirite.

The men of Sechem layd wayte agaynst hym. There may be three causes of their lying in wayte. First, because they would slay him as he passed by. And an other was, because they would not haue his souldiers to go to and fro. The third was, to shake of their yoke, and to declare that they were free. This was as much as to say, as they now nothing passed vpon his kyngly power. The cause of ỳ lying in wayt

It was tolde Abimelech. A short sentence & cut of: wherby yet we vnderstand that Abimelech passed not that way, for feare of fallyng into their snares.

26 Then came Gaal the sonne of Ebed & his brethren, & they went to Sechem: and the men of Sechem put their confidence in him.
27 Therfore they wēt out into the field, & gathered in their grapes, & trodde them, & made merry. And they went into the house of their God, and did eate and drinke, and cursed Abimelech.
28 And Gaal the sonne of Ebed sayd: Who is Abimelech? & who is Sechē, that we shuld serue him? Is he not the sonne of Ierubbaal, and Zebul is his ped officer? Serue rather the men of Hamor the father of Sechem. But why shall we serue hym?
29 And who will geue this people into myne hand, and I wil take awaye Abimelech? And he sayde vnto Abimelech: increase thyne army, and come out.

Here cōmeth an occasion of the euils: one Gaal by chaunce trauailed that way: the Sechemites hired him to be their ruler and captayne: and therefore puttyng their confidence in him, they go out into theyr vineardes, gather the grapes, and treade them, with great security. What this Gaal was, it appeareth not by the Scriptures. R. Salomon thinketh he was an Ethnike. The Sechemites were so afeard of Abimelech, that they durst not gather their grapes: wherfore they hired this man. First, now they go forth into the fielde, whiche thyng before they durst not doo: they make great ioye and mirthe. For in the olde tyme also (as it semeth) they vsed, as they do now a dayes, great wantōnes and liberty in the gathering in of the grapes: of whiche custome sprange the Comedyes and Tragedies, with the Grecians. And when Bacchus returned a conquerer out of India, the people led daunces in honor of him at the wynepresses. Yea and the Chaldey paraphrast maketh mention of daunces in this place. *R. Salomon.* The wāntōnes vsed at the gatheryng in of grapes.

They went into the temple. It was also the manner among the Ethnikes, to geue thankes vnto God of their first fruites. But these men go into the temple of God, and eate, drinke, singe, and curse their kyng: and whom before they had annoynted, hym now they raple vpon, and teare with reproches. And that in the temple, wherin before they had taken counsel for to make Abimelech their ruler. Such are the iudgementes of God. The place might haue admonished them: for out of it they gaue him money: but forgettyng all thynges, they curse him: Although the scripture expressedly declareth not, whether this temple were that selfe same

same, where out they tooke the money in the beginning.

VVho is Abimelech? In the feastes of their wine gathering, they worke theyr kyng, and that be beyng absent, and aboue the rest Gaal, much more greuously scorneth hym. Let vs marke the peruersenes of mans nature: if any sinne be by chaunce committed, it addeth not a iust remedy, but healeth mischiefe with mischiefe, & cureth sinne with sinne. They should haue called vpon the Lord, & haue repented: but these do far otherwise, they se that they haue done naughtely, & yet they go farther to reproches. This is the manner of the frowardnes of man: yea and Dauid when he had committed aduoutry, did not strayght way repent, as he should haue done, but leaue Vrias. Iudas whē he had betrayed Christ, would not repent, but went and hanged himselfe, and so was author of hys owne death. So in a maner when we haue sinned, we go to worser sinnes. They ought not in deede to haue chosen Abimelech: but when he had once gotten the dominion of things, they should not so haue cursed him. Before the victory they sing a song of victory. There is nothyng more foolishe, then to contemne an enemy: for an enemy is not to be contemned, vnles he be ouercome. But this Gaal goeth childishely to worke. He exhorteth and prayseth the Sechemites, bycause they had shaked of their yoke. And he composeth his oration of thynges compared together. He compareth Abimelech with Hamor the prince of that Citye, whom the sonnes of Iacob slewe by guile.

A cōparatiō.

VVho is Sechem? Sechem in this place is not the name of the City, but of the chief man, namely the sonne of Hamor.

VVho is Abimelech? He is the sonne of Ierubbaal. He hath in vs neyther right, nor iurisdiction. Let hym goo and bragge amonge his owne. Sechem was in the olde tyme Lorde of this Citye, hym we ought to haue obeyed. But we slewe hym, howe then can we obeye this man? This comparison is nowe manifest ynough. But to increase the contempt more, Zebul (sayeth he) is the seruaunt of Abimelech, knowen well ynough vnto vs, whome he hath made ruler ouer hys Citye. Therefore we shall haue two Lordes. And we whiche would not obey the Lord of Sechem, shall we nowe obeye a seruaunt? It is an vnworthy thyng. Wherefore this semeth to be the sente of hys oration. If we should haue serued, we should rather haue serued Sechem. But we haue not serued him: therfore neither will we serue this Abimelech.

The sēte of the oratiō of Gaal.

Serue the sonnes of Hamor. As though he should haue sayd, serue them rather whiche were the auncient Lordes of this Citye: and if we haue not serued them, why should we serue Abimelech &c.

And who wyll geue thys people into my hande? The other parte of the oration contayneth an exhortation, wherein he exhorteth them, to make hym ruler ouer the people. VVho will geue? This forme of speakyng expresseth an affection of one y wisheth. I (sayth he) if I were your ruler, would easely take away Abimelech. Hereby it appeareth y al the Sechemites were not of one opinion. There were many which thē also were on Abimeleches side. Wherefore, I would to God sayth he, y all you were of one mynd, I would thē easely take away the tyranne.

All the Sechemites were not of one opinion.

And he sayd vnto Abimelech: Increase thyne army. He vseth an Apostrophe to Abimelech beyng absent: for it is easy to raile vpon one being absent. He speaketh very Thraso lyke. It is as though he should haue sayd: increase thy power how thou wilt, I set nothing at all by it.

ἀποστροφὴ is a turnyng of a speache to some person.

30 And when Zebul the ruler of the Citye heard the wordes of Gaal the sonne of Ebed, he was very angry.

31 And he sent messangers vnto Abimelech guilefully, saying: Behold Gaal the sonne of Ebed and his brethren be come to Sechem, and beholde they kepe the City agaynst thee.

32 Now

32 Nowe therfore aryse by night, thou and thy people that is with thee, and lye in wayte in the fielde.

33 And ryse vp early in the mornyng as soone as the Sunne is vp, and thou shalt assaulte the Citye, and when he and the people that is with hym, shall come out agaynst thee, do vnto them what thyne hande can finde.

Zebul was ruler vnder Abimelech, & when he heard these reproches agaynst his Lorde, he could not suffer them. Hereby let vs marke how foolishly the Sechemites behaued themselues, when they go about to fall from Abimelech, they retayne yet still his ruler in the City. So god oftetymes striketh men with madnes. Neither want there exemples of this thing euen in our tyme.

He sent messangers guilefully. The Hebrewe worde is Miremah or Tomah: and it signifieth nothyng els, but that he sent letters priuely, the summe whereof was: Gaal is chosen captayne agaynst thee, the Sechemites fence the City, that they may both defend themselues within, and also exclude thee without. And such is the subtility of Zebul, that he not onely telleth what was done in the City, but also geueth Counsell what Abimelech should doo.

VVhen it is mornyng. The Hebrewe worde Tischim in the conjugation Hiphil from the roote Schacham signifieth to ryse early, the Grecians say ὀρθρίζειν. And where in Luke the 21. chap. toward the end it is sayd, Turba mane conueniebat ad eum: that is: The people gathered vnto him in the morning: the old translation was (as Augustine also hath noted vpon this place of the Iudges (*Populus manicabat ad eum*. But that worde is barbarous and straunge. In Greeke it is rede, ἅμα τῷ διαπεδαι τὸν ἥλιον, ἐξῆλθε τὸ γιγάντιον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. *Augustine, Manicare.*

And assaulte the City. This is the Counsell of the ruler, that early in the morning he should besiege and assaulte the City by guile.

Do as thine hand shal find. By this Hebrewe phrase is signified nothyng els, but that so do thou as occasion shall serue.

34 And Abimelech rose vp early, and all the people that were with hym by nyght: and they laye in wayte agaynste Sechem in foure bandes,

35 Then Gaal the sonne of Ebed came out, and stoode in the entryng of the gate of the City. And Abimelech rose vp and the people that were with him, from lying in wayte.

36 And when Gaal sawe the people, he sayde to Zebul: Beholde there come people downe from the toppes of the mountaynes. To whome Zebul aunswered: The shadowe of the mountaynes semeth men vnto thee.

37 And Gaal spake agayne and sayde: Beholde there come people down from the nauel of ỹ earth, and one Captaine commeth by the waye of the playne of Moonenim.

Their lying in wayte was distributed into foure bandes, & when Gaal should go forth of the city, Zebul was together with him, & as far as we may coniecture, Zebul vsed double fraude: for first he sent a messanger vnto Abimelech, & signified vnto him, what he thought good to be done: & afterward he ioyneth himselfe deceatfully vnto Gaal, as though he would be on his side, that he might the safelyer do those thynges whiche he thought to doo, & that Gaal should not mistrust hym. Wherfore Gaal goeth forth, being nothing afeard of priuy enbushements, and together with hym went Zebul.

Thou seest the shadow of mountaynes, Zebul deriueth him, saying: They be shadowes

dowes whiche thou thinkeſt to be men.

Out of the nauel of the earth: This is a metaphoricall kynde of ſpeache, for as the nauell appeareth abone the belye, ſo are the mountaynes abone the earth. Wherefore by the nauell he vnderſtandeth the mountaynes from whence Abimelech deſcended with his company. And when he came from the mountaynes, it is very lykely (whiche thyng yet is not here mentioned) that he ouercame the guarriſons, whiche the Sechemites had put in thoſe places.

38 And Zebul ſayd vnto him: Where is nowe thy mouth, that ſayd: who is Abimelech that we ſhould ſerue hym? Is not thys the people that thou haſte deſpiſed? Go out nowe I praye thee, and fyght agaynſt them.

39 And Gaal went forth before the men of Sechem, and fought agaynſt Abimelech.

40 But Abimelech purſued hym, after he began to flye before hym, and many were ouerthrowen and wounded euen to the entryng of the gate.

41 And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah: and Zebul thruſt out Gaal and his brethren, that they ſhould not abide in Sechem.

42 And on the morowe the people went out into the fielde. And it was tolde Abimelech.

43 And he tooke the people and deuided them into three bandes, & laid wayt in the field, and looked, and behold the people were come out of the City, and he roſe vp agaynſt them and ſmote them.

44 And Abimelech, and the bandes that were with hym, ruſhed forwarde, and ſtoode in the entryng of the gate of the City: and the two other bandes ran vpon al the people that were in the field, and ſlewe them.

45 And when Abimelech had fought agaynſt the City all the day, he tooke the City, & ſlew the people that was therin, and deſtroyed the City, and ſowed ſalt in it.

Zebul coulde not holde hymſelfe, but that he muſt nippe that Thraſo. Thou dideſt contemne (ſayeth he) Abimelech: nowe come out agaynſt hym, and ſhewe howe valiaunt thou art.

VVhere is thy mouth? This worde Apheh is ambiguous: for it ſignifieth where, and ſometymes it ſignifieth now. But bycauſe it is before ſayd where, it is mete to be taken here for Now, & ſo let vs ſay: Where is now thy mouth: vnles we will haue it a repetition, to ſay: Where, where is thy mouth: & by the figure *Metonumia* a mouth ſignifieth wordes: for we ſpeake with y mouth. He vpbraydeth him with the maner of fearefull men: for cowardes are wont before the daunger ſtoutely to bragge: but when they come to the daunger, they are wonfully afrayd: but contrarily ſtoute men bragge not much, neither do they rathely thruſt themſelues into daungers. But in daungers they are moſt conſtant.

The manner of fearefull men.

He went forth before the princes of Sechem. Gaal fighteth, but peraduenture not prepared, for Abimelech came vpon him vnlooked for. Yet Gaal goeth forth agaynſt him, leaſt peraduenture he ſhould ſeme to be a coward.

And he fled before him. Abimelech followed hym when he fled, euen to the gates of the City, where he ſlewe many. Gaal thought he ſhould haue ben receaued into the City, and for that cauſe he fleeth vnto the gate. But Zebul thruſt hym out of the Citye. But thou wilt demaunde, by what meanes he coulde be excluded the City, whē as the Sechemites had made hym their ruler? Kimhi anſwereth, firſt that all the Sechemites ſtoode not againſt Abimelech: the people alſo

(as they were of an inconstant mynde) when they sawe Gaal flye, turned theyr purpose, and fell to Abimelech. Hereby we gather howe foolishe it is to trust vnto men. Ieremy sayeth very well and wisely: Cursed be every one, that putteth hys confidence in man, and maketh fleshe hys strength. The Sechemites put theyr confidence in Gaal, and at that very instant vsed hys ayde. Gaal on the other side putteth hys confidence in the Sechemites, and was thrust out of the City by them, in whom he did put his confidce. This is the nature of the people, when fortune a lyttle fauoreth, strayghtway they forsake them whō before they followed. The common people altogether depende vpon chaunce. Here may we see also an other foolishenes of the Sechemites, who thought that when they had cast out Gaal, Abimelech had straight way ben satisfied. For they goo forth into the fieldes, to exercise theyr rusticall workes, to gather in theyr grapes, I saye, or to tyllage. But it happened farre otherwise. For Abimelech placed two bandes to lye in wayte, and he hymselfe with hys bande came vnto the Citye, that neyther they whiche were in the fieldes, coulde get into the City, nor they which were in the City coulde come out, to helpe theyr men in the fieldes. This pollecy of warre vsed Abimelech. They thought he had nowe benepacified, but the anger of kynges are not straight waye asswaged.

And he sowed salte. These moste miserable chaunces happened vnto the people, they whiche went forth into the fieldes, were killed, the Citye it selfe was besieged and conquered, the Citizens slayne, the Citye defaced and vtterly ouerthrowen. But Abimelech stomachyng the matter more then was meete, sowed salte in the Citye: whiche was a token of a wildernes and deserte. For salte dryeth the grounde, and maketh it vnfruitefull. In Hebrewe Malach signifieth salte. Thereof commeth the verbe Malach whiche is, to salte: but in the conjugation Niphal, Nimlah, is a verbe, whiche signifyeth to destroye, to breake downe and to waste. That worde Ieremy vseth in hys 14. chap. and Dauid in hys 107. Psalme, GOD turneth a fruitefull lande into a saltishe grounde, that is, maketh it waste and deserte. In the yeare .1165, Fredrike Oenobarbus the Emperor ouerthrew Millane, and sowed salte there. For that City tooke parte with Alexander the thyrde being Pope, agaynst Cesar: whiche thyng Fredrike tooke in very yll part. What the sowyng of salte signifieth.

46 And when all the men of the tower of Sechem heard it, they came to the castle of Thelberith.

47 And it was told Abimelech that al the men of the tower of Sechem were gathered together.

48 And Abimelech went vp to mount Zalmon, he and all the people that were with hym: and Abimelech tooke axes, and cut downe bowes of trees, and tooke them and layd them on his shoulder, and said vnto the people that were with him: That whiche ye haue seene me do, make hast, and do as I haue done.

49 Wherfore all the people cut downe euery man his bowgh, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the castle, and set the castle on fire with them. And al the men of the tower of Sechem dyed, about a thousand men and women.

50 Then went Abimelech vnto Thebez, and layde siege to it, and tooke it.

That tower of Sechem was a bulwarke of the Citye. Wherfore when the City was take, the princes distrusting themselues, entred into an other inward holde, where also was a temple: and it was called the house of the couenaunt of God: for the Israelites forsaking the couenant of the true God coupled themsel-

nes vnto straunge Gods.

And it was told Abimelech. Mount Zalmon was nigbe vnto that hold, whether Abimelech and his people got them vnto: for he had determined to burne that castell and temple whiche was in it. Neither ought we to meruaile, that ye temple was so fensed, when as it was the maner so in the old tyme. For Rome, when longe a go it was taken and burnt of the Senones, the Capitolium, where in was the temple of Iupiter, remayned safe. Yea and Iosephus sayth that when Ierusalem was besieged of Titus, the temple was a strong bulwarke for ye City. But the cause why the Sechemites got them thether, was not onely bycause the place was so well fensed, but also bycause they had a superstitious opinion of Baal: for they thought that he would be with the, & defend his temple. So foolish men, when they haue in deede no religion in their mynde, yet they put their confidence in holynes of places, and wodderfully trust in images & temples, & also in reliques of saintes. But thereby they are nothing holpen, but to their destructiō they are slayne euen in temples, as we rede it happened now vnto these men.

Temples were wont to be buil ded in castels.

ἁλοίσεται. And by them they set the castle on fire. There is in these wordes Alleosis of the gender, for the Masculine gender is put for the Feminine, for as much as this relatiue Eos that is them, is referred to the bowes, which in the Hebrew is a word of the Feminine gender. Mention is made of the vtter destruction of the Citye, for it was not onely ouerthrowen, and strawed with salte, but also the princes were slayne with fire and smoke. Abimelech in this warlike policy shewed not vnto all, what he would do, he onely bideth the people to follow hym. Gideon also when he tooke the pitcher, fire brand, and trompet, commaunded the other to do the same: so Abimelech tooke a bowe on his shoulder, and the other did the like. He kindleth fire, and burneth all them which were in the holde, otherwise he could not haue conquered the tower. Some thinke ye Gaal also perished here, & that beyng put to flight by Abimelech, he got him to this holde. After this sorte God tooke vengeance vpon the Sechemites. And Abimelech, although he were an vngodly and cruell tyranne, obteyned the victory: so also god gaue Nabucadnesar power, to afflicte the Iewes, and to leade them captiues to Babilone. And likewise vnto Tiglathphalasar to oppresse the ten tribes. All these men had the victory, and yet was their cause nothyng the better. This rule god vseth oftentymes to punishe the euill by euill, although he do not straight way punish them all. Some he punisheth before, and other some after ward: and there are some also, whose vengeance he reserueth for the world to come.

Why the vngodly obtayne victoryes.

Abimelech triumpheth as though he had better cause: but yet this hys ioye is of no longe tyme: for the hande of the Lorde abydeth hym also. In Comedyes, the strength of the Poete is not perceaued by the Prologe, nor by one acte or two, but we muste wayte for the ende and the conclusion of the whole fable. So if a man wyll geue iudgement of an Image, or of any other fayre Picture if he onely marke the Eyes or Legge, he shall easely be deceaued: for he must consider the Armes, he shoulders, the Syses, and proportion of the whole body. After which selfe same maner, if we will vnderstande the iustice of God in his workes, we muste tary tyll the ende, and then shall we se the iudgementes of god full.

A similitude.

Augustine. Augustine sayeth right well that god, when he punisheth any certayne wicked acte, doth signifie that he hateth all wicked actes. And when he differeth the punishementes of the vngodly, he admonisheth vs, to thinke vpon an other lyfe. Wherfore if Papistes, if Turkes, if Tyrannes are not punished in this world, let vs with a patient minde wayte for the last acte, and last iudgement of god: for they shall not go vnpunished.

A comforte in the felicity of the vngodly.

Dauid sayeth in his 73. Psalme: My feete were almost moued, and my steppes had welnye slypte, bycause I fretted at the wicked, when I sawe the peace of synners. For there are no bandes in their death, and they are lusty and stronge. They are not in trouble as other men, &c. And I sayd, doth god know these things,

and

and is there knowledge in the moste highest? For so doth our flesh iudge, when it seeth ỹ vngodly liue in prosperity: when the matter is so, is there (sayth he) knowledge in the moste highest? Wherefore I haue clensed my harte in vayne, and in vayne I haue washed my handes in innocency, in vayne was I punished all the day, and it was paynfull to me, to know this. For they are moste harde to vnderstand, and I began in a manner to dispayre, vntill I went into the sanctuarye of God, and vnderstood theyr last end. For who may not easelye be deceiued in the rich man and Lazarus? When as the one in mans sight semed to haue bene moste blessed, and the other most miserable. Therfore (sayth he) it was paynefull vnto me, vntyll I was brought into the sanctuary of God, & beheld theyr last iudgement. But as touching Abimelech, the prophesy ought to be fulfilled whiche Iotham pronounced: Let a fire come out of Abimelech and destroy his enemies.

God suffreth Abimelech to exercise his tiranny three yeares, in which space he semed to tary for his repentance. But he heaped vp vnto him self angre in the day of anger. For if he had ben wise he would easly haue thoght thus with him selfe after the victory: The Sechemites sinned thorough my perswasion: if they ar now so seuerely handled, what shalbe be done to me at the lēgth? But he being blinded that he could not se these thynges, at the last was filthily slayne. So the vngodly ar dronken with prosperous fortune, and god semeth to fede them vp, as sacrifices, which are first fed and fatted, before they be killed. In whiche sense Esay in the. 34. chap. writeth: The Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozra. Wherfore Abimelech, by all the things that he saw, is made neuer a whit the better, yea rather he was made the more insolent, and attempteth other thinges more tirannical. In the boke of Ecclesiasticus the 8. chap. it is writtē. Bicause sentence agaynst the euill is not executed spedely, the childrē of men do without any feare perpetrate euill thinges. Therfore are men made so bedlong to sinne, bicause they abuse the goodnes of godes: it is so far of, ỹ the vngodly, when he seeth an other corrected, should amend, ỹ he alwayes becometh worse & worse, and alwaies endeoureth to goe on farther in wickednes. Whiche thinge I wolde to God we would follow in vertues and good dedes. Abimelech had ouercome the Sethemites, neither was that sufficient for him: then tooke he the holde, neyther was that ynough for him: he conquered the citye of Thebez, and yet did not this suffice him. He will go on farther yet: and is most filthyly slayne. As concerning the city of Thebez, Kimhi sayth, that it also fell from the gouernment of Abimelech. Dauid Kimhi.

51 But there was a strong tower within the citye, and thither fled all the men and wemen, and all the chief of the city, and shutte it to them, and went vp to the top of the towre.

52 And Abimelech came vnto the towre, and fought against it. And went hard vnto the doore of the towre to set it on fire.

53 Then a woman caste a piece of a milstone vpon Abimeleches heade, and brake his skull.

54 Who streight waye called his page that bare his armoure, and said vnto him: Draw thy sword and slay me, lest men peraduenture say of me: A woman slew him. And his page thrust him thorow and he died.

55 And when the men of Israell saw that Abimelech was deade, they departed euery man to his owne place.

56 Thus God rendred the euill of Abimelech, whiche he did vnto his father, in slayinge his brethern.

57 Also all the wickednes of the men of Sechem did god bring vp

on theyr heads, and vpon them came the curse of Jotham the sonne of Jerubbaall.

The menne of Thebez closed and fensed the outwarde partes of the Tower verye well: And kepte themselues within, hauinge all the gates and entrances shut vp.

They ascended vpon the toppe. This Hebrewe woorde Gag signifieth the toppe of the house, not sharpe poynted, but playne, for vpon it they might walke. And bycause it was dangerous, leaste a manne shoulde fall from the toppe, it was commaunded in Deutronomye, that a cyrcuite or a stay should be added to the roofe of the houses.

To burne the gate. Bycause he hadde so good successe before to conquere by fyre, he thoughte now also to had the like fortune.

A woman threwe a stone. Abimeleche puffed vppe with victories, setteth an example before oure eyes, that wee shoulde not to muche put confidence in presente felicity. By his luckye successe he thoughte his cause was good, and that they whome he had destroyed, had theyr rewarde for theyr wickednes. Such is the iudgemente of menne, they thinke that accordinge to the waygbte of the punishments, so are the sinnes of the afflicted, and theyr euil deserts, so that they whych are greuously vexed, seeme to haue greuously sinned. And vndoubtedly the booke of Iob is all whole in a manner of that argumente. For his friendes did therefore gather that he was an euill man, bicause he was so grieuously afflicted. But yet oughte wee not so to thincke: For there maye be other causes why GOD will haue the sayntes oppressed in this worlde. Christ teacheth vs in the 13. chapter of Luke (when certayne tolde him, that Pilate hadde mingled the bloud of ỹ Galileians wᵗ sacrifices, & they loked that Christ shoulde haue cried out vpon the crueltye of the Presidente) howe wee oughte to take profite by the punishments of other men. For he aunswered: do you thinke that those Galileians sinned aboue all the reast, bicause they suffred these thinges? No verilye, I tell you, but excepte ye repente, ye shall all likewise perishe. Or thinke ye that those 18, vpon whome the Tower in Siloi fell, were sinners aboue all men that dwel in Jerusalem? No verely, I tell you, but excepte ye repente, ye shall all lykewise perishe.

The argumẽt of the booke of Iob.

We ought to take perfect by the punishmẽts of other.

Abimelech also shoulde rather thus haue sayd wyth himselfe: If these thinges haue chaunsed vnto them, what shall then happen vnto me? Let vs also speake thus with our selues. If by the Turkes and Saracenes so grieuous thinges haue happened vnto the Grecians, Hungarians, and Africanes, what shall then become of vs at the length? Excepte we repente, wee shall lykewyse perysh.

The names of two millstones.

A peece of a millstone. This Hebrewe woorde Rachab signifieth a millstone. But there ar two millstones, namely that that is aboue, and that that is beneath. The higher is he, which is called Rachab, bicause it is put vpō the other, and after a sort rideth vpon it. The other is called Schachab, bycause it semeth to lye still. By what meanes the woman hadde a peece of a mylstone in the vpper parte of the house, it appeareth not. Howebeit it is verye likelye, that they carryed vppe stones, and greate heauye peeces of rockes into the vpper partes of the houses, to haue them in a redinesse to beate backe the enemy.

And hys page thruste him thorowe, and he died. This is the ende of a moste cruel tiranne. He is killed of a woman, and when he sawe that he must needes dye, he studieth to put away the infamye, neyther would he haue it sayd of him, that a woman slew him. What madnes is this? He is at the poynt of death

and

and he vaynelye thinketh vpon glorye: he thinketh it a reproche to be killed of a woman, and is nothinge carefull for the soule, nor for the other life: he onelye careth for his name and fame. And god when he hadde vsed thys mannes cruelty to afflicte the Sechemites, at the laste destroyed him also. He entred in by euell artes: he raygned cruellye and tyrannouslye, and died moste filthylye. And when Abimelech was dead, euery man returned into his country. Neither was the towre which he assaulted, conquered. And least any man should thinke that these thinges happened by chaunce, but that all menne myghte vnderstande that they were doone by the prouidence and counsell of god, the cõclusion is added: Thus God rewarded. Herebye we are very well taught, that if at anye time the like thinges doo happen, wee muste not attribute them to fortune, but onely vnto the prouidence of God. Achab the kinge when he went on warfare, chaunged his apparell, and would not be knowen to be the kinge, but he counted a raschall souldiour: yet was he slayne with an arrowe, whiche was shot at aduenture, whiche thinge myghte haue seemed to haue bene done by chaunce, when as yet God in very deede gouerned the shafte. And in like manner as Plutarch telleth, Pirrhus was slayne of a woman in besieging of Thebez, *Plutarth.* she throwing downe a tyle from the house toppe. Verye many suche thinges are doone in oure time, whiche seeme vnto vs therfore to haue happened by chaunce, bycause wee knowe not the causes of thynges, and iudgementes of God.

Moreouer by thys conclusion thys we profitablye gather, that GOD at the length reuoketh all thynges to hys tribunall seate and iudgemente. If wee shoulde demaunde, why the Sechemites were so myserablye afflicted, and why Abimeleche was so frythlye slayne? The holye Ghoste answereth, God reuenged the ingratitude of the Sechemites toward Gideon, and the *Parricide* of Abimeleche, who slewe his brethern. For the bloode of so manye bretherne cryed no lesse vnto the Lorde, then the bloode of Abel, as is written in Genesis. Lastlye let vs note, that there are hitherto some good Iudges spoken of, among whome is put Abimeleche, a moste cruell tyrranne, that theyr vertue by a comparison, or an Antithesis myghte be made more noble. But happye was that publyke wealthe whyche amonge manye good, had onelye one tyrannte, but we amongest manye euell, haue scarce one good Prince. And vndoubtedlye God gaue not vnto the Israelites thys tyrranne, neyther rayled he hym vp after the manner of the other Iudges: but they elected him themselues.

¶ The.x. Chapter.

1 AND after Abimelechе, rose vp to saue Israell Thola, the sonne of Pua, the sonne of Dodo, a mã of Isaschar, and he dwelled in Samir in mount Ephraim.
2 And he iudged Israell. 23. yeares, and died, and was buried in Samir.

AFter the deathe of Abimeleche, followed a longe peace, namelye. 45. yeares: which space of time is destributed into two Iudges, whereof the one gouerned the people three and twenty yeares, and the other two and twentye yeares. So greate is the goodnes of God, that he would restore peace vnto men, though they deserued it not. *A peace during 45. yeares.*

And after Abimelech, rose vp Thola. In that it is written both of this Iudge, and of the other: And there rose vp: wee must not for all that thinke, that they of theyr owne minde claimed vnto the selues the principality, but they were

elected vnto it by the lord, and of him set to rule by the people of Israel. And they are sayd to haue risen vp, because they followed the instinct of the Lord.

To saue Israell. Betwene good princes and tirans this is the difference: Tirans seke onely their own gayn, but good magistrats haue only a care for this, to saue the people. Dauid Kimhi thinketh ỹ Abimelech also saued the Israelites, although he both slew his brethern and made ciuil warres. For he was a warlike and stoute man: wherfore outward nations feared him. But I wil not easily graunt vnto this sentẽce: for as much as the holy scriptures mencion not that he made warres wᵗ outward nations, which they would not haue otherwise left vnspoken of. If thou wilt say, that it maye therefore seme that he saued Israel, by cause he is nombred amonge the Judges: I answeare, this is rather to be marked, that the scripture called him not a Judge, but rather a king: neither is it written that he iudged, but reigned. But in that he is nombred among the Judges, that was the cause which we haue before touched, namely that the vertues of the Juages might be more illustrat, and that it might be made manifest, how much princes that are geuen of God, do excell those whiche men choose vnto themselues. *Iosephus* in his boke de antiquitatibus leaueth out this Thola, and onely maketh mention of the other, of whom we will straight way speake. And it is no mervayle, for that author is wont to ouer passe very manye thinges, and sometimes to alter some thinges.

The difference betwene a tyrãt & a true prince. Dauid Kimhi.

A iudgement of the stroke of Iosephus.

Of the tribe of Issachar. That tribe was the lowest and obscurest tribe, but god hath no respect to persons. The state of this publeal was most excellent, namely Aristocratia, wherin god chosed Judges indifferẽtly out of all the people. And there was none which could iustly complayne, that his family could not be exalted to the highest dignity of rule, which thing happeneth not in a kingdom. For all the kinges came of the family of Dauid.

The sonne of Pua Ben Dodo. That word is ambignous & darke: for it may be both a nowne proper and a nowne appellatyue. If it be a proper nowne, (as the Chaldey Paraphrast supposeth) we must say that Thola had to father Pua, & that *Pua* was the sonne of a certaine man named *Dodo*. But other thinke that it is a nown appellatiue, and that signifieth an vncle, and hath a pronowne affixed vnto it of the third person. And some vnderstand that by that pronown is referred or signifyed Abimelech, as though it were noted that *Pua* was the vncle of Abimelech: which sentence som of the Hebrewes allow. Yea and the latin interpreter, to expresse that sentence, and that there might be no darkenes therin, addeth the name of Abimelech. But how Pua shoulde be vncle vnto Abimelech, and so the brother of Gideon, beinge of an other tribe, it seemeth meruellous, bicause tribes were not mingled one with an other. Some aunswear that it might be that they were brethern on the mother side, but yet not on the fathers side. For such wom̃ which had no inheritãce, maried oftetimes in other tribes: but so did not they which had inheritance, that the lands and inheritance should not be confounded, wherfore it might easly come to pas, that ether her husband beyng dead, or she by him repudiated, maried agayne in an other tribe. And by this meanes Gidion & Pua may be brethern, although they came of sundry tribes. But ỹ those daughters which were inheritours, might not mary in an other tribe, it is by many examples confirmed. Saule other wise a Benjamite, gaue his daughter to wyfe vnto Dauid, who was of the tribe of Iudah. Ichoiada preste of the tribe of *Leui*, maryed the daughter of king Joram which was of the tribe of Iuda, as it is written in the latter booke of Paralip. the. 22. chap. Aaron a *Leuite* maryed Elisaba, the daughter of Aminadab, of the tribe of *Iuda*. Wherfore there ar two opiniõs, one is of them which thynke that Dodo is a proper name, and the other of those which say it is a name appellatiue. The third opinion is, that that annexed pronown, namely of him, is to be turned, his, so that this *Thola* had one and the self name to his father & to his vncle, which bi the ordinary meanes was not lawful,

How a mã may be the sonne of his vncle.

yet

yet was it detailed, when a man dyed without children: for then the brother maried his wife, namely him of whom he was begotten, and the other which was dead, whose name he bare, and was made his heyre. This sentence lyketh mee well: for it very aptly declareth, how a man might be the sonne of his vncle, &c.

3 After hym rose vp Iair a Gileadite, and hee iudged Israel .xxii. yeares.

4 And he had .xxx. sonnes, that rode vpon .xxx. Colts, and they had .xxx. Cities, which are called Hauoth-Iair euen to this day, & are in the land of Gilead.

5 And Iair dyed, and was buryed in Camon.

Of what tribe this Iair was, appeareth by this woord Gilead which is repeated: for Manasses had Machir to his sonne, who begat Gilead. And his name was cõmune with the mount, wherein Iacob and Laban made a league, and named the place Gilead, bicause there they raised vp a heape of stones for a witnes. Eusebius saith, that the backe of this mount tendeth to Arabia and Phenicia, and is ioyned with the hils of Libanus. And this mount hath a City of the same name. Machir conquered that City, and gaue vnto it a name, which was cõmon both to his sonne and to the mount. Wherefore Iair was of the Tribe of Manasses, a man hauing plenty of children: for he had .xxx. And no marualle, when as then they vsed to haue many wyues. His children was no Rascals or cõmon people, yea they were horsmen: which is thus described, which rode vpon .30. Asse colts. This Hebrue woord Air signifieth either a Colt or an Asse, according to which sence are signified .xxx. Mules: or the colt of a Mare, as R. D. Kimhi expoundeth it. Neither were they onely horsmen, but also riche: for they possessed .30. Cities, bicause euery one of them was ruler of a City: wherefore their father must needes be very noble. *Eusebius Cesariensis.* *Dauid Kimhi*

They were called Hauoth-Iair, bicause they were not enuironed with a wall. And were so called euen to this day, namely euen vnto Samuels tyme, who (they say) was author of this booke. In the booke of Numbers the .xxxii. chap. it is written, Iair tooke many Cities from the Chananites, and they were called Hauoth-Iair. Whether or it is demaunded, whether he were the same man of whom we now speake, or whether he were an other? I doo not thinke that he was the same, for asmuch as betweene them both there were .300. yeares passed. He was a certaine other man differing from this Iair, of whom we nowe speake, but yet hee was of the same family: and paraduenture this was his Nephew, for they which are of the same family, doo for the most part retayne the names of their kynred. Vnto this Iair came those Cities, which that other Iair tooke from the Chananites. Wherefore the places agree: but that it is not the same man. This Iudge therefore is noble, when as the twoo former were but of a base family. Neither doth Nobility any thing hinder to gouerne a publike wealth, if selfe trust and insolence be taken away: yea rather they haue examples of their Elders, excellent kindnes vp to vertue, and very many helpes, to gouerne thinges well. And it is not vnlikely but that the people vnder these two Iudges, rightly worshipped God in long and quiet peace, otherwise God would not haue geuē them so long a time of rest. But after them, the Hebrues turned againe vnto Idolatry.

6 And the children of Israel wrought wickedlye agayne in the sight of the Lord, and serued Baalim, and Asharoth, and the gods of Aram, and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, & the gods of the children of Ammon, and also the gods of Pelisthim, and for sooke the Lord, and serued not hym.

7 Wherefore the wrath of the Lord was kyndled against Israel, and

and he delyuered them into the handes of Philistim, and into the handes of the chyldren of Ammon.

8 Who from that yeare vexed and oppressed the chyldren of Israel xviii. yeares, euen all the chyldren of Israel, whyche were beyonde Jordan, in the land of the Amorrhites, whych is in Gilead.

9 Moreouer the chyldren of Ammon went ouer Jordan, to fyght also against Juda and Beniamin, and against the house of Ephraim. And Israel was in verye great miserye.

10 And the chyldren of Israel cryed vnto the Lorde, saying: Wee haue synned against thee, euen bicause we haue forsaken our God, and haue serued Baalim.

When they heaped synnes vpon synnes, the latter tymes were alwaies more grieuous then the first. And this is not to bee passed ouer, that they are sayde to haue synned in the syght of the Lord: for the world otherwise is often times deceaued, and the iudgement of men many times, either alloweth or excuseth sins. And the euyl which the Israelites are sayde to haue done, was nothing els but Idolatry. As soone as the good Princes were dead, the people easely fell to worshipping of Idoles, and why they were so prone to this wicked crime, there may be many causes alledged. First, they sawe that the Nations which were nygh vnto them, when they worshipped Idoles, florished in all kinde of riches and honors, but they themselues were wonderfully oppressed with penury of thinges. Wherefore they thought that the Gods of those nations were both better & more bountiful, then their own God. They considered that they themselues whyche worshipped but one God, were fewe in the number, but there was an infinite number which worshipped Idoles. And as they detested the ceremonies and holye seruices of other Nations, so on the other syde other Nations bothe abhorred them, and also vexed them with contumelies. Lastly, the worshipping of the true God was more seuere, and after a sort more sadde, it hadde no pleasure, no chalenging of battayl one with an other, no stage playes, no hasicings, no running at tylts, no Comodies, no Tragedies, all which thynges they sawe were vsed in the worshipping of Idoles, yea and also often times were added most vyle and filthy thinges. And forasmuch as the nature of man is of it selfe ready vnto pleasures, hereof it came, that they turned vnto straunge holy seruices. And vndoubtedly the same causes in our time doo moue the myndes of many, and therfore manye cleaue vnto the Papistes, whom they see to lyue muche more pleasantly, and to florish in goods and riches: they see also that they are more in number in Italy, in Spaine, and in Fraunce, then we are. Bicause also they thinke that they are infamed and reproched, when they ar called Schismatikes and Heretikes. And lastly bicause our ceremonies, as touching the senses of the flesh are dry, and without pleasures, they haue no copes, no descant synging, no musical Organes, nor stage play gestes. Hereof came these defaultes and fallinges of many. I might also adde, that many say their fathers lyued so, and died in that religion, which reason is with many of great force. Such thinges without doubt did the Iewes thinke vpon. But it is marueilous to behold their stubburnes. It seemeth that they had wholy bent their mindes, perpetually to resist their God. When God would haue them to obserue his ceremonies, they sought for other ceremonies at the handes of the people that were nigh vnto thē. And for as muche as God hath nowe decreed, that those ceremonies shoulde by Christ be made of none effect, and they wyl fyl keepe them: they doo therin that which ouerthwart wiues are wont to do, when the husband wyl, they wyl not, when he wyll not, then they again wyll. They did not onely woorship Baal and Astharoth, but also the Gods of Aram, & Zidon, the Gods of the Moabites, and of

Why the Israelites were so prone vnto idolatry.

The stubbernes of the Iewes against God.

the

the children of Ammon, and also the Gods of the Philisthims. If we marke the number, they woorshipped seuen kyndes of Idoles.

And forsooke the Lord. They did not onely follow straunge Gods, but also forsooke the woorshipping of the true God. There is a certaine Emphasis in this woorde forsooke. It signifieth as much, as if it should haue bene said: They would not so much as haue the woorshipping of the true God named, neyther made they any more mencion of it. Wherfore the wrath of the Lorde kindled against them, and he deliuered them into the handes of the Philistians. &c. Whē they forsooke the true God, he againe tooke away from them his helpe, and sold them to the Philistians and Ammonites, whom they so serued, as thoughe they had bene their bondslaues. And the yoke of the Ammonites was much more greuous, then the yoke of the Philistians. Wherfore Iephtah tooke in hande warre, singularly against the Ammonites, as against the chief verers of the Israelites. Farthermore let vs marke, that euen the self same yeare, wherin Iair died, they were vexed and oppressed of their enemies. The Lorde taried not: straightways after the death of the Iudge, hee beganne to afflict the people. In whyche place we muste note, that most stronge Nations, so soone as they are destitute of God, are easelye without anye a doo conquered and ouerthrowne of their enemyes. For it is God onely which geueth power and strength, and therefore the Israelites were straightway oppressed of their enemies, bicause the Lord had forsaken them: for God is not onely the efficient cause of might and rule, but also it is he that keepeth and preserueth it. They oppressed vniuersally al the children of Israel. For they kept not themselues within any bondes: but wandred and made rodes through out al the borders of the Hebrues, which thing is noted by these woordes: Yea and they passed ouer Iordan. The tribes of Ruben, Gad, and part of Manasses dwelled on this syde Iordan. For all that region was verye fertile, therefore they required it of Moses, when the other tribes were not yet passed ouer Iordan: but they did not wel marke what they desired: for although it wer a most fat and fertill countrye, yet was it alwaies in greater daunger: For often times their next enemies made rodes into their landes. And this is very cōmonly sene, that men are more careful for gaine, then for health: but the Ammonites did not onely rob and spoyle those tribes, but they also miserably afflicted al Israel. When they had passed ouer Iordan, they would also fight against Iuda, Beniamin, and Ephraim, which were of al the tribes most noble. Wherfore we muste beleue, that they raged against al the Hebrues.

The request of the twoo tribes & the halfe tribe was vnwyse.

VVherfore the Israelites were aboue measure oppressed. And they cryed vnto the Lord. When they were but a litle oppressed, they were nothing moued: but when they wer farther vexed, and most grieuously afflicted, they began to turne to God, and cryed vnto him. Neither did they that lightly, but weeping, repented from the hart, confessed their sinne, & implored his ayde. This thing onely God regardeth, when he afflicteth his people with aduersitye, where woordes will not serue, he addeth stripes and verations, which are certain vehement sermons towarde the stiffer sorte, and are of great force towarde the goodly, and those that are predestinate vnto saluation, but to the vngodlye & impenitent, to their greater damnation. God did not these thinges, as thoughe he had a pleasure in the euils of men, or that he wouldе satisfye himselfe after thys maner (for that thing onely Iesu Christ vpō the crosse performed) but that they which ar fallen, may be called backe into the right way, vices corrected, and his iustice declared. And the Israelites do not onely cal vpon God, but also humbly acknowledge, and submissely confesse their synnes. For they knewe that God beareth not synners, except they repent.

What God hathe a respect vnto in the punishmēts, wherwith hee punysheth synners.

11 And the Lord said vnto the children of Israel: Haue not I deliuered you from the Egyptians, and Ammorhites, and children of

Ammon

Ammon and Philisthim.

12 Moreouer the Zidonites and Abimelech, and the Moabites oppressed you, and ye cryed vnto me, and I deliuered you out of their handes.

13 But ye haue forsaken me, and haue serued straunge Gods: therfore I wyll deliuer you no more.

14 Go and crye vnto the Gods whom ye haue chosen: let them saue you in the tyme of your trouble.

Howe God answered the Israelites.

When the people called vpon the Lorde, and began to repent, God in deede answered them, but yet sharpely and hardly. He answered peraduenture by the high Priest, which had Vrim and Thumim, by hym counsell was asked of God publikely: It may also be that some Prophet was stirred vp, by whō God spake. The Hebrues thinke that God answered by Pinehas, whom they say lyued vntil the time of Elias, but that they faine without any testimony of the holye scriptures. And if we looke vpon the time, Pinehas was at the least 330. yeares before these thinges were done. But let vs see why God answered so hardly vnto the Hebrues, namely that the people should repēt, and that not vulgarly, but with stable and firme constancy. It is as much as if he should haue said: ye woulde be deliuered, that when ye are deliuered ye may worship straunge Gods againe. For who can beleue that ye wil not hence forth depart frō me? Haue ye not called vpon me at other times, and as soone as ye were deliuered, ye fell from me? I haue deliuered you from the Egiptans, Ammorhites, Ammonites, Philistians, Zidonians, Amalechites, and Maonites, but ye began straightway to worshippe straunge Gods a fresh. For it was a thing most vnweete, that they which ar by God set at liberty, should take vpon them to worship Idoles of many nations.

Why God answered so sharpely.

A moste sharpe Irony.

Go and cry vnto your Gods, whom ye haue chosen. Doth God commaund vs to sinne? No vndoubtedly. There are sundry figures in the holy scriptures, which vnles we diligently marke, we shal easely fall into most grieuous errors. This exprobation which is set forth by an Irony, is most grieuous: as though he would haue said: Now at the length ye haue tried, and ye vnderstand what your Gods can doo. The same Irony vsed Elias towarde the Prophetes of Baal: Cry (saith he) more loude, peraduenture your God is on sleepe, or is in hys sommer parler. He dyd not commaunde them to crye, but more attentiuely to marke, what god they worshipped. This is therfore an ironious oration, and a most bytter taunt.

How God sayth that he wyl not geue that whych he wyl geue, and contrarily.

He saith he wyl not helpe them, and yet afterward he helped them. Did God lye therfore? No vndoubtedly, but as yet the repentaunce of the people was not come vnto that point that he would haue it, according to that state and condiction that they were then in, he saith he wil not helpe them. For God knoweth the momentes of times. So vseth a Phisicion to handle his Patient, when hee requireth wine in his burning and heate of his feuer. I wyll not geue it (sayth he) not bicause hee will neuer geue it, but bicause hee knoweth when it shal be profitable vnto him. Against the sicke person desireth a purgation, the Phisition denieth him it, bicause he wil first haue the humors wel concocted, that they may the easelier be educed: so doth God now with his people.

A similitude.

And this is no vnaccustomed forme of speaking in the scriptures. The Lord said vnto Moses: Suffer my wrath to kindle, that in a moment I may destroye them. These thinges he said, when as yet he would spare the people, but the prayers of Moses pacified God, and therfore he would haue them inflamed, and his affection

affection & faith increased. In Mathew, the woman of Canaan cried vnto Christ: but he, as though he would not heare her, passed by, saying nothing. Then hee being more instant, I am not (saith he) sent, but to the sheepe which hathe perysshed of the house of Israel. And he not yet ceasing, he called her Dogge. It is not good (saith he) to take the childrens breade, and geue it vnto Dogges: and yet had he euen from the beginning decreed to help her. But first he would haue her faith brought to light, that it might be knowen by all meanes. And in an other place vnder the parable of one that desired breade, he saith: To whom the good man of the house which was within, answered, I and my children are in bed. And the other being instant, by his importunity obtained as many loaues as he would. So in this place God answereth, that he wyll not helpe, namely that people, as they were then. For their repentaunce was not at that instant full. God chaungeth not his sentence, but will haue vs more and more chaunged. God is not chaged, but wyll haue vs chãged

Ieremy in his.xviii. chap. saith: If I shall speake euyl against any nation, and that nation shall repent, I will also repent me of that euyl, which I said I would do. And that Ieremy might the manifestlier vnderstande the thinges that were spoken, he had him go into the house of a Potter, wher he saw the Potter make a vessell of claye, which was broken in the handes of the workeman. But the Potter made againe an other vessel of the same clay. So saith the Lord: If they repent, I wyl also repent: I doo now make for them euill thinges, but for euyll thinges I wyll make good: and yet as I haue saide, he chaungeth not his sentence, bicause suche threatninges and promises doo depende vpon a condicion, which is sometimes chaunged, when as God yet abideth the selfe same.

Of this thyng right well writeth Chrisostome vpon Genesis, in his.xvii. Homely: The Lord commaund Noe to builde an Arke, and threatned that after.cc. yeares he wouldbe destroye all mankinde by a flood: but when in the meane tyme they nothing at all profited, be cut of twenty yeares, and sent the flood in the hundred yeare, and yet was not god chaunged, but the condicion of men varyed. The same Chrisostome also (vpon Mathew, in his.65. Homely, when he interpreteth this: Verely I say vnto you, ye which haue forsaken all thynges, &c.) demaundeth: Was not Iudas one of the twelue, and shall Iudas syt vpon the twelue seates, and iudge the twelue Tribes of Israel? Dyd Christ chaunge his sentence? No (sayth he) but Iudas was chaunged. Which selfe same thing wee must iudge of the Citye of Nineue, and of king Ezechias, whom god pronounced should dye. For neither Nineue at that tyme perished, nor Ezechias dyed: bicause they were chaunged. God layde at the beginning, that the feare of men should be vpon beastes. But it happeneth contrarily: for men are nowe afrayde of Lyons, Beares, and Tigers, bycause they are of them oftentymes torne. But that commeth hereof, bicause of the condicion of men is chaunged, and not the counsell of God.

Wherefore those promises of god are to be vnderstande according vnto the present state of thinges. Therefore when we heare the promises of God, wee must thus thinke. Either they haue some condicion adioyned, or they are absolutelye put. Farther, either they are of force for this time onely, or hereafter they shalbe fulfylled. And as touching the condicions of promises and threatnings, we must diligently marke, that some promises are of the lawe, and some of the gospell: & what they differ one from an other, I haue before abundantlye entreated. And this will I now briefly say, that promises of the law are those which haue a condicion annexed, so that the promise is not due, vnlesse the law be most perfectlye fulfylled: and so those condicions may be called causes of rewardes, if we could fulfyl them, which thing, lastly by reason and this corruption and vice of nature we are not able to performe. God is not bounde to render the reward. Wherefore, seing we cannot fulfyll the lawe as we ought to doo, all cause of merytt is vtterlye taken awaye, and yet are not those promyses geuen in vayne. How we must take the promises of God.

Promises of the law haue a condition annexed.

For although by reason of infirmity, we cannot perfourme the condition, yet if we flee vnto Christ, and being regenerate, do begin a better life, the promises which were promises of the law, are made promises of the Gospel: not because we liuing vnder grace, do fulfil those conditions, but because by Christ they are made absolute and perfect, whose righteousnes is imputed vnto vs. In this maner must we thinke of the promises of God.

Promises of the Gospel.

In like manner is it of threateninges: because often tymes vnder hee added this condicion: Except ye repent. I sayde often tymes: because vniuersallye it is not true, as it appeareth in Dauid, who repented, and yet suffered those thinges which Nathan threatened. Moses also repented, and yet came hee not into the promised land. And as touching the condicion of repentaunce, we must not once passe this, that it is not perfect in vs: otherwise the forgeuenes of syns should be due vnto vs as a reward: wherefore wee must holde this for certaine, that the condicion of repentaunce is Euangelicall, and when there is repentaunce founde in vs, it is a fruite of faith, and not a merite. Of this thing ryght well wryteth Chrisostome in hys. v. Homelye to the people of Antioche, where hee comforteth the people, because of the threatninges of Theodosius. He bringeth a place out of Ieremy the. xviii. chapter, and addeth that the sentence of God is farre otherwise, then the sentence of Princes of this worlde. For the sentence of a Prince is straightwaye, as soone as it is once spoken, perfourmed, and can scarcely be chaunged: but the sentence of God, if it haue threatened any thyng, is not headlong vnto destruction, nor vntreatable, yea rather it maye seeme a degree and a certaine beginning vnto saluation. For by this meanes God oftentimes reuoketh synners vnto the right waye, and saueth them. And thus much as concerning condicions.

How we must vnderstand the threatnings of God.

Chrisostome.

A difference betwene Princes of the worlde & God.

But as touching time, we must not alwaies looke, that God should straightwaye perfourme his promises. If he deferre it, wee ought thus to comfort our selues, he hath not yet accomplished, but he will doo it in due tyme. He will in the meane time after this maner exercise our faith. God seemeth many times to doo nothing lesse, then that which he hath promised and threatned. He promised vnto Dauid a kingdome: but by what tribulations did he exercise him, before that he accomplished his promises? For first he was poore and a Shepehearde, afterward being taken into the court, he began to be hated of Saul, and so endaungered, that there wanted very litle, but that he was almost fallen into his power. When our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ should be borne of Mary, the Angell promised, that he should haue the throne of Dauid his father, and yet till he was thirty yeares of age, he lyued in a maner vnknowen. And then was he odious vnto the high Priestes, Pharisies and Scribes: and was in that sort long tyme yll handled, and at the length by them crucified. Wherefore Esay very wel admonisheth, that he which beleeueth, shoulde not make haste. For God will in due time perfourme those thinges which hee hath promised: but it is our part in the meane time, not to prescribe any thing vnto him. Paul in the. x. to the Hebrues writeth: ye haue neede of patience, that doing the will of God, ye maye obtaine the promise. For yet a litle while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarye: and the iust liueth by faith. But if any withdrawe himselfe, my soule shal haue no pleasure in him. The same thing also must we determine of threatenynges. God sayde he would ouerthrowe the Babilonians: but they flourished and triumphed, yea and they led awaye the people of God captiue. Wherefore God would not then accomplish his threatninges, which yet afterward when he saw his time, he perfourmed.

Let vs apply these thinges vnto our place. What sayde God? I will not helpe you, that is, at this present: but after warde when I see opportunitye, I will helpe you. Yea and God oftentimes answereth vnto the inwarde [illegible] in our hert,

I will

I will not helpe you: for ye are laden with sinnes. What shal we then doo? shall we cease of from prayers? Not so. Let vs rather imitate the Hebrues: they, the more sharpely God answered them, the more they increased their repentaunce. Iohn saith: If our hart accuse vs, God is greater then our hart. Our hart doth then accuse vs, when we say vnto our selues: God will not heare, because of our synnes, God doth the more accuse vs, because he seeth more in vs, then wee our selues can see. Wherefore Dauid said: Cleanse me Lord from my secrete synnes. What remedy is there then? For who is he, whom his hart accuseth not? Let vs turne our selues vnto Christ: and if that our hart shall say, he will not helpe, let vs say vnto it: This I may wel beleue, if I should looke vpon my selfe onely, but I looke vpon the sone of God, who hath geuen himself for me. Hereof springeth that confidence which Paul had, when he said: Who shall lay accusation against the elect of god? It is god which iustifieth. &c. Wherefore if god accuseth vs not, neither will our hart accuse vs, when we beholde Christe. For we haue now confidence towardes god, and we shall obtaine. And whilest wee are conuerted vnto Christ, not onely accusation and sinne is abolished, but repentance also is augmented, as we now see is done in the Hebrues.

What we must answer to the accusation of our hart.

15 And the children of Israel answered vnto the Lorde: we haue synned, doo vnto vs whatsoeuer is good in thyne eyes: onelye wee praye thee delyuer vs thys day.
16 Then they put awaye their straunge Gods from among them, and serued the Lorde: and hys soule was grieued for the miserye of Israel.
17 Then the children of Ammon gathered together, and pytched in Gilead, and the children of Israel assembled them selues, and pitched in Mizpa.
18 And the people and Princes of Gilead sayde euerye one to hys neyghbour: whosoeuer wil begyn the battayle against the children of Ammon, shalbe Captaine ouer al the inhabitantes of Gilead.

The repentaunce of the Hebrues profited: god answered very sharpelye: I wyl not heare you. But they crye againe: Doo what seemeth good in thine eyes, that is, what soeuer pleaseth thee. This vndoubtedly is to repent, when we are not onelye repentaunt for the synnes which wee haue committed, but also wee willingly suffer, what soeuer pleaseth god. A notable example is set foorth vnto vs, in that they put away their straunge gods, and woorshipped the true god. It is not sufficient to take awaye euyll thynges, excepte in the place of euyll thinges we substitute thinges that are good. Many haue taken awaye Masses, idolatries, and superstitions, and yet haue not woorshipped god trulye: because he is not woorshipped by woordes, but by true faith & good woorkes. But ther are very fewe which embrace these thinges.

The propertye of true repentaunce.

And hys soule was grieued. Thys Hebrew woorde Tiktsad signifieth to drawe together. When we reioyce and are merye, the spirites in vs are made more ample: but when wee are sorye, the spirites are contracted vnto the hart. So it is said that God contracted hys soule, and was after a sorte sory for the miseries of his people. This kinde of speeche is not proper of God, but improper. For God is not sory, neither is he touched with affections. Wherefore it is a speeche after the condition of men. For often times those thinges are ascribed vnto god, which are noted to be in men. And often tymes thinges which happen vnto men, are ascribed vnto God. For men are fyrst grieued for the miserye of an other, before they haue compassion of them.

Contraction & ampliation of the myndes.

Affections are improperlye attributed vnto God.

χαπάχρησις.

ἀνθρωποπάθεια.

Therfore (because God doth that, which men do that ar grieued, that is, because he helpeth) it is said he his grieued, which thinges happeneth in men that helpe those that are in misery. Such a kinde of speche is ther in the booke of Numbers the.21.chap. The soule of the people was faint, because of the iourney: for that wildernes grieued the people. But R. Moses Maimon sayth, that this woorde Catsad signifieth not onely a minde, but also a will, which being before ready to reuenge, did now after a sort withdraw it self. Howbeit the first interpretation seemeth to hang wel together. The Ammonites on euery side grieuously oppressed al Israel, but because Gilead was a notable City and wel fensed, they determined therfore first of al to conquer it. But the children of Israel pitched in Mispa, so far from thence, that they could not easely succour those that were besieged. Wherfore the Gileadites in so great a daunger, thought they had nede of a captaine, for the administration of thinges: for the state consisting onely of the people, there could be nothing well done, vnles some one man were made ruler ouer them. Euen after the same maner, as the Romanes were wont in great daungers to create a Dictator. Wherfore the Giliadites saw that they needed a Captaine, but who that should be, they could not easely prouide.

R. Moses Maimon.

VVho so euer say they wyl begyn the battayle agaynst the Chyldren of Israel, let hym be our heade. Peraduenture they had desired a captaine of the Lord, and receaued an answer, that by this token they should know who should be receaued as their captaine: namely he, which first shoulde begyn the battaile against the enemies. Such signes God somtimes vsed, without any voice or outward oracle: as when he promised the seruant of Abraham, that she should be Isaacs wife, which should geue drinke vnto the Camels. It maye also be that the Citizens decreed so among themselues, that the chiefe man of the city being stirred vp with the desire of the rewarde, might the more couragiously and cherefully fight against their enemies. In this maner Chaleb, when he besieged Hebron, encouraged the mindes of his soldiours. Whosoeuer (said he) cõquereth Hebron, I wil geue him Achsa my daughter to wife. With which promise Othoniel being moued, cõquered the City, & was made the sonne in law of Chaleb. So in these hard times, when things wer in great daunger, it was necessary to vse such coũsel. But what if he which first would haue begon the battaile against the aduersaries, had bene a naughty and wicked man? What I say shoulde then haue bene doue? What also if he had bene vnmeete to gouerne the publike wealth, although he had had warlike strength? This obiection maketh me rather to allow the first sentence, that is, that the signe was offered of God, and therfore they were sure, that he would not geue them an euill captaine. Although as touching the question, we may thus answer: All ciuil promises are so farforth to be kept, as they may be performed by honest wayes & right meanes, that is, so much as conscience and the woord of God wil suffer.

¶ The.xi. Chapter.

1 AND Iiphtah the Galeadite was a mightye man, the sonne of an harlot: and Gilead begat Iiphtah.

2 And Gileads wyfe bare hym sonnes, whiche when they wer come to age, thrust out Iiphtah, and said vnto hym: thou shalt not inherite in our fathers house: for thou art the sonne of a straunge woman.

HEre is set foorth vnto vs Iiphtah, a man abiect and obscure, not as touching his Tribe: for he was of the Tribe of Manasses, but as touching his mother: for he was the sonne of an harlot. Wherefore his brethren thrust

thrust him out as a bastard. The name of his father was Gilead, who seemeth to haue bene so called by the name of the mounte and citye. And that man had not onely this bastard to sonne, but also he had other which wer legitimate children. Wherfore though Iiphtah had a noble man to his father, yet that nothing profited him, because he was a bastard, and not borne in lawful matrimony. Wherfore by the ciuil law of the Hebrewes, it was not lawful for him to haue place in the congregation of Israell. For in Deut. it is written: Mamzer shall not enter into the congregation or assembly. Zor is in Hebrew a stranger. And a bastard is so called, bicause he pertaineth not vnto the family of the father.

Bastardes had not place in the congregation of Israell.

She that bare Iiphtah was not a wife, but a harlot. This Hebrewe word Zonah signifieth two thinges. First a vitler, that is suche a one as selleth thinges pertayning to victuales, for Zon signifieth to fede or to bring vp. It signifieth also an harlotte. Paraduenture for this cause, bicause vitlers are oftentimes euill spoken of, as touching chastity. As it appeareth by a certayne lawe of Constantine, which is had in the Code ad. l. Iuliam, de adult. And vndoubtedly eyther signification may aptly be applyed vnto this place. Some of the Hebrewes thinke that Iiphtah was not the sonne of an harlot, but only the sonne of a concubine, whych was not espoused with wedding tables or bonds, and a dowry. But that semeth not very wel to agree. For the Hebrewes called not a concubine Zonah, neyther had it bene lawfull for his brethern to haue thrust out Iiphtah as a straunger, if he had bene the sonne of a Concubine. For the hauinge of Concubines of that sorte, was with the Iewes true Patrimonye. Farther, wee muste knowe that the Hebrewes had an other word, which signified an harlot. And that is Kedashah, as though a man would say, sancta, that is holy, as Virgill sayth: The holy hunger of gold.

The mother of Iiphtah was not a Concubine.

This word Kadash signifieth to prepare. For as godly men prepare and sanctify themselues to the worshipping of god: so do harlots prepare themselues vnto the decking and gayne of the body.

And in Deut. the. 23. it was commaunded, that no such whore should be in Israell. And it is added, that the hire of zonah, that is of a whore, should not bee brought into the sanctuary: wherfore we may therby gather that zonah and Kedashah, are taken both in one signification. In the. 21. of Leuiticus it was not lawfull for a priest to haue such a one to wife. Thou wilt say peraduenture, what should it auayle to make such a lawe, if there were no harlots in Israell? I answeare, that god in dede commaunded there should be none, but the people obeyed not. But why would not god haue a bastard to come into the congregation? Not bicause that he should be the worse man, if he should liue vprightly: but that the people might know, that god detesteth whoredom. And not to enter into the congregation, was nothing els, then to be made vnapt for the executing of an office, either ciuil or holy. Although otherwise he had to his father, eyther a priest or a ruler. Wherfore it was not lawful for bastards to execute the office either of a Tribune, or of a Preto, or Magistrate, or priest.

Why bastards were not admitted vnto the pub. wealth. What not to enter into the congregation signifieth.

Why therfore doth god now make a bastarde ruler ouer his people? Bycause he prescribed the law vnto men, and not to himselfe. An other cause is, least they which are so borne, should be therefore straight waye discouraged. Farther, that they myghte remember that they are not excluded for theyr owne faulte, but for theyr fathers faulte. But nowe to returne vnto Iiphtah, hys brethren coulde not haue thruste hym oute, excepte he hadde beene borne of an harlotte. Otherwise a Concubyne was a lawefull wyfe, and the chylderne of Iacob whyche were borne of hys Concubynes, abode wyth theire other bretherne,

and wer inheritors together with them. But thou wilt say: Abraham did thrust out Ismael. That was done before the law, and by the singular will of God, that the whole and perfect inheritance myght come vnto Isaac. Otherwise by the ordinary lawe of the Hebrewes, the children of Concubines, were not vtterly excluded from al inheritance.

¶ Of bastardes and children vnlawfully borne.

A diuision of children.

But to make the thing more plaine, we will thus deuide children: namely that there are some which are lawfull, and not naturall, as they that are adopted. Other some there are which were naturall, and not lawfull, as they whiche are born of Concubines. (But here I speake of Concubines after the manner of the Romaynes: For as touching the Hebrewes, they which wer born of them, wer legitimate). And there are other which are both legitimate and natural, as they which are borne in iust matrimony. Lastly, there are some which ar neyther legitimate nor naturall, as are bastardes. A bastard is he, whiche can not tell who is his father, or if he can tell, it is one, whom it is not lawfull for him to haue to his father, as it is written in the Digestes de statu personarum, in the lawe Vulgo concepti. There is a greate difference betweene the condicions of children: but we, as touching this matter that we haue in hand, will neyther entreate of children adopted, nor of children legitimate naturall, but onely of naturall children, and bastardes, which seme to be more obscure then the other.

What childe is called a bastard

Children natural not legitimate, may be made legitimate, as it is in the Code de Naturalibus filiis. Legē Anastasii. And the wayes how they might be made, ar described in ỹ same Code, in ỹ law Si quis. But bastards could not be made legitimate. If we wil speak of the childrē of Cōcubines after ỹ maner of the Iewes, they wer legitimate, as we haue before taught. But the Romaynes counted thē not as legitimate, onely this they ordeined, that they might be made legitimate. Farther, bastards are not in the fathers power, neither can they be: but they that are naturall, may be, if they be made legitimates. These things I speake, that we might vnderstande in howe greate a miserye bastardes are. Wherefore Iephtah could not atteyne to the inheritaunce of his father. And these lawes were made, that men might be plucked from whoredome, if it were but onely for the ignominy of theyr children. For when they do beget bastardes, they hurt them without hope of recouery. Wherfore Chrisostome vpon the epistle to the Romayns (whē he enterpreteth these wordes: Now is the houre for vs to rise from sleepe) vehemently inueygheth agaynst whoremongers. Why dost thou sowe (sayth he) that which is not lawfull for thee to reape? Or if thou doo gather, it is ignominious vnto thee: For infamy wil therby come, both to him which shalbe borne, and to thee also. For he as long as he liueth, shalbe cut of ignominy, and thou, both whē thou art liuing and when thou art dead, shalt alwaies be noted of filthy lust, &c. Wherfore it is ordeined by the lawes, that bastardes should not be admitted to the inheritance of theyr fathers.

Chrisostome.

The father when he dieth, may geue somewhat vnto natural childrē, yea they succede, though they be not put in the will, when there ar no other children. But yet they succede not in the whole, but onely in two twelue partes, as appeareth in the Code de Naturalibus liberis, in the law Licet patri. But the bastard was so farre of from succeding the father, ỹ he could not desire of him so much as should serue to finde him, as it is in Code de incestis nuptiis, in the law ex cōplexu. But the Ecclesiasticall Cannons deale somewhat more gentlye: for they permitte that a bastard should haue somewhat geuen him to find hym withall, as it is: Extra, of him which maried her, whom before he had polluted with aduoutry in the chapter Cum haberet. And herein both the lawes of god and man do agree. Neyther

The ecclesiasticall cannons,

ther as I haue before sayd, were these lawes written of hatred or cruelty against bastardes, but that at the least by this meanes the filthy lustes of men should be kepte vnder.

Notwithstanding this I will not ouerpasse, that by the lawes of the Romaines, the bastarde might succede his mother, as it is had in the Digests ad Senatus consultum Tertul. L.1. he may also complayne of his mother, if she leaue him out of her will, as it is had in the digests de inofficioso Testamẽto. L.29. which is to be vnderstand, except the mother be noble. And why bastardes are not counted in the seede of children, and ar depriued of their fathers inheritance: Augustine besides these reasons which I haue before brought, bringeth also an other out of the holy scriptures. For it is writtẽ in Leuit. the. 20. chap. He ẏ commeth to the wyfe of his vncle, shall dye wythout children. But (sayth he) many ar borne also of incest, whose parents are not childles. He answereth, that the Lord so speaketh in the lawe, because such ar not counted for children. Wherefore theyr fathers are iustly sayd to be without children, although they haue children: because it is al one, as if they had none. And because such children are contẽned of the father, neyther are they rightly brought vp nor chastised, oftentimes they proue worse then the other. Chrisostome vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes the. 12. chapter, in his 29. Homely, exhorteth the people, to think that god doth like a father when he chastiseth vs: for the father neglecteth vnlawfullye begotten children and bastardes. Wherefore god when he chasteneth, doth part of a true and lawfull father. Plutarch in his Problemes the. 103. Probleme, sayth that the Romaynes had foure surnames, so that some were called Cnei, and other some Caii, and those names they noted by two letters onely, or by three. Wherefore he demaundeth, whye Spurius ẏ is a bastard, was written by these two letters Sp. because sayth he, the first letter S, signifyeth Sine, that is without, ẏ P, *Pater* that is, a father, bycause he was borne of an vnknowen father. Although that maye also be applied vnto Posthumos, that is such as ar borne after theyr father is dead: but to them it was not cõtumelius to be called Spurii. For Sp. Melius, Sp. Cassius and other of that name were very notable cittisens. We haue harde the law of God, and the ciuill law, now let vs see the Cannons.

Augustine.

Bastardes proue often times worse then other children. *Chrisostome.* Plutarche.

In the decrees distinction. 56. chapter. Presbiterorum, bastardes are not suffred to be admitted vnto holy orders, vnles they wer first brought vp in monasteries, as though by this meanes they might be amended. But the Canons which afterward follow, are somewhat more gentle. Chrisostome vpon Mathewe in hys. 4. Homely, as it is in the same place recited, chapter Nunquam, teacheth ẏ so to be borne, ought not to be hurtful vnto the children. For if a man haue bene a theefe, a whoremonger, or a murtherer, and then repent him, his former life shal not be hurtefull vnto him: much lesse oughte the sinne of the father to be hurtefull vnto the child, yea rather if the child behaue himselfe wel, he shal be so much the more notable, and worthye of more prayse, in that he hath not followed the steppes of his father. Ierome in his Epistle contra Ioannem Hierosolomitanum ad *Pammachium*, as in the same decrees appeareth in the chapter Nascitur. Bastardes sayth he, are not to be contemned: for they haue the hande of god to make them, neyther did god disdayne to make them, and to geue them a soule. &c. Gregory also in the same place in the chapter Satis peruersum, sayth, that it is a thinge vnworthy, that the child should be so punished, for the pleasure of the father, that he shoulde not be promoted vnto the holye ministerye. Ierome in the same place chapter Dominus. If Christ in his genealogy vouchsaked to recke bastards, why shall not we then admitte them to the ministerye. &c.

What the Cannons decree of bastardes. *Chrisostome.*

Ierome.

Gregory

After these Cannons whiche are somewhat fauorable vnto bastardes, is brought out a stronge argument on the contrarye parte. Whoremongers (saye they)

What the father hindereth bastardes.

they) do seme to poure in a certayne power into the seede, whiche power passeth also into the childzen, wherof follow euill inclinations, and therof are they iudged to be wozse then other, bycause when they ar childzen, they are not cozrected. Wherfoze if they be promoted vnto the holy ministery, the churche shall receaue dammage. Yet at the last it is added, in the chap. Cenomanensis, if there be any that are notable, they maye be admitted vnto holye ozders: but yet not that it shoulde be a generall rule of all, but onelye a priuiledge. And these thinges are written in the decrees.

But in the decretalles de filiis presbiterorum it is had, that bastardes if they be made Monkes, may come vnto ozders, but in suche sozte that they be not promoted vnto dignities, and be not made eyther Abbottes oz Priozs. But if they liue without the monastery, the bishop may ozdeyne them, and geue them small benefites, but that is by his authozity, and (as they commonly cal it) by dispensacion. But ecclesiasticall dignities must not be geuen them, but by the Pope: foz that power he kepeth to himselfe alone. But suche releasinges of Popes and bishops tend onely to gayne. The iudgemente of these thinges shoulde haue beene left vnto the churche: which ought herein to haue a respect to two thinges, to her owne necessitye, and to the excellent vertues of him whome it will promote. If the Church shall haue greate neede, and he excell in vertues, the manner of his byrth shall nothing let him.

The iudgment foz promotinge of bastardes must be left vn to the church.

Foz Paule to Timothy and to Titus, when he diligently writeth of the election of bishops and priestes, forbiddeth nothing of thys kynd of men. But thou wilt say, in the olde lawe bastardes were excluded from the ministerye. I graunte that, but we ar not now bound to that law, & it was made onely foz the detestacion of aduoutry. But nowe if they can much profite the churche, they? election is not to be prohibited. And it is dayn which is writtē in the decretals, that legitimates maye be chosen, but bastards oughte to be reiected, except with dispensacion, as it is had in the title de electionibus. Foz these couloures and deceates the Romayne Bysshoppes haue inuented to amplyfye they? dominion. But the sentence whiche I haue allowed, agreeth with charitye: and we may gather the like of it out of the ciuil law, wher it is entreated of *Decuriones*, foz these wer ciuill Iudges foz priuate cities and townes. Wherfoze it is decreed that bastardes might be made *Decuriones*, if necessity so required. In the Digests de Decurionibus in the lawe generaliter, paragrapho. *Debet enim*. The lawe therefoze woulde haue that ozder namely of *Decuriones* to be ful. Howbeit if an other legitimately borne, were a suter to gether foz the same, he shoulde be preferred before the bastard. Wo thinke I must we do in the churche, that if anye man be as good and as apte foz the ministery, being legitimately borne, let vs haue no regard vnto the bastarde, who muste geue place in that lawefull case. It is added in the lawe: If they be honest and good, the faulte of the byrth nothinge hindereth them. In the same tytle in lawe Spurios, and in the lawe followinge. These thynges haue I therefoze mencioned that we myghte vnderstande, by what ryghte Iephtah was of hys bretherne thrust oute, and to see howe the Ciuyll lawes agree with the law of God.

A trifling diuision of the decretals.

Bastardes might be made Decuriones.

Whither the sonne shall beare the iniquity of the father.

But in this place ariseth a question wayghtier and farre moze hard, bycause it seemeth that the sonne beareth the iniquitye of the father. Foz he that is borne, playd not the whoremonger, but the father, whom he could not let. Moze ouer in Deutronomy the. 5. chap. it is writen, and also the same thinge is founde

in

in Exodus, I will visite the sinnes of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generatiõ. And the same did God repeate vnto Moses, when he passed before him. For among his Prophetes this also is added: visiting the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third I say, and fourth. And it semeth merueilous, by what meanes that may be numbred among the titles of mercy. This thing the Heretikes, as the Martionites, Valentinians, and Carpocratians, left not vnspoken of, who for that cause reiected the old testament, and affirmed the author therof to be an euil God, as he which spared the fathers that sinned, and punished the innocent children, being so far from mercy, that he can not forget sinne, but reserueth anger, euen to the third and fourth generation. The Iewes also tooke that in euill parte, who in Ezechiel the. 18. chap. sayd: Our fathers haue eaten sower grapes, & the childrens teeth are set on edge. That was as much as if they should haue sayd: Ieroboam erected calues, Manasses setforth idolatry, & must we be punished for them? But the Lord answered by the Prophet: All soules are mine, both the soule of the father, & also the soule of the sonne. The soule that sinneth, it shall dye, and the sonne shall not beare the iniquity of the father. These thinges seme not very well to agree together.

What the Heretikes reprone in the old testament.

Some thinke that here must be vsed a distinction of euils and punishmentes. For there are some punishementes say they, which pertayne vnto eternal damnation: and there are other, which dure but for a tyme. And they vnderstand the place of Ezechiel before alledged of the first kinde of punishementes: for as touching eternall saluation or damnation, euery one shall beare his owne burthen. And agayne the soule which hath sinned, it shal dye. Neither do they otherwise vnderstãd a place of Ieremy in the. 31. chap. But as touching punishments which dure but for a tyme, as are sicknes, pouerty, banishement, death, &c. they affirme that it is not agaynst the iustice of God, but that vnto these kinde of punishmentes he maye punishe the sonne together with the father, and the people with the princes. And in that sort they expounde that which is sayd in the law: I will visite the sinnes of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the thirde and fourth generation. Augustine semeth sometymes to haue allowed this distinction. For in his questions vpon Iosua the 8. question, when he reasoneth concernyng Achan, which had hidden some of the thinges that were cursed, for whose sinne all the Israelites were miserably afflicted, and for the same cause not onely Achan was punished, but also his sonnes and daughters were put to death together with him: Augustine (I say) sayth there, that those punishmentes may both profit, and also hinder, which thing God himselfe knoweth, and therfore he tempreth them accordyng to his iustice. For god so moderateth thẽ, that they do both afflicte the wicked, and are not hurtfull to the good. For such is his prouidence, that those thinges which seme euill, he can make good: but as touching eternall punishementes, bycause they alwayes are hurtfull, euery man worthily suffreth them according to his euil desert. No man (saith he) suffreth these punishments for an other mans faulte. The same Augustine writeth agaynst the aduersary of the lawe and the Prophetes in his. 1. boke and. 16. chap. There is no doubt (sayth he) but that in this life one is vered for an other. And agaynst Iulianus the *Pelagian* in his. 6. booke the 12. chap. he maketh a diuision of the estate of people, and sayth that some are regenerate in Christ, but other some are not yet regenerate. And the sinnes of those that ar regenerate, are visited vnto the third and fourth generation, that is, vpon all their posterity. And he alludeth it vnto originall sinne, which was by Adam sowed into all his posterity. But thou wilt say, why is it visited vnto the third and fourth generation? The same father answereth, in his 42. question vpon Deut. bycause three ioyned with sower make seuen, which is a number of fulnes, so that to say vpon the third and fourth generation, is all one, as if he had sayd vpon all generations. Which kind of speakyng Amos vsed, saying: For three transgressions, and for foure I will not turne to it. Wherfore

A distinction of punishmentes.

Augustine.

A diuision of men into regenerate and into those that are not yet regenerate.

The nomber of seuen is a token of fulnes.

Augu-

Auguſtine vnderſtandeth theſe woordes of the lawe, for viſityng the iniquityes of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third and fourth generation, as touching thoſe that are not regenerate. For the lawe (ſayeth he) entreated of thoſe whiche were vnder the lawe. But Ezechiel and Ieremy entreate of menne regenerate, and of the gift of regeneration whiche ſhould be geuen by Chriſt. But men that are regenerate ſhalbe iudged euery mã according to his owen deſertes, and not according to other mens ſynnes. And ſo ꝑ ſonne ſhall not beare the iniquity of the father, but the ſoule whiche hath ſinned, it ſhall dye. But before regeneration, originall ſinne infecteth and deſtroyeth all poſteritye.

Ezechiel and Ieremy wrote both the ſelfe ſame woordes in ſundry places.

This diſtinction of Auguſtine I diſalow not, but I doubt whether it be ſufficiently applyed vnto the meaning of Ezechiel and Ieremy. Both thoſe Prophetes wrote theſe ſelfe ſame woordes. The fathers haue eatẽ ſower grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge, when as yet the one was in Iewry, and the other caried away into Babilone. Whiche is a manifeſt argument, that they ſpake both with one and the ſelfe ſame ſpirite. But Auguſtine ſayeth that the expoſition of Ezechiel is to be ſought for in the. 31. chap. of Ieremy. For there after the ſame woordes it is added: Beholde the dayes will come, and I will make a new conenaunt, &c. Wherfore that place is wholy to be applied vnto regeneration: and therfore by theſe woordes of Ieremy, the woordes of Ezechiel are to be interpreted of thoſe that are regenerate. In this manner that father thynketh this queſtion is fully aunſwered.

But when I more attentyuely doo weighe the chap. of Ezechiel, I thinke that he ſpeaketh of the punifhmentes and afflictions of this lyfe. For why complayned the people, ſaying, that the fathers had eaten ſower grapes, and the childrẽs teeth were ſet on edge? Did they complaine of the payne of hell? No vndoubtedly, but becauſe they were led away captiue into Babilone and lyued in ſeruitude. They complayne that God ſemeth to deale to hardly with them: becauſe for as much as their fathers were idolaters, yet they which had not ſinned, were punifhed. For thoſe punifhementes the people lamented: wherfore it was neceſſary, that the Prophet ſhould aunſwere them of the ſame punifhementes. The ſoule of the father is myne, and the ſoule of the ſonne is myne. The ſoule whiche hath ſinned, it ſhal dye. Theſe woordes therfore haue a reſpect vnto the punifhmentes of this lyfe. Although I do not deny, but that it may alſo be tranſferred vnto ſpiritual punifhmẽtes: but not, vnles it be by an argumẽt from the les to the great. And that after this maner, God doth not for an other mans ſinne punifhe, with paynes whiche dure, but for a tyme, thoſe whiche are vtterly innocent, therfore much les will he punifhe them with ſpirituall and eternall punifhmentes.

Argumentum a minori ad maius.

Ierome.

Ierome when he interpreteth this place of Ezechiel, hath the ſolution, whiche Auguſtine alſo afterward followed, as in his place we ſhall declare. But the interpretations do vary, becauſe it is a thing obſcure, and the difficulty hereof ryſeth, becauſe it can not be denyed, but that God doth vere ſome for other mens ſakes. For although Cham vncouered the filthines of his father, yet the curſe was tranſferred to Chanaan his ſonne. And when the Sodomites had grieuouſly ſinned, the children were alſo burnt together with the fathers. And when *Dauid* had committed aduoutry, God cauſed that the ſonne whiche was borne of ꝑ aduoutry to dye. Wherfore in a thing ſo obſcure Ierome bringeth his owne interpretation, but he declareth alſo other mens iudgementes as touchyng this queſtion. Firſt he ſayth that there were very many, which did vnderſtand this place of the lawe. (That God will viſite the iniquity of the fathers vpon the children vnto the third & fourth generation) allegorically of euery ſingular ſoule, or man. For there are in vs certayn naturall paſſions, impulſions and violences to euill, or (as other ſay) firſt motions. Then followeth deliberation, when a man determineth with himſelfe to do euill. Thirdly is perfourmed that whiche was determined. Fourthly, followeth boaſtyng of the wicked acte, when he reioyſeth and hath a pleaſure in his ſinnes. So in a maner are numbred foure generatiõs: but

Vn Allegorical expoſition of ſome.

Foure degrees of ſinnes.

1 ꝓpaſſibilis.
2
3
4

God

God is so gentle, that in the first and second generation, bearing with the first motions and imperfections of sinne, winketh at it, but in the third and fourth, that is to the perpetuating & hedding be punisheth. Likewise a man doth obiect still, and glorieth in his sinnes, and will not repent. Wherefore they say that God reuengeth vpō the children and not vpon the parēts. For they think, if he will hurt the euil, not knowing his euil ways he smoteth, although other wise he hath suffered long patiently & spared: but in that matter they interpret Paul vnto Timothe, when he saith that the woman shalbe saued by procreation of children, so they abyde in the faith, &c. that is: The female shalbe saued, if she be that which is good, although she haue euil motions and cogitations.

This interpretation do not I allow for sundry causes: it is altogether all, when as God especially in the law speaketh simply and manifestly: moreouer by reason if the wrathe of God should be applied vnto all sinnes, they should be made vtterly vncertaine and slacke, by reason that which is sayd is not true. For these impulsions and first motions are sinnes, by reason both they are against the law of God, and also they are condemned of S. Paule, when he saith in the Gospell: He which seeth a woman and lusteth after her, hath committed fornication already in his harte. And he which is angry with his brother, is worthy of iudgement. For God doth not so regarde the actes, but that he quickly looketh & searcheth vnto the myndes. Moreouer the motions of contention sinned grieuously, and yet if we diligently inuighe what lyeth vnder, we shall finde nothing that he committed euill but warily. For Cain slew his brother of enuy, and tooke great vengeance of him. Wherefore these motions and deliberations of the mynde are not onely sinnes, but also are grieuously punished of God. Wherefore let vs deme this interpretation, which he hath also bringeth not to his ende.

The impulsions and first motions of ỏ mindes are sinnes.

But now to make the matter playne, as touching punishmentes of this life, no man can say he suffreth that which he deserueth not, because no man is pure, no not he whose life is but one day: for there is none which hath not deserued euil death. In like wise should men say: Our fathers haue eaten sower grapes, &c. who as euery man shall beare his owne burthen, either as touching this life, or as touching eternall life. But God doth not always send those euilles which dure but for a time as punishmentes, but hath very often respect vnto others, as we see in Christ, Iohn 9. of the man borne blynd: Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parentes, that he should be borne blynd, but ỏ the glory of God should be made manifest. Also Peter and Paul, when they were put to death, did not complayne that they had not deserued death. Although God, when they were killed, had not a respect vnto this, to punishe the, but that by their bloud might be left a testimony of the Gospell of his sonne. Wherefore seing the matter is so, and we be all subiect vnto sinnes, there is no cause why we should complayne, that God dealeth to sharply with vs, if we be afflicted for the sinnes of our parentes. For God can so direct those troubles, that they shall pertayne not onelyes vnto our glory, but also to the saluation of our parentes. For oftetymes he punisheth the parentes in the children, and the princes in the people. For the parentes are no les grieued for the punishement of their children, then if they themselues were afflicted. If the children dye for the parentes cause, they haue no iuyng vnto their parentes death, as also be vnto them, as they should other wise haue vpon. Wherefore if God will so dispose their death, he may vse it iustly. Which thing also he may affirme of other calamityes. For if the sonne be vexed with sickenes, he deserued the sickenes, if he haue lost money, that hath he lost thinges transitory and vnstable, and which were geuen vnto him on that condition, that they might easely be taken away againe. Wherefore if God will with these kindes of calamityes punish the parentes in the children, he can not be accused of iniustice.

As touching punishementes which dure but for a tyme ỏ no man suffreth wythe he hath not deserued.

God doth not alwayes send those euilles which dure but for a tyme as punishements.

Why God regardeth in the martyrdome of his sainctes.

The scourges of the children, pronte sometymes the parentes.

The griefes of the children are the griefes of the parentes.

Wherefore Augustine in his questions vpon Iosua the 8. question by original sinne (saith he) many punishements are layd vpon vs, which yet God inflicteth

God as touching the temporall punishmentes of this life.

vnto

vnto certayne medicines, and maketh them very bytter to ydoute vs, although they seme vnto vs euill. For if the sonne did vnderstande, peraduenture he would haue followed the euill steppes of his father, or his kinsmen his forefathers. Wherefore if God take him out of this life, he can not complayne that he is ill delt with. For though the benefites of god his wrath remayne vnto his posterite. For he is taken away, least by malice his heart should change. And therefore by we must suffer easy euils, to attayne vnto great goodnes. For so the physitions with a bitter purgation trouble the thyngs, to restore the sicke person to his former health. In lyke maner when we haue deserued punishmentes, God yet turneth them to good. And by this meanes (saith Augustine) a certayne discipline is established in the worlde. For vnles it were so, mankinde would continually growe worse and worse. A certayne continuation also and fellowship of mankinde is declared, whē one after this maner is punished for the sinnes of an other. For they which pertayne vnto one kingdome or City, or Churche, are after a sorte one body among themselues. And in the body one member suffereth for an other. Wherefore seyng this is so in the body, it is not absurde, that the same be chaunce also in the society of men.

By this meanes discipline is kepte in the worlde.

Plutarche.

Plutarche in his booke de Sera numinis vindicta, hath very well noughte this: The eye (saith he) is sicke, or the vayne of the arme is cut, or the father hath sinned, and the sonne is punished: he payed hath bene made pitifully ill, and the people is vexed: and such compassion or suffring together is there in thinges humane. That antiquity accuseth the rashenes of men, whiles they often as vnlike thynges doe chaunce, do complayne that God vexeth cruelly. For the father (saith he) is either good or euill. If the sonne of a good father be peraduenture infected with euill, straight way they crye out that God doth vniustly; neither is it meete that the sonne should be so miserably handled, which hath so good a mynde to his father. But if the father be euill, and the sonne some time after, against they make exclamation, that here also god is vniust. For the sonne ought neuer to haue ben punished, when as the father sinned, wherefore the common people vtterly that the sonne should by no meanes be afflicted. Who whē the maner be euill, and yet all thinges go prosperously with the sonne, here also they dispute (as he sayth) of the iniustice of god. For they deny it is iust that when the sonne should lyue prosperously, which hath so euill a father. Which thinges this man, thoughe he were an Ethnike, writeth very godlily.

συμπάθεια.

Moreouer we must consider, that children are as certayn partes of the parētes, and haue somewhat of the parentes in them. Wherefore it is not absurde if God punish y part of the parentes in the children. But I will ouercome Augustine, who saith, y god by this meanes setteth discipline in the house, in the publique wealth, in the Churche, and in the familye. Which saying in any iudgement can not be disco[illegible]mēded: for if the children be punished for the faultes of their parētes, they haue nothing wherof to complayne. They owe vndoubtedly this duty vnto their parentes: for of them they haue that they liue. Wherfore if they leaue their lyfe for them, they haue no wrong done them. For they render vnto them that which they receiued of them. If god should saye vnto them: I will vse your punishment to the salnation of your parētes, they could by no right refuse it. John sayth: that euery one ought to laye downe his brother, to be ready to lay down his life for him. And if we must geue our life for our brother, how much more ought we to geue it for our father. God vseth sundry inuentions; wherewith he draweth men vnto him. Why then should he not vse vnder the seuerity, y death of the children either for the chastenyng, or for the saluation of the parentes? Augustine in his 8. question vpon Iosuah, where y same argumēt is alleged, saieth: That it is iust, that the lesser part suffer punishment for the greater, as in that hyllory it happened, by reason of the sacrilege done by Achan committed. As for the children in the battayle, and the whole multitude [illegible] by we vnderstād how

Children are certayn partes of the parentes.

Augustine.

The lesser part iustly suffereth punishment for the greater.

how great the anger and vengeance of God would haue bene, if the whole multitude had sinned, when as the sinne of one manne was so exceedingly punished. And Plutarche in that booke, whiche a little before I brought: This thing (sayth he) also the Capitaynes doo in their hostes. If there be any thyng commonly committed vnto all, they put the tenth manne to death, that by the punishment of a fewe, the rest may be absolued: and so one is punished for an other mans faulte. But GOD, as it is sayde, doth no manne iniurye: for he whiche dyeth, was subiecte vnto death, and GOD directeth hys death to a good ende, namely to helpe other, that is, that by thys meanes, eyther the parentes or the yonges maye bee prouoked vnto repentaunce, or to establyshe discipline. But those thynges whiche we haue sayde, can by no meanes bee vnderstande of spirituall and eternall paynes. For as touchyng them euery man shall suffer for hys owne faulte. The maner of punishing the tenth souldier.

Nowe lette vs expounde the woordes of the lawe. I (sayeth he) am a Ielous God, visityng the iniquity of the Fathers vpon the chyldren, vnto the third and fourth generation, of them that hate me. These last woordes Ierome vpon Ezechiel the. 18. chapter diligently noteth. And Augustine vpon Iosua in the question before alledged. Of those, sayeth GOD, which hate me: as though he should haue sayd, I will not touche the innocents, but will take vengeaunce of their iniquity, which imitate euill Fathers, and hath me. After the same manner he promiseth to doo good vnto children, and chyldrens chyldren, euen vnto a thousande generations. But to what chyldren? Euen to those, (sayeth he) that loue me. Wherefore thoughe the Father bee vngodly, and the sonne good, the iniquitye of the father shall nothyng hurte hym. But if the father bee good, and the sonne wicked, the godlynes of the father shall nothyng profyte hym. And therefore Ierome sayeth: He auengeth the iniquitye of the Fathers vpon the children, not bycause they had euyll parentes, but bycause they imitate theyr parentes. The woordes themselues doo sufficiently declare, that the lawe is not to bee vnderstande of Originall synne, but of that synne whiche they call actuall. For then shall the sonne beare the iniquitye of the Father, when he lykewyse synneth as dyd the Father. Also the woordes of Ezechiel can not bee vnderstande of Originall synne, as that whiche followeth easely declareth. Although thys sentence, that the soule whiche sinneth, it shal dye, maye bee vnderstande of Originall synne. For euery manne hath in hymselfe a corrupte nature, and a prones vnto euill. Wherefore euery manne beareth hys owne synne. For although that vice were by originall drawen of the parentes: yet nowe is it made ours. Ierome. *Augustine.* Euery manne hath in himself his proper originall sinne.

But thou wilte saye: seyng in the lawe it is sayde, Of them whiche hate me: and infantes, forasmuch as they hate not God, therefore it can not pertayne vnto them. I answer. That in act in dede they hate not God, but by corruption of nature, and prones vnto euill. So a woolfe that is at full age deuoureth a sheepe. A younge woolfe whiche is but a whelpe doth it not, not bycause it hath not the nature of the father, but bycause it is not able. And thus muche as touching the woordes of the lawe.

But why it is sayde vnto the thirde and fourth generation, and not vnto the fyft and sixt, we haue hearde what Augustine hath answered. But in my iudgement we maye saye muche more commodiously, that the parentes may lyue vnto the thirde and fourth generation. GOD woulde therefore so punyshe the Fathers in the thirde and fourth generation, that by that punyshement of theyr posteritye, some feelyng myght come vnto them, they beyng yet on lyue, & that they myght see the miseryes of theyr newewes & childrens chyldren. For thys cause the holy Scripture extendeth those generations no farther. When the posteritye are euill, and are punished of GOD, there is no doubte but that the parentes are punyshed also in them. Chrisostome vpon Genesis the.

29. Homely when he interpreteth these woordes: Cursed be Chanaan, &c. But he synned not (sayeth he,) but hys father Cham. That is true in deede, he answereth: but Cham was a greate deale more sharpely touched with that curse, then if it had bene pronounced agaynste hymselfe. Thys is the power and fatherly affection, to bee more vexed with the afflictions of theyr children, then with theyr owne. Wherefore Cham dyd not onely see that hys sonne should be euill and subiecte vnto the curse: but also he sawe that he hymselfe shoulde bee punished in hym.

This now resteth to bee declared, why amonge the Prophetes of the mercye of GOD, this also was recited before Moses: Visityng the iniquitye of the Fathers vpon the children, when as this seemeth rather to pertayne vnto seueritye. But it is not so, yea rather if we looke more narrowly vpon the place, we shall vnderstande that it is a poynte of mercy. For where the sinne was firste committed, he myght strayghtwaye if he would, iustly bee reuenged. But he is so good that he wyll defer the vengeaunce vnto the thirde and fourth generation, and in the meane tyme calleth backe the father to repentaunce, by admonitions of the Prophetes, by sermons and benefites, and many other wayes. At the laste, when the thirde and fourth generation is come, and he made neuer a whitte the better, he goeth to stripes, and yet he doth not then vse affliction, as the laste punishement, but rather as a medecine. Who seeth not that all this is a woorke of greate mercye? Wherefore iustly and woorthily are these woordes numbred amonge the prophecyes of mercye. And it can not bee denyed, but that the Prophetes were oftentymes afflicted together with the people. For Ezechiel and Daniel were led awaye into captiuity, and Ieremy was caste into prison, and wonderfully vexed in the tyme of the siege: and afterwarde goyng with the Hebrues into Egypte, he was slayne. For God wyll haue the thyng in thys manner ordered, that good men, may not onely ryghtly gouerne their own lyfe, but also in suffryng thynges greuous, they may admonishe and bryng to amendement the euill. For they are conuersant together with them in the same publique wealth and Churche, and are after a sorte members of one body.

It profiteth the iust ẏ they are wrapped in the same punishmentes with the wicked.

Wherefore the good ought thus to thinke with thẽselues: If God afflicte the euill, we also shalbe vexed together with them: we shall all be wrapped with the selfe same punishement. Therefore we must see, that we labour for them, in rebrouyng and prayng for them: for theyr saluation beyng neglected, shall bryng euilles also vnto vs. After thys sorte we muste vnderstande Augustine, when he sayeth, that GOD by thys meanes establysheth discipline amonge men. Bycause if the people bee afflicted for their kynges, and the sonne for the father: then must they labour and trauayle one for an other. Neither yet do good men so lyue without sinne, that God can finde nothyng in them to punishe. Although the afflictions whiche happen vnto the godly, can not as it is sayde, be properly called afflictions: but rather exercises of fayth. For so God trieth theyr fayth, and what soeuer he doth in them, he turneth it to their good. Moreouer he wyll haue thẽ to expresse in themselues their firste begotte brother Iesus Christ, whiche suffred in hymselfe other mens synnes. For this also is a certayne portion of the Crosse of Christ, although they are not so innocent, as Christ was: neither serueth their crosse any thing to redeme sinnes. Daniel in his captiuity after this manner confessed hys sinnes. We haue sinned (sayth he) and done vniustly, &c. he sayd not: They haue sinned, but we. And Esaye sayeth: All our righteousnes are as a cloth stayned with floures of a woman. There is in deede in holy menne a certayne ryghteousnes, but not such a righteousnes as they can boast of, before the iudgement seate of God. Wherefore if they suffer any thing, they haue no iust cause to complayne.

The afflictiõs of the godly ar not properly punishmentes.

But thou, wilt saye: Why is it sayd ẏ God in thẽ punisheth the sinnes of other mẽ, when as they also sinne? We should say rather ẏ he punisheth their sinnes,

and

and not the synnes of their parentes. I answere: Bycause when god hath muche and longe tyme wayted, that their father should repent, and it nothing profited, and in the meane tyme it is come vnto the third and fourth generation, at the length he powreth out his anger vpon the children, whiche therefore are sayd to suffer for their fathers, bicause vnles the malice of their fathers had gone before, their affliction might haue ben deferred till farther time. But now bycause they haue fallen into the third and fourth generation, the consideration of the iustice of god will not suffer the punishement to be deferred any longer. And althoughe they themselues also haue deserued those euils, yet bycause they are so corrected in the third and fourth generation, they owe that debty vnto their parentes.

And so God teacheth the parentes, that they should temper themselues from wicked actes: and thoughe they will not for gods sake, or for their own, yet at the least for theyr posteritie sake. It also maketh the children afrayde to imitate the sinnes of their fathers, least the punishmēt due vnto their fathers be required of thē. Neither is it vniuste that ỳ children suffer something for their fathers sake: for by their fathers they receaue inheritances, and are aboue other honored and exalted. For god did not onely make fortunate Dauid, but also for his sake fauored his posterity. For the kyngdome persewered in his family ỳ space of. 400. yeares. But as touching eternall life, neither shall the father be punished for the sinnes of ỳ children, nor the children for ỳ sinnes of ỳ fathers. Howbeit children obteine many spirituall giftes by good fathers. For Paul in his. 1. Epist. to the Cor. the. 7. chap. sayth: Otherwise your children should be vncleane: but now they are holy. Wherefore the children haue of holy parentes, some holynes, and some spirituall gift, as that place teacheth. And on the contrary part, by euill parentes many such good giftes are hindred: neither are they heard of God beyng euill, and not repentaunt, when they desire spirituall giftes for their children. Yet by the prouidence of God it oftentymes commeth to passe, that of good parentes are borne noughty children: and of euill, good, as Ezechias a good kyng, had to his father Achaz a wicked kyng. And contrarywise the same Ezechias beyng a very godly prince, begat Manasses a very vngodly and cruell kyng. The same also myght I saye of Iosias. Thys therefore commeth so to passe, least wickednes shoulde increase without measure, if of euill parentes shoulde continually bee borne euill children, God putteth to hys hande, and maketh the sonne borne of an euill father, a member of Christe. And therewith all he sheweth that his goodnes can not be hindered by the parentes, thoughe they be neuer so wicked. Farthermore euill children, are borne of good parentes, that grace should be the better knowen. And that the goodnes of the childē should not be attributed vnto nature, whiche they haue drawen of their parentes. For god will haue it knowen to be his gifte, that we are saued.

As touchyng eternall life the childē are not punished for ỳ sinnes of the fathers.

Childē obteine some spirituall giftes for their parentes sake.

Euil parentes doe sometymes hinder theyr children of god spiritual gifts.

Why good children ar borne of euil parētes, & euill of good.

This one thyng onely is to bee added vnto the foresayde question: That it is in dede lawfull for god (as it is sayde) to punishe in the children the synnes of the fathers: but ỳ is vtterly vnlawfull for men to doo. For in Deut. the. 24. chap. it is commaunded: That the fathers should not be punished for the children, nor the children for the parentes. Whiche is to be vnderstande, so that the father consent not vnto the sonne, or the sonne vnto the father. Wherefore Achan if he had bene called vnto tryall and to the iudgement seate, he should be the ordinary lawe haue perysshed alone, and not hys chyldren with hym. But GOD hath thys hys proper law, who would haue it otherwyse done, although sometymes he obserueth thys also. For in the booke of Numbers: the 26. chap. When Core conspired agaynste Moses, he was destroyed: but hys chyldren were not together with hym extinguished, yea rather they were kepte for the holy ministerye, and of their posteritye was Samuel borne. Amasias the kynge was praysed, who slewe the murtherers whiche killed his father, and slewe not their

It is not lawfull for men to punishe the sinnes of the parentes in the children.

Samuel came of the posterity of Core.

childzen: for he had a regard vnto the law of God. The cause of this prohibition
Auguſtine. Auguſtine bringeth: God (ſayth he) may punishe the ſonne for the father: bycauſe although he afflicte hym in this worlde, yet he can ſaue hym in the worlde to come. And this can not man doo. Farther, god ſeeth that the childzen are not innocentes: but man ſeeth not that. Although the ciuill lawes are herein a great deale more ſuere, and do punishe the childzen for the fathers ſake, as it is in the
In treaſon the childzen are punished for the fathers. digeſtes, and in the Code, ad l. Iuliam maieſtatis: yet they put not the ſonne to death for the father, but depzyue hym of all hys fathers goods, dignityes, and honours. Howbeit they lefte ſome parte for the doughters, whiche parte was called Falcidia, to mary them withall. Otherwiſe the ciuile lawes agree with the lawe of god. For in the Code de pœnis in the lawe Sancimus, it is commaunded that the punishement be not tranſferred vnto other, either to kinſfolkes by affinity, or to kinſfolkes by blood, but onely to be layd vpon the author of the crime. And yet as wel this law as the other before, were ordeyned both of the ſelf ſame Emperours Archadius and Honorius. But the cauſe why it was ſo ſeuerely decreed agaynſt treaſon, ſeemeth to be this, to feare men away from this kynde of wicked crime. Yet the lawes of god decree no ſuche thing of that matter: but this by expreſſe woordes they commaunde, not to kyll the ſonne for the father. But for goods they ordayne nothyng. But our aduerſaryes haue tranſferred thys ciuill lawe of treaſon vnto Heretikes. For they doo not onely punishe the father whiche is an Heretike, but alſo they depzyue hys childzen of all his goods: howe iuſtly, I will not nowe tell. Of theſe thinges I haue made mention the more largely: bycauſe Iephtah was thruſt out of hys fathers inheritaunce, and thereby ſeemed to beare the iniquity of hys father. Nowe wyll I returne vnto the Hyſtory.

3 Then Iephtah fled from his brethren: and dwelt in the lande of Tob: and there gathered idle fellowes vnto Iephtah, and went out with hym.

4 And in proceſſe of tyme the chyldren of Ammon made warre with Iſraell.

5 And when the Ammonites began to fyght with Iſraell, the Elders of Gilead went to fet Iephtah out of the land of Tob.

6 And they ſayd vnto Iephtah: Come and be our captayne, that we may fight with the childzen of Ammon.

7 Iephtah anſwered the Elders of Gilead, did not ye hate me, and expell me out of my fathers houſe? and why then come ye nowe vnto me, when ye are vexed.

8 And the Elders of Gilead ſayde vnto Iephtah: Therefore we turne agayne vnto thee now, that thou mayſt go with vs. and fight agaynſt the childzen of Ammon, and be our head, ouer all the inhabitantes of Gilead.

9 Then anſwered Iephtah vnto the Elders of Gilead: If ye bring me home agayne to fight againſt the chyldren of Ammon, and if the Lord deliuer them before me, ſhall I be your head?

10 And the Elders of Gilead ſayd vnto Iephtah: The Lord heare betwene vs, if we do not accoꝛding to thy woord.

11 Then Iephtah went with the Elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captayne ouer them. And Iephtah ſpake al his woordes before the Lord in Mizpah.

The

The land whereunto Iephtah fled, was called Tob, namely of the name of the possessor therof, otherwise Tob signifieth good. But here it is the proper name of the Lord of that land. Why the land was called Tob.

Idle men. That is vaine. This woord signifieth poore men, and such as were oppressed for debte. So also there came vnto Dauid, when he fledde from Saule, men that were in debt, and heauy of harte.

And they went out with him. Namely to warre agaynste the enemyes of the people of God: and they lived of the spoyle. For Iephtah beyng a man banished and driuen oute of hys countrey, hadde nothynge wherewyth to maynetaine souldiers.

And the children of Ammon foughte. We haue tolde that the Ammonites made warre agaynste the Israelites, whiche is vnderstande to haue beene after Iephtah departed from his fathers house: and when he shoulde goe into the land of Tob, he moued warre agaynste those Ammonites, and oute of theyr borders tooke praies and bootie. Therefore, when the Gileadites wer oppressed, they came vnto Iephtah, to bringe him home agayne, and by hys conducte to defende the city from theyr enemyes. They desire to haue him to be theyr head: bycause when they wer grieuously oppressed of theyr enemies, they iudged it expedient, that there shoulde be one to governe their thinges. And firste they had decreed among themselues, (as we haue heard) that he shoulde be theyr captayne, which first shoulde fyghte againste theyr enemyes: but whither they did that by theyr owne iudgemente and ciuill reason, or by the oracle of God, the hystorye mentioneth not. But the act or condicion which the Gileadites ordeined, was fulfilled by Iephtah: for he with a fewe souldiours assayled his enemies. Therefore they seyng that they were bounde to stande to theyr couenant, came vnto Iephtah and chose him captayne, bicause he firste of all beganne the battayle agaynste the Ammonites.

This is worthy to be marked, that the Gileadites call not Iephtah kinge, but only captayne or ruler. Wherfore they are not to be accused as the Sechemites were. For they did chuse Abimelech kinge, but these men constitute Iephtah captaine, to fight against theyr enemies now for the presente time, and also hereafter, when opportunity should serue. And vndoubtedly they do wel and wisely in chooseing Iephtah: for he was a man expert and valiant in warres. Iephtah apoynted captayne, & not kinge.

But god had with himself before in secret decreed, that he shoulde be iudge ouer all Israell, whiche manifestlye appeareth by those woordes whiche we shall afterward heare: And the spirite of the Lord came vpon Iephtah. Farther, we must consider, that Iephtah therfore fled, bicause his brotherne had thrust him out of his fathers inheritance, neither left they him any thing to defend his life with all: wherfore he had rather fly, and liue in exile, then to liue with ignominye in his country. This vndoubtedly came of a noble stoute courage, that he would not liue there, where he continually hearde his byrth vpbraided vnto him, and where al men counted him for a bastard. Therfore he got him to an other place, and exercised the arte of warrefare. It is also possible, that that matter came in controuersy, and the Iudges, to gratify the legitimate brotherne, did not onely iudge that he should be depriued of his fathers goods, but also he thruste oute of the citye, and seemeth to me verye probable. For when the Gileadits came vnto hym, and of theyr owne accorde offred vnto hym the principalytye, he aunsweared: Did not ye expell mee oute of the citye? Theise woordes declare that Iephtah was handled more seuerelye, then the lawe commaunded. For the law commaunded not to banishe bastardes. The Gileadites aunsweare that they did so in dede, but as before they coulde expel him, so also nowe it was in theyr power, to call him home againe and make him ruler. The lawe commaunded not to banish bastardes.

But nowe, sayth

Iiphtah, you call me agayne when ye are in miserye. As thoughe he wolde haue saide, otherwise yee woulde not haue called me againe. It is so, saye they, and therfore we come vnto thee, that thou maist fight against our enemies: bicause we are afflicted.

But in that it is written we are turned againe, we muste not so vnderstande it, as though they had before bene with Iiphtah, but to turne again, is in this place to be referred vnto the minde: as though it should haue bene sayd, we haue chaunged our counsel & purpose. Then Iiphtah, like a wise mā, would not be satisfied with these wordes, but required the couenants of the principality to be confirmed. *If I* sayth he, shal put my selfe in daunger, and god shal geue vnto me the victory, shall I be your hed? He did not streyght way geue credite to theyr fayre wordes: bicause he feared least they would not kepe promise, which had before doone him such hurt: nether worketh he these things priuely with them, but in a place most famous, namely in Mizpa. Where in the olde time the kinges of Chanaan assembled against Iosua, whom when he had vanquished, & returned wt the victory, he built in the same place an aultar to the Lord. Wherefore it was a custom frō that time, that they which should take warre in hand should assemble thither: wherevnto this also is to be added, ℘ Iiphtah (as we shal afterward vnderstand) dwelled there. He would also haue them to sweare, that the promises might be the more certayne, as by that appeareth which foloweth: God heare betwene me and you. For to sweare is nothinge els, then to call God for a witnesse of these thinges, which eyther we affirme, or deny.

What place Mizpa was.

But the requeste of Iiphtah is not ambicious. For that vice then hath place, when the office of a magistrate is sought by bribery, deceite, corruption and euil artes. But when a man seeth himselfe to be called vnto it, and that he may profite the publ. wealth, and vnderstandeth that he can obtayne the office of a magistrate vpon an honest condicion, it can not be sayde that he doth it ambitiously. Iiphtah is now chosen, to endaunger himselfe for his country, to fight agaynste the enemies of god, he vseth no bribery nor deceate. Wherfore he is far from ambition. But Abimelech did far otherwise behaue himselfe, he slew his brethern, did violence vnto the Sechemites, and tooke away the holy money.

Iiphtah is not guilty of ambicion.

A comparison betwene Abimelech and Iiphtah.

But Iiphtah although he were reprochfully handled of his owne frendes, yet he slayeth them not, neyther dooth he solliciye the Gileadites to create him ruler, onely he promiseth that he will go to the battayle, so that they would performe that which of theyr own accord they offred.

But here may iustly be demaunded, how it was lawfull for them to geue the principality vnto Iiphtah, or for him to take it vpon him, being Mamzer. For the law commaunded that no Mamzer should not enter into the congregation of god which was, eyther to take vpon him any sacred ministery, or els the office of a magistrate. Vndoubtedly none of the Hebrewe, Greke and latin interpreters, that I know of, once marked this doubte. But I thinke herein may two reasons be alledged. First, although the lawe seemeth to be violated, yet god, who was the author of the law, would at thime time by this priuiledge haue infringed. And we may vnderstand that they wer admonished by an oracle, to chuse him prince, which should fyght for vpon the enemies, whatsoeuer he were. This if they receaued by the inspiration of god, then were they free from the lawe: for they myghte thinke with themselues, that God made the lawe for men, and not for hymselfe. This is a singular priuiledge of god, wherein he commaunded that whosoeuer fought first, should be made the head. Iiphtah fought. Wherfore by the couenant and iudgemente of God, it was necessarye that he shoulde be chosen the heade.

A question, whether these mens doyinges were lawfull.

But

But what if without any oracle they had determined this thing onely by iudgement among themselues, Sinned they or no in making a bastard their captaine? No verely. For this is to be obserued in all preceptes, aswell ceremoniall as iudicialland morall, when two preceptes of god do seme to be contrary one to another, so that the one is a let vnto the other, that they cannot both be obserued at one time, yea rather it is necessarye that the one of the be for that time omitted, then that which shalbe iudged to be more weyghtye and better is to be retayned. And yet in the meane time is not that other which is counted of les value violated: because there in is nothing done against the will of god. The law commaundeth euery man to defende the helth of his neyghbour, & if a man be magistrate, to defend his city by munitions. The same law commaundeth not to labor on the Sabaoth day. The enemye besiegeth the city and that on the Sabaoth daye, because he knoweth that that law is layd vpon the citizens. Here seemeth contrariety of preceptes: for on the one parte healthy is to be defended, and on the other part the Sabaoth is to be obserued. The Machabites iudged it best to fighte, because the healthy of the publike wealth seemed greater and of antiquitye, then the ceremony of the Sabaoth. Also the law is to feede the hungry, and an other law commaundeth, that the shew bread should be eaten of none, but of the priests only. David being hungry cometh vnto the priest, he hath nothing but the shew bread: wherefore two contrary preceptes come together. But the wise priest followeth and obserueth that which is the greater, namely to feede the hungrye, and bringeth forth the shew bread, and helpeth David. Also ther is an other laid, that we muste minister weapons vnto the Magistrate, For he muste be holpen of his subiectes. And it is contrarily ordeyned that thinges consecrated vnto god shall not be transferred to other vses. David the kings sonne in law, and his captayne which made warres for him, as the chiefe of his warefare, was then vnarmed, the priest had no wepon at hand, but onely the sword of Goliah. Here are two precepts which seme contrary. The priest followeth the first, & geueth vnto the magistrate the sword, because he iudged it better to arme the magistrate, then to obserue the ceremony. There is also a law that the church should not be without ministers, so that it should be destitute of them. And there is an other lawe in Paule that Neophytus, that is, a man newelye entred into Christian religion, should not be made a bysshop. The church of Syrian was without a bysshop, neyther could it finde a mete bishop, which was both pure from the sect of the Arrians, and there withall had also greate authoritye and doctrine of god. There is none but Ambrose, but he is Neophitus & Catechumenus. Here had two lawes mete together, which in shew seme contrary: but it was mete that the lesse law should gene place vnto the greater. For Christ so taught, when by the sentence of the prophete he sayd: I will haue mercy and not sacrifice. And yet he doth not say that he will not haue sacrifice, but if two preceptes meete together, whereof the one is of mercy, and the other of sacrifice, he testifieth that he had rather haue mercy then sacrifice. So it seemeth was now don as touching Iephtah, that whe two lawes were geuen, the one to defend the city from straungers: and the other that a bastard should not be made a Magistrate, that law was to be obserued, which serued best for the safety of the city.

What is to be done when two preceptes for one time are contrary one to another.

A similitude.

In other similitude.

The iii. similitude.

The fourth similitude

Ambrose a Neophite and newly instructed in religio is made a bysshop.

12 Then Iephtah sent messengers vnto the kinge of the children of Ammon, sayinge: what haste thou to doe with me that thou arte come against me, to fyght in my land?

And

13 And the kinge of the childzen of Ammon aunſweared vnto the meſſengers of Jephtah: bicauſe Iſraell tooke my lande, when they came from Egipte, from Arnon, euen to Jaboc, and vnto Jarden, now therfoze reſtoze them with peace.

14 Yet Jephtah ſent meſſengers agayne vnto the kinge of the childzen of Ammon.

15 And ſayd vnto hym: Thus ſayth Jephtah, Iſraell tooke not the land of Moab, noz the land of the childzen of Ammon.

16 But when Iſraell came vppe from Egipte, and walked thorowe the wyldernelle, euen to the Sea Suph, then they came to Cades.

17 And Iſraell ſente meſſengers vnto the kinge of Edom ſayinge: Let me, I praye thee, goe thozowe thy lande. But the kynge of Edome woulde not conſente. And alſo they ſente vnto the kynge of Moab, but he woulde not. Therefoze Iſraell abode in Cades.

18 Then they wente thozowe the wildernes, and compaſſed the Lande of Edome, and the Lande of Moab, and came by the Eaſte ſyde of the Lande of Moab, and pytched beyonde Arnon: neyther came they wythin the coaſte of Moab, foz Arnon was the bozder of Moab.

19 Wherefoze Iſraell ſente meſſengers vnto Sihon kinge of the Ammozhites, and king of Hebzon, and Iſraell ſayde vnto him: Let vs paſſe, we praye thee, by thy land into our place.

20 But Sihon truſted not Iſraell, to go thozough his coaſte, but Sihon gathered together all his people, and pitched in Jaaz, and fought agaynſt Iſraell.

21 And the Lozde GOD of Iſraell gaue Sihon and all his people into the handes of Iſraell, and they ſmote them: ſo Iſraell poſſeſſed all the lande of the Ammozhites, the inhabitantes of that countrey.

22 And they poſſeſſed all the coaſte of the Ammozhites from Arnon euen to Jaboc, and from the wildernes euen vnto Jozdan.

23 Nowe therefoze the Lozde GOD of Iſraell hath caſte oute the Ammozhites befoze his people Iſraell, and ſhouldeſt thoupo ſeſſe it?

24 Wouldeſt not thou poſſeſſe that whiche Chemos thy God geueth thee to poſſeſſe? So whomeſoeuer the Lozde our God dziueth out befoze vs, them will we poſſeſſe.

25 And arte thou now farre better then Balac the ſonne of Zippoz king of Moab? Did not he ſtriue with Iſraell? Did not he fyght agayneſte them?

26 When Iſraell dwelte in Helbon and in her townes, and in Aroer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coaſtes of Arnon, 300. yeares? Why did ye not then recouer them in that ſpace?

27 Where-

27 Wherefore I haue not offended thee: but thou doest me wrong to warre agaynst me. The Lord the Iudge be Iudge thys day betweene the chyldren of Israel, and the chyldren of Ammon.
28 Howbeit the king of the chyldren of Ammon hearkened not vnto the wordes of Iephtaph, which he had sent hym.

When Iephtah by his messengers saith vnto the king of Ammon: what hast thou to do with me? he vseth a phrase very much vsed of the Hebrues. He inquireth the cause, as though he would haue sayed: why inuadest thou our landes? what discord or iniuries are there betweene thee and me? The king of the Ammonites answered, that he therefore made warre, because the Israelites did him iniury, which tooke away his landes, namely from the borders of Arnon, euen to Iaboc and Iarden. He complayneth that all that coast was taken from him, which was betweene those riuers. This he pretendeth to be the cause of the warre. And he desired that they would restore peaceably, that is, without warre, that which they had taken away from him. He seemeth to promise that he will leaue of from warre, if the Israelites would performe this. Iephtah denieth that the thyng is so: We haue not taken away (sayth he) your land. And bringeth a reason: Because when the Israelites came vp out of Egipt, they of their owne wyll sent messengers vnto the kyng of Edom, that they might haue leaue to passe throughe his borders: which thing he would not let them doo: so farre is it of that wee dyd them iniury. The people abode in Cades: so muche tempered they themselues frō violence and weapons. They went on the syde of the land of Edom: for the Edomites would not permit Israel, to go straight through the middest of their country. Wherefore my people rather iourneyed with great labour, then that they were troublesome vnto any man. And pitched beyond Arnon. There were the endes of Moab. Wherefore ye can not complaine that we did anye man iniurye. Therfore when the Israelites saw that they could not leade their host through the borders of Edom or Moab, they sent vnto Sihon king of the Amorhites: But he would not: neither did he onely denye them passage through his borders, but also assembled an host, and pursued them. And the battaile beyng ioyned, God deliuered him in to the handes of the Israelites. Wherefore (sayth he) we haue done thee no wrong: for this land we possesse by the right of warre. Sihon assayled vs with his power, and the victory fel on our syde: wherfore both he, and all his land by the right of warre came in to our power. The Israelites possessed ỹ land by the right of warre.

And the Lord deliuered. Wherfore, forasmuch as Israel by the ryght of warre succeded Sihon, that land which thou desirest, is not thine, but in the olde tyme pertained vnto Sihon the king. Therfore when we occupied this land, thou diddest not possesse it, but the Amorhites.

Neither do we possesse this land by the right of warre onely, but also by the gift of God: for the Lord our God, which is Lord of al kingdomes, hath geuen it to vs, and deliuered it into our power. This is the second reason that Iephtah vseth: for by the first he onelye sheweth that those places came vnto him by the right of warre, without any wrong doing. But some man might say: how knowest thou ỹ God gaue thee this land: Because (saith he) he expelled the old inhabiters the Amorhites before vs: and wylt thou succede the Amorhites? as though hee would say, by what right? He bringeth an argument a simili, that is from the lyke. You (sayth he) worship the God Chemos, and you thinke you haue your land by his benefite, and ye beleue that ye possesse it by very good right: So we haue receiued our land, not from an idole as you haue, but from the true God, and we retayne it by very good ryght. He calleth not Chemos god, because he beleued that idole to be a god: but speaketh in this maner, because they iudged that it was so. They also possessed it by the gift of God. It is well perceiued that god gaue it because he draue out the Ammonits. Chemos the god of the Ammonites.

Art thou better then Balac the sonne of Zippor? Thys is the thyrde reason. We possesse it (saith they) not onely by the right of warre or gyft, but also by They possessed also by the right of prescription.

so by

so by the right of prescription: for we haue had it now in our handes this. 300. yeares, and Balac thoughe he were a mighty Prince, and other also, neuer required it againe: wherefore then doest thou demaund it againe, especially seing we haue had it so long time? That which we translate, Art thou better? in Hebrue it is Tob tob. For because they want the comparatiue degree, they vse in steede of it a repetition of the positiue degree.

Why Balac fought against the Israelites.

Balac of whom he speaketh, was he which hired Bileam to curse the Iewes. And when he fought against the Israelites, he did not therefore fight, because he would wrest from them that land: this was onely his entent, that they should not enter into his borders.

Hesbon.

Hesbon was the kingly Citye of Sihon. There dwelled *Israell* and in all her townes, 300. yeares, and now at the last demaundest thou it againe? If a man wyl count the number of the yeares euen to this time, he shall not fullye finde. 300. yeares, but onely. 270. But so vse they to doo which prescribe any thing by time, to adde somwhat aboue the iust number. Although the scripture also is wont in supputations, many times to follow the greater number. And. 270. yeares come nere vnto, 300. yeares, then to. 200. yeares. And for that cause it seemeth that the number should be put wholle.

Wherefore *Iephtah* concludeth after this maner: *I* haue not offended thee. Because thou art the occasion of the warre, and haue shewed thee my reasons: now resteth to put the matter in Gods hand, he wyll iudge best. Thys was the message of Iephtah.

We must fyrst entreate by messengers, before we go to weapons.

This Oration, as farre as it appeareth, pertaineth vnto the iudicial kynde, and entreateth of possession, and the reasons are layde forth. But nowe let vs marke that Iephtah before he moueth battail, sendeth messengers before. That is a custome verye laudable: For Titus Liuius writeth in his first booke, that it

Titus Liuius.

was the maner of Rome, that before warre was proclaymed against their enemies, messengers were sent to complaine of the iniuries, and to require againe the thinges taken away. And if by their message they nothing profited, they returned vnto the Senate: who vnderstanding the matter, proclaimed war by the publike assent. For wise men iudged it not best, rashlye and sodainlye to fall to warres. So Iephtah, though he were a warlike and valiant man, yet would he gouerne the matter wisely and moderatlye: For he was not so light brained as many now adayes are, who firste prepare them selues to battaile, and make a bragging, before any man know that there is any warre proclaimed. God thus ordained in the. 27. chap. of Deut. when thou shalt come to any Citye, thou shalt firste offer peace. So Iephtah assayeth firste to compose the matter by woords, before he goeth to hand strokes. The king of Ammon alledgeth a cause in dede, but it is but a fained cause: for firste it was not the lād of Ammon, but of Moab, and the Amorhites draue them out, as the second chap. of Deut. testifieth. For Israel had none of their landes. For God had before said that he would geue nothing vnto the Israelites, of that which pertained either to the Edomites, or to the Ammonites, or to the Moabites: and when they offred no wrong vnto anye man, Sihon the king of the Amorhites pursued them with an host, and assayed to destroy them: but God gaue the victory, wherin both Sihon was slain, and his kingdome came to the Israelites. Wherefore it can not seme that they did wrong vnto the Ammonites: for that land at that time longed to the Amorhites, which they before had taken away from the Moabites.

Whither the Israelites sent messengers vnto the Moabites or no.

But in this place ariseth a doubt: for it is written that the Israelites sent messengers vnto the Moabites, and that is not found in the. 21. chap. of Numb. The Hebrue interpreters say, that that may be gathered out of the. 2. chap. of Deutr. where it is after this sorte written: I sent messengers vnto Sihon the king of the Amorhites with woordes of peace, saying: Let vs passe throughe thy lande, and we wil go by the high way, we wil not decline neither to the right hande nor to

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the leaste. Shal he meate for money, for to eate, geue he water for money to drink. Onely geue vs leaue to passe through, as did the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir, and the Moabites which dwel in Arre.

Wher are three principal pointes in this message: for first Iephtah answereth that he possesseth this land by the right of war, secondly by gift, & lastlye by prescription, I thinke it good to examine these thinges singularly and aparte.

What wer the chief points of Iephtahs message.

Of thinges whych are taken by the ryght of warres.

As touching the first, we learne that it may be, that some thing may be claymed by the right of warre, which maye be confirmed both by mans lawes, and by the lawes of God. But I wyl begyn with mans lawes. In the Digestes de captiuis et postliminio reuersis in the law Postliminium: The thinges that we haue lost in war, or in affaires of war, if we afterward recouer the same again, we shal possesse them by the law Postliminium. For so long as they are not recouered, they are possessed of our enemies. And thys ryghte is towarde those, whyche are declared to bee enemyes. But suche were declared to bee enemies, against whom the people of Rome publikelye proclaimed warre, or they which publikely prohibited warres against the people of Rome, as it is had in the same title, in the law Hostes. For Pirates or theues cannot by this meanes attaine to be owners, or possesse any thing by the law of warre. For warre ought to be made, to the ende to attaine something by the right of warre. And in the Digestes de acquirendo rerum dominio, in ỹ lawe Naturale, paragrapho the last. Such thinges as are taken from enemies, by the common law of all men, agreing vnto naturall reason, are straight waye made theirs which take them. And thus the lawes of man as touching this thing, are very manifest.

Postliminium, a law by which we reccaue agayn ỹ whiche we loste in warres.

So is it also by the lawes of God. Abraham, as it manifestlye appeareth in the booke of Genesis the. 14. chap. made warre against the. 5. kinges, whiche had led away Lot prisoner. The battaile being finished, they prayse came into the handes and power of Abraham: which maye easelye bee proued, bicause of that pray he gaue tithes vnto Melchisedech. But it had not bene lawfull for him to haue geuen tithes of an other mans goods: therfore they wer his own, of which he gaue. Wherfore we must beleue that that pray was truelye in his possession. For in that he gaue it to the king of Sodom, it was of his mere liberality: for he was not therunto compelled by the law. I coulde make mention, what thinges Iosua, Othoniel, Dauid, Salomon, and manye other mo possessed by the ryght of warre. For when those princes had the victory, the thinges taken from their enemies, came into their possession. But it is not sufficient to make warre, to clayme something by the right therof, but the warre also must be iust. Bycause vnles it be iust, it is not warre, but robbery.

Warre is a iust woorke to attayne possessiō

But how shal we know when war is iust or vniust? Augustine (as he is alledged in the. 23. Question. 2. chap. Notandum) writeth that this war betwene Sihon and ỹ Israelites was iust. For they desired to passe wythout hurt, through his kingdome, which thing by humane fellowship should not haue bene denyed them, especiall seing they had faithfully promised, not to be troublesome to any man. This sentence of Augustine, the Gloser goeth about to defende, and that by ciuill lawes. In the Digestes de aqua pluuia cohercenda, in the lawe in summa, in the Paragraphe item varus, something is permitted in an other mans ground, so that it be done without the hurt of the possessor. And in the Code De Seruitutibus, in the law per agrum, Maximianus and Diocletianus doo thus ordaine: That no man can prohibite thee to vse the common high waye. And that thing onely did the Israelites desire: wherfore being repulsed, they iustly tooke warre in hand. So much sayth the Gloser, whose reason doth not so fully satisfy me. For that which Augustine speaketh of priuate men, may easely be admitted, and these thinges which are brought out of the ciuill law, do seeme also to

Whereby iuste warre is knowē from vniust. Augustine.

Whither a waye ought to be geuē vnto an host

be

be written concerning priuate men. But if a man will leade an host through an other mans country, and if they faithfully promise not to be troublesome, yet whether a way ought straight way to be graunted him, or whether he ought to be beleued, it is not certaine. They promise (thou wilt say) that their host shal do no harme, but if they stand not to their promises, then shall the lande be in theyr power. Undoubtedly Iulius Cesar would not permit the Helueciansto passe through his Prouince, although they promised, that they would passe without doing iniury or hurt. But I say that the warre which the Israelites made against Sihon, was iust, but not therfore because he denied them leaue to passe through his country, but because he came out of his borders with his host, and willingly offred wrong vnto the Israelites. For euery man ought to defend both himself and his against violence. That which Augustine hainge th, hath some shewe, yet his reason is not firme. For how could Sihon know certainly, whether the Israelites would do him no hurt, especially they being so many in number: For there were fiue hundred, three score & fiue thousand armed souldiours, & wel appointed to the battail. He might peraduenture haue permitted them to haue passed, and that safely, although not al of them together, but by bandes. But seing the first reason before alledged is sufficient, wee must not muche labour for Augustines sake.

The Israelits fought iustly against Sihon.

Whatmaner of warre is iuste.

But now I wil generally declare, what maner of war is counted iust. Such a war is counted iust, whiche is taken in hande at the commaundement of the Magistrate, either to demaund thinges againe, or els to put away iniuries, or to reuenge them, as it is had in the. 23. question. Abe. 2. chap. iustum, and they ar the woordes of Isidorus. For first we must beware that war be not taken in hande by the authority of a priuate man. But the causes wherfore war may iustly be made, are these, to require thinges taken away, or els to repulse iniury. Whereunto is agreable that which Augustine writeth in the same place (d) the chapter Dominus: Iust war is that which is taken in hand to reuenge iniuries. After this maner war is iustly proclaimed against Cities, when they will not either render thinges taken away, or amende those thinges which of theirs was vniustly done. For if they wil not punish the guilty, it is lawful for other to make warre against them. So al Israel tooke war in hand against Beniamin, that a most filthy wicked crime should not remaine vnpunished. But Augustine addeth, that those warres also do in especial seme iust, which are taken in hande by the commaundement of God, as are many which were done in the old Testament. For if God commaunde once to make warre, wee muste not seeke for anye other cause of iustice. For God knoweth very well what is to be rendred vnto euery man. For they both captaine and souldiours are not so muche to be counted authors of the warre, as ministers of God & of his law. And therfore when the people are after this maner called to war, they ought not to neglect the cõmaundement. Wherfore the same Augustine in his. 205. epistle to Bonifacius the Earle, a mã of war, which at that time gouerned Affrike vnder Cesar: Thou oughtest not (saith he) to thinke, ỹ they which with weapons serue the publik wealth, cã not please God. This was the propositiõ, wherof after ward he bringeth reasõs. For Dauid saith he, made many wars, and yet was he dearely beloued of God.

Isidorus

Augustine.

Augustine

And vndoubtedly I could bring forth very many examples out of the old testament. But the Anabaptistes cry, that the old Testament pertaineth nothing vnto vs. I wil therfore make mencion of those thinges which Augustine alledgeth out of the new Testament. The Centurion came vnto Christ, and desired him to heale his seruant which was sicke: but Christ said he would come to his house. The Cẽturion said: I am not worthy that thou shouldest come vnder my roofe: but onely say the woord, & my seruant shalbe healed. And other woordes which are red in the. 8. chapter of Mathew. At the last Christ answered, that he founde not so muche faith in Israel, no not in those whiche seemed most holye.

And the same man was a Centurion, and had soldiours vnder him: vnto whom for all that Christ ascribeth a very good and most excellent saythe. In the Actes also of the Apostles, the.x. chapter, it is written that Cornelius so lyued in warfare, that the Angell testified of hym, that hys prayers wer heard of God. Yea & God also so regarded hym, that at Peters hande he hearde the Gospell, was baptised, and receaued the holye ghost. And the Soldiours when they came vnto Iohn, to be baptised of him, as it is in the third chapter of Luke, asked what they should doo. Iohn aunswered, ye shall doo violence vnto no man: bee ye content with your wages. Neyther called he them backe from warfare, but rather confirmed them, when he commaunded them to be content wyth their wages. The same Augustine againste Faustus in his.xxii. booke, and.lxxiiii. chapter saythe: The Lorde was tempted of the Herodians, whither it were lawfull to geue tribute vnto Cesar, and he aunswered: Geue vnto Cesar that whych is Cesars, and the thinges that are of God, to God. By which woordes he woulde signifye nothing els, but that tributes are to be geuen vnto Princes. And tributes are genen, that Princes should vse the swoorde, defend the right of the publike welth, and make warre, when neede shall require. Which thing if it had not bene lawfull, the Lord would neuer haue commaunded them to pay tributes vnto them.

But to returne to the Epistle of Augustine. In making of iust war, saith he, many thinges are to be taken heede of. For it is not sufficient that the warre be iust, except also the warre be iustly handled. Wherefore he admonisheth hys Earle: when, saythe hee, thou puttest on thyne armour, remember that thy strength is the gyft of God, and determine wyth thy selfe not to abuse that gift against God. Yea rather doo thys, fyght for hys lawes and name, let promises be kept euen with enemies, but muche more with friendes, for whom thou makest warre. By which woordes hee reprehendeth those Soldiours, whiche are more grieuous in Cities, then the very enemies, of which we see in our dayes a great many mo then we would, which when they are in their places where they wynter, it is wonderfull to see how they handle the Citezens, and the men of the country: it is horrible to see what filthy and abhominable things they commit. He addeth also the thirde caution. Thinke with thy selfe that warre must not be made but for necessity. Wherefore let the minde alwayes be enclined vnto peace. Make warre, bicause thou canst not otherwyse doo: but if thou canst make peace, refuse it not. *What thynges are to be taken heede of in iuste warres.*

Warre is taken in hand onely to amende thinges amysse. Yea, and the Apostles afflicted certaine, that they might become the better. Paul sayd vnto the Corrinthians, deliuer suche a one to Sathan to the destruction of the flesshe, that the spirite may be saued. And to Timothe he sayth of Hymeneus & Alexander, I haue delyuered them to Sathan, to learne not to curse. So oughte they also to restrayne Princes, that they maye bee made better. Augustine also in his.xix. booke De ciuitate dei, sayth, that warres though they bee neuer so iust, yet vnto godly men, they seeme both troublesome and grieuous: for besydes other thinges which the nature of man escheweth, they shall see the iniquity of their aduersaries syde, for which they are compelled to fyght: and they cannot but be sorye for it. And in the Epistle before alledged: Rage not, saythe hee, nor ware not insolent agaynst those that submyt them selues, but shewe mercye to those that are ouercome. Wherefore Virgil sayth: Spare them that submit them selues, and destroye the proude. *Augustine.* *Virgil.*

Moreouer he admonisheth the same Earle, to beware of vyces, whyche are wont to followe warres, namelye of lyghte lustes, of rauenous pyllynge, and of dronkennesse. For it is a thyng moste vyle for thee therefore to make warre, to amende the vices of others, when as thou in the meane tyme art a great deale more vicious, and muche more art ouercome bothe wyth affections

and diſeaſes, then they are whyche are ouercome.

For in warre we repꝛoue not the ende, but the deſire to hurt, the crueltye of auengement, the outragiouſneſſe of rebelling, and the luſt of bearing dominion. Theſe thinges ſaith he, are condemned. For they, which forſaking ſuche vices doo make iuſt warre, are the Miniſters of God and of the lawes. The ſame father againſt Fauſtus Manicheus: This oꝛder ſaith he, is to bee kept, that the war be pꝛoclaimed, either of God, oꝛ of Pꝛinces, to breake the pꝛyde of man, and to tame the ſtubburne.

Farther, the Souldiours ought to bee perſwaded, that the warre is iuſtlye made, and not taken in hande againſte the wooꝛde of God: otherwyſe let them not fight. Neither doo I to this ende ſpeake theſe thinges, becauſe I woulde haue Soldiours to vnderſtand the ſecretes of Pꝛinces, but that knowing & wittingly they ſuffer not themſelues to fight againſt true and iuſt cauſes. Yet it may be (ſaith Auguſtine) that the Pꝛince may make warre againſte his conſcience, and yet his Soldiours nothing offende, ſo long as they obey the oꝛdinarye power. For the people muſt obey their Pꝛince. And in their ſo doyng, it may be doubtfull vnto them, whether their Pꝛince make warre contrarye to the commaundement of God. But they are excuſed, ſo long as they obey their owne Pꝛince in a doubtful cauſe, their own Pꝛince I ſay, and not a ſtraunge Pꝛince. Wherefoꝛe thoſe hired Soldiours can not be excuſed, which hauing no reſpecte vnto the cauſe, but onely foꝛ mony and rewardes ſake do ſerue ſtraunge Pꝛinces. Wherefoꝛe Iiphtah thus reaſoned, as touching the firſt point of his Oꝛacion, we haue taken the land by the right of warre: therefoꝛe thou vniuſtly requireſt the ſame of vs.

Againſte hyred Soldiours.

The next poynt is, our God hath geuen it vnto vs, whiche is the Loꝛde and diſtributer of all thinges humane. He bringeth his argument from the gyfte of God. And that God might geue and diſtribute kingdomes, the verye Ethniſke authours alſo ſawe. And therefoꝛe in Virgil Eneas doth ſo often boaſt, that hee by the commaundement of God went into Italy, and foꝛ that cauſe would not abide either at Carthage, oꝛ in Sicilia, when he mought haue obtained either of thoſe kingdomes. Auguſtine in his .v. booke De ciuitate dei, the .xxviii. chap. Of kingdomes ſayth he, and Pꝛouinces it is certaine that God diſtributeth them, both when, and how muche, and to whom hee wyll: and that by ſecrete iudgementes, but not vniuſt. In the booke of Geneſis, God pꝛomiſed vnto Abraham and his poſterity, the land of Chanaan: but hee pꝛomiſed it after foure hundꝛed yeares. Now, ſaith he, I wyl not geue it, foꝛ as yet the ſynnes of the Chananites are not full. I wyll not caſt them out now, but I wyll tary tyll their iniquitye be come to the bygheſt: after ward I wyll bring you in. Alſo in the ſeconde chapter of Deutronomy, it is written that the Horites dwelled in mount Seir, which were men experte in warres and very valiant, whom God ſayth he drawe oute of thoſe mountaynes, that the Chyldꝛen of Eſau myght poſſeſſe the lande. And in the ſame chapter he teſtifieth that he dyd caſt out the people of Emim, & gaue their kingdomes vnto the Ammonites, and drawe out Zanzumim oute of theyr places, and placed the Moabites there.

God is ſ̄ diſtributer of kyngdomes.

Virgil.

Auguſtine

If thou wylt ſay, that thys was done by God peculiarly againſte theſe nations, becauſe the Edomites had their offꝛyng of Eſau, the Ammonites and Moabites of Lot, which was kynſman vnto Abraham, and had together with hym accompliſhed moſt daungerous viages: I aunſwer, the ſame may be ſaide alſo in the ſame place of other nations, which came not of Abraham. The Capadocians drawe out the Hewites whyche were the firſt inhabiters, who going out of Capadocia, deſtroyed them, and in their place inhabited thoſe Regions. And in Deuteronomy the .xxvii. chapter it is wꝛytten, when God by lot deuided the Gentiles, and the people accoꝛding to the number of the Chyldꝛen of Iſraell.

How regions are ſayde to bee deuided by lot.

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In that it is sayde to be done by lot, al that is to be referred vnto our vnderstandyng, whiche see not the causes of thinges. But wyth God nothing is done by lot. God hath distributed the nacions accordyng to the number of the chyldren of Israel. For the Israelites were not yet increased, when God put the people in those Regions, who at the laste gaue place vnto the Israelites when they came.

Neyther ought we to be offended, if by this distribution oftentimes fertil and fat landes happen vnto the vngodly. For Augustine in hys. 4. booke De ciuitate dei, the. xxiii. chapter, sayth: That giftes whiche dure but for a tyme, happen both to the iust and vniust. For God maketh his sunne to shyne, both vpon the good and the euyll, and rayneth vpon the iust and vniust. But by this common benefite the godly haue this commoditye onely, that they vnderstande that these thinges are not the chiefest gyftes which wee oughte to looke for, bycause these are common both to the good and to the euyll. But the godlye wayte for other more excellent, which are not common to the good and euyll. Yea and Danyel saith: The name of the Lord be blessed for euer: for it is he whiche transferreth kingdomes, and driueth out the first inhabiters, and bringeth in other. Neither doth he onely bring men into Prouinces, but also setteth Aungels to rule ouer them, as we there reade of the Prince of the Persians and Grecians. And he hath not onely deuided men by landes, but also by tounges and manners. Farther, we must remember that these mutacions were not done onelye at the begynning, but also in the latter times. For the Frenche men possessed Gallia, and the Englishe Sarones Britane. but the Britanes being cast out by them, found new places in Gallia by power and violence, and that part whiche they obtayned, they called Britane of them selues. The men of Gallia also of late, going out of their own borders, possessed a great part of Italy. The Hunnes subdued vnto themselues the Pannonites, and called the Countrey Hungaria. So God distributeth kyngdomes, casteth out some, and bringeth in other some, as it seemeth good vnto his iust iudgement, which is secrete. For the earth is the Lordes, and the fulnes thereof. This distribution chaunced euen from the beginning to the sonnes of Noe, and afterwarde to those whych builded the Tower of Babel: for God dispersed them throughout the whole world.

Augustine.

Now I wyl declare by what meanes God is wont to geue kyngdomes. He geueth them of his owne liberalitye, no right compelling him thereunto. That is the true manner of gifte, which otherwyse is not a gift, vnlesse it be free. And yet nothing letteth, but that God by the dutyes and obedience for godlye men, may be prouoked to geue. He geueth in deede often tymes manye thinges vnto godly men, but yet of no dutye. For there hath bene none at anye tyme so godlye, that he coulde desyre any thing of God, as his owne by right. For hee muste doo hys dutye, though God geue nothing. And yet is a gyft a certayne reward, which although it be free, and geuen wythout any right compelling thereunto, neuertheless, bicause it is after a sorte bestowed vpon duties, it hath a shewe of a rewarde. So in Ezechiel God gaue a gift vnto the king of Babilon. Bycause (sayth he) he laboured in the siege of Tire, I wyll geue vnto hym the lande of Egipt.

God distributeth kingdoms of his mere liberality.

Ther ar also amongest men recompences, when one office is recõpenced with an other office. These also are voluntarye, neyther can they bee demaunded by iudiciall action, and therefore they are counted among giftes. But we haue nothing which we can geue vnto him. Wherefore if we attempt to bring any thing vnto him, we render vnto him his owne. And therfore there is no respect of merite to be referred in vs towarde him. Wherefore God geueth liberally, no law compelling hym thereunto.

A gift in ways of reward.

We haue nothinge to geue vnto God.

Giftes maye be reuoked.

But it may be demaunded, whether ſuche giftes maye bee reuoked? Why ſhould they not? when as the giftes of men alſo are ſometimes reuoked, as it is in the Code De reuocatione donacionum. Firſt, if they haue condicions annexed to them, whych haue not bene perfoꝛmed. And after that maner vndoubtedlye God gaue the lande of Chanaan to the Chyldꝛen of Iſraell, namelye that they ſhoulde wooꝛſhyppe hym, not onely in ceremonies, but alſo in good maners and holynes. But ſeing thys condicion was not perfoꝛmed, God iuſtlye reuoked hys gyfte, and ledde them awaye captiue, and gaue the lande vnto the Babilonians, Aſſirians, Egiptians, and Romanes.

A great ingratitude alſo of hym that is endued wyth the gifte, debilitateth the gyft: foꝛ if he be ſo ingrate, that he wyll bee contumelious and repꝛochefull vnto the geuer, the gift is then reuoked. So God in Ezechiel complayneth: I haue clothed thee with veſtures and garmentes of ſundꝛye coulours: thou haſte made thoſe pꝛoper vnto Idolles, and haſte geuen them to Baal. Therefoꝛe wyll I take awaye my garmentes from thee, and my clothings of ſundꝛy coulours. &c

Giftes of God are wythout repentaunce.

But thou wylt ſay, the giftes and vocation of God are wythoute repentaunce, as it is wꝛytten to the Romanes. I graunt that: but the chaunging is in vs, and not in God. Foꝛ if we ſhall continue thankefull, and ſtande to the condicions, the gyft ſhoulde be firme and ratefied. Farther, Paule in that ſentence ſpake of gyftes and calling, whych come vnto men by the eternal pꝛedeſtination of God, and not of thoſe which are geuen but onely foꝛ a time. Wherefoꝛe ſeing God had not foꝛ the cauſes befoꝛe rehearſed, caſt out the Iſraelites from the lande of Chanaan, the gift remayned ratefied and whole. And Iephtahs argument dꝛawen of it, hath his ſtrength and ſure foundacion. Moꝛeouer it may alſo ſeeme that God gaue that lande vnto the Iſraelites in the name of a dowꝛy: foꝛ he wouldꝛe after a ſoꝛte wedde vnto hymſelfe the Churche of the Iewes, and geue vnto it ſomewhat foꝛ a dowꝛy. And yet gaue he not that lande vnto them, to the iniury of the Chananites. Foꝛ they were vngodly, and defiled with moſt grieuous wicked actes, as it appeareth in the .xv. chap. of Numbers. Neither coulde they complaine that they were caſt out wꝛongfullye: wherefoꝛe Iephtah doth verye well make his argument from the gift of God.

The land was geuen vnto the Iſraelites wyth out any iniury to the Chanaanites.

He addeth farther the third argument, deriued from pꝛeſcription: VVe haue now (ſayth he) poſſeſſed thys lande three hundred yeares. Therefoꝛe thou doeſt vs iniury, in requiring it nowe of vs at the laſt.

Of Pꝛeſcription.

Why the lawe of pꝛeſcription was bꝛought in

Hereby we gather that the right of pꝛeſcription is no newe thing, but a thing grafted of God hymſelfe in the hartes of men.

But why it was founde out, I wyll in fewe wooꝛdes declare. It may be, that a man may poſſeſſe an other mans thing vnwittinglye. As foꝛ example: There is an heyꝛe whiche ſucceedeth him that is deade, and among hys goodes he findeth ſomethinges that were vſurped by the foꝛmer, while he lyued, oꝛ receaued foꝛ a pledge, which he being ignoꝛaunt of, poſſeſſeth all thoſe things with a good mynde. And ſo being ignoꝛaunt and vnwitting, poſſeſſeth an other mans thing as his owne. What then? ſhal the heyꝛe neuer ſeeke foꝛ the iuſt poſſeſſion thereof? If the true owner doo neuer require his thing, ought the ignoraunt to defraude the heyꝛe foꝛ euer, that he ſhoulde neuer poſſeſſe againe that thing as hys owne? Foꝛ if the owner neuer demaunde hys owne thing againe, that is to be aſcribed vnto his owne ſlothe and ſlouggiſhe negligence. Wherefoꝛe in deteſtacion of ſuche ſlouggiſhnes, and in commendacion of an vpꝛight fayth, and laſtly foꝛ publike peace ſake, the lawe of pꝛeſcription was found out. Iephtah nowe vſeth thys lawe agaynſt the Ammonites.

We saith he, haue possessed thys land this three hundred yeares. Why then doest thou make this garboyle and tumult against vs? Except some certayne time were appointed, within the space whereof, and not beyonde, thinges myght be demaunded againe, the possession of all thinges should be vncertaine: but from that humane thinges doth wonderfully abhorre. Wherefore this euyll is remedyed by the right of prescription. And it is defined in the Digestes de vsucapionibus, law. iii. that it is an addition or claime of dominion by continuacion of possession, by the time appointed by the lawe. The difinition is plaine and manifest. But in these daies they make a difference betwene prescription and vsucapione, when yet in the Digestes, and among the olde Lawyers they wer not seperated. The difinition of prescription.

In the tyme of Antonius Pius (as I remember) these beganne fyrst to bee seperated, so that vsucapio taketh place in thinges moueable, and prescription in thinges vnmoueable. But thus much by the way. But in our history this is to be marked, that Iphtah doth wisely deuide his argumentes: for he doth not first place the lawe of prescription, but before all thinges hee obiecteth the right of warre, afterward the gift of the true God: and his cause beyng so confirmed, at the last he vseth the lawe of prescription. And that hee doth therefore, bicause a possession continued, doth not by it selfe and alone prescribe: but it hath neede of a good title, and an vpright faith. A good title is, that the thing bee gotten by right order and lawfull manner. For he that hath gotten anye thing by theft or rapine, although he haue long possessed it, yet it prescribeth not. But if both the title be good, and his faith vpright, and continuance of tyme bee added, the prescription is firme and good. If we haue gotten any thing, eyther by byng, or by gift, or by inheritaunce, or suche lyke wayes, the tytle is good: but farther wee haue neede of an vpright fayth, whereby we are assured in our selues, that no mans right is iniured, and that we know that there is nothing which maye by iust meanes let vs. Wherefore Iphtah hath a good tytle, the ryght of warre, and the gyft of God. He possesseth also with an vpryght fayth, bycause hee meaneth neyther fraude nor rapine. Wherefore he very well vseth the lawe of prescription. What differēces is betwene prescription and vsucapio. What thynges are required to the right of prescription.

But the tyme of prescription in thinges moueable, is as touching our ciuill lawes three yeares: but in thinges vnmoueable, tenne or twentye yeares, if ignoraunce happen not. For if the owner knowe that it is his owne thyng which is possessed of an other, and he hold his peace so long, hee cannot afterwarde demaunde it againe. And the lawe seemeth iustlye to punishe suche negligence. But if the owner be ignorannt, the tyme is farther proroged, namely to thirtye or fortye yeares. And this is done when ignorannce happeneth, and that he possesseth it for himselfe, and not for an other: otherwyse it is no prescription. Howbeit thys we must knowe by the waye, that the Ecclesiasticall Canons, as touching prescription, doo differ from the ciuill lawes. For they, as we haue sayde, doo appoynt thirtye yeares, though the possessor be of an euyll fayth. For they determine that euyll faythe cannot let prescription. But as it is had in the. vi. De regulis iuris, chapter Possessor. A possessor of an euill faith, prescribeth by longnes of tyme. For we should haue a respect vnto the woorde of God, and wyth what conscience a man may possesse any thing. These thinges haue I alledged, that we might vnderstand, how Iphtah vseth the law of prescription. Of the tyme of prescription.

Of Custome.

NOw bicause all thinges are certaine and manifest, I might returne vnto the history. But yet I thinke it good somwhat to speake, although briefelye, of Custome, bicause it hath great affinitye with prescription, and bicause our aduersaries doo stryue by great tumultes, bicause of it, and woulde vtterlye oppresse

pzelle vs with Cuſtomes.

What cuſtome is firme.

Cuſtome (as it is had Extra. de Conſuet. chapter the laſt) ought to be agreable vnto reaſon, and lawfully pzeſcribed. The ciuil lawes aſſigne vnto cuſtome ten oz twenty yeares, the Canons, thirty oz fozty yeares. But moſt firme is that cuſtome, the memozye of whoſe beginning is not extant amonge men. And this ought to be firme, that thoſe thinges which are againſt the wooꝛd of God, do by no meanes pzeſcribe. Wherfoze that which the Papiſtes affirme, namelye that the Communion hath bene genen but vnder one kinde thys foure hundzeth oz fyue hundzeth yeares: bicauſe it is manifeſtlye againſt the wooꝛde of God, they cannot pzoue that it is pzeſcribed by cuſtome. Foꝛ ſuche a thyng is not (as you would ſay) pzeſcriptable. By whiche ſelfe ſame meanes they can not bzing the cuſtome of the ſole lyfe of Miniſters, as pzeſcript: foꝛ it was at the begynning extoꝛt by violence, and it is againſt the wooꝛde of God: although Hoſtienſis ſaith, that the power of Cuſtome is ſo great, that it compelleth Pzieſtes to ſole lyfe, in the diſtinction. xxiii. chapter Placuit. But, as the ciuill lawes determine, that Cuſtome is vicious, which eyther is againſt nature, oz els agaynſt the common lawe. But that which I haue affirmed, hath hys foundacion in the holye Scriptures. Foꝛ when Chꝛiſt ſayd vnto the Phariſeis: Hipocrites, why violate ye the commaundement of God, bicauſe of your own tradicion? Foꝛ God ſaith: Honour thy father, and thy mother. But you ſay: whoſoeuer ſayth to father oz mother: The gyft. &c. they might haue pzeſcribed vnto hym cuſtome, but it was not lawful, bicauſe it was manifeſtlye againſt the wooꝛd of God.

Cuſtome againſt the wooꝛd of God, is of no foꝛce.

Hoſtienſis.

What cuſtome is vicious.

In the country of Taurus there was a cuſtome, to kyll ſtraungers and geſts. The Perſians had a cuſtome, neuer to deliberate of waighty matters, but in feaſtes, and when they were dzonke. Among the Sauromates there was a cuſtome, that when they were dzinking, they ſolde their daughters. Theſe pzeſcribe not, when as they are manifeſtly vicious and euyll. But that cuſtome pzeſcribeth, which is neither againſt the wooꝛd of God, noꝛ the law of nature, noꝛ the common law. Foꝛ the right of cuſtome commeth of the appzobation, and ſecrete aſſent of the people. Otherwiſe, why are we bound vnto lawes? but bicauſe they were made, the people conſenting and agreing vnto them? Foꝛ this is the difference betwene a cuſtome and a lawe, bicauſe in the one is a ſecrete aſſent, but in the other an open aſſent. Wherfoze ſuch cuſtomes cannot be reuoked wythout daunger. Ariſtotle in Politicis admoniſheth, that men which haue learned to doo ſiniſter thinges, ought not to be compelled to do thinges vertere. Wherefoze in thinges indifferent, and of no great value, cuſtome is to be retayned. It is an old pzouerbe, νόμος καὶ χώρα, that is, Law and Country. Foꝛ euery region hath certaine cuſtomes of their owne, which cannot eaſelye be chaunged. But as it is ſayde, when they are againſte the wooꝛde of God, oz againſte nature, oz the common lawe, they do not pzeſcribe. Foꝛ then are they not cuſtomes, but beaſtly cruelties.

What differẽce is betwene a lawe and a cuſtome.

Ariſtotle.

It is very wel read in the Digeſtes, De legibus & Senatuſconſultis, in the law de quibus: Cuſtome without reaſon, hath no foꝛce. And in the decrees, diſtinction the. viii. chapter Veritate, Auguſtine ſayth: The truth being founde out, let cuſtome gene place: let no mã pzeſume to pzeferre cuſtome befoze truth and reaſon. And in the next Canon, Chꝛiſt ſayd: I am the way, the truth and the life, he ſaid not, I am the cuſtome. Ciprian againſt ꝑ * Aquarii. Let al cuſtome, thoughe it be neuer ſo auncient, gene place vnto the truth, otherwiſe Peter when he was repzehended of Paul to the Galathians, myght haue claymed cuſtome, but he aſſéted rather, that cuſtome ſhould gene place vnto the truth. Ciprian in the ſame Epiſtle agaynſt the Aquarii: Cuſtome (ſayth he) without truth, is the auncientnes of erroꝛ: and the moze it obteyneth, the moze grieuous it is. Let the Papiſtes therfoze ceaſe to bzagge of theyr cuſtomes, which are altogether ful both of erroꝛ and alſo of vngodlines.

Auguſtine.

Ciprian.

Aquarii were they whiche in the Eucharift, vſed water in ſtede of wyne.

Moꝛeouer

Moreouer to establish a custome it is not sufficient, that some men do a thyng, or that a thing be often done, vnles it be so done, that it be receaued into a vse, & an institution to be obserued. For many thinges are done either rashely or of necessity, which yet we will not haue drawen into a custome. In the digestes de Itinere, & actu priuato, in the law. 1. and last. Graunt that I go thorough the fielde once, and agayne, and the third tyme, because peraduenture the hygh way is so foule, that a man can not passe thorough it. Whither, because I sometymes go and returne thorough thy field, do I therefore get vnto my selfe in it the right of dominion & seruitude? No: for I entended not with that mynde to go thorough thy field, but because I was of necessity compelled thereunto. In the decrees distinction the. 1. chap. Consuetudo: Custome is said to be a certain right, instituted by manners, whiche is taken for a law, when a lawe fayleth. When in the first tymes of the Churche, when tyrannes persecuted Christian religion, godly men thorough feare were cõpelled to assemble together in houses and caues by night, and in the darke, thys assembly was by a certaine right & maner then instituted, counted lawful. But if we would, now that the Church is constituted, worshyp God after the same maner, we should both be derided & laughed at, & also it were not to bee suffred. For they vsed not that manner, to the end they would haue it drawen into a custome, or that it should be an institutiõ which other men should followe. Ambrose beyng Catechumenus, that is, newly conuerted to the Christian faith, and not baptised, was chosen Bishop of Millan, and Nectarius of Constantinople and peraduenture other. Yet is it not lawfull for vs now to followe the same custome, and to elect a Bishop, which neither hath seene sacred seruices, nor hath ben washed with the water of Baptisme. But they did so. They dyd so in deede, but compelled by necessity: because they had no other, which were both learned & endewed with authority, whõ they might oppose against the Arrias.

What stablysheth customes.

What customs is.

So is that easely confuted, whiche they are wont to bryng out of the Hystory of Eusebius, for the communicatyng vnder one kinde, that Serapion sent a child, and commaunded the bread to be dipped in the wyne. I could in deede expounde that place otherwise: but at this tyme it shalbe sufficiẽt to say, that that was not therfore so done then, thereby to bring in a custome which should be imitated of others. Wherfore custome is not made by examples, but by the assent, approbation, and institution of the people. Otherwise ther are in many places bronkẽnes and night robbynges. But these things, bicause they are not allowed of the people, as institutions to be obserued, haue not the power of a custome.

In answere to an example of Eusebius.

And that the thing may the better be vnderstand, I will bring a definition of custome, which I found in Hostiensis, in the title de Consuetudine. It is an vse (saith he) agreeing with reason, allowed by the cõmon institution of them that vse it, whose beginnyng is tyme out of mynde, or whiche is by a iust tyme prescribed and confirmed, so that it is by no contrary acte interrupted, but allowed with contradictory iudgement. This is (as he thinketh) a full definition. But in that he saith: That that vse ought to be agreeing with reason, it is not sufficient, but first it is to be sayd, that it ought to agree with the worde of God, for that is to be counted for the chiefest reason. Afterward, it must be allowed by the institution of the people: for as much as it is not sufficient, that it be done either rashly, or of necessity, or for some other cause, but it ought also to be allowed by the assent and institution of the people, and of whose beginnyng there is no mention, or that it is prescribed by a iust tyme, and appoynted by the lawes, neither is interrupted by any contrary action. For if the iudge or prince shal geue iudgement agaynst it, the custome is broken, as it also happeneth in prescriptiõ, when a mã is cast out of his possessiõ, or ỹ matter is called into law, & the matter is in plead, the prescription is broken. Also the allowyng of the contradictory iudgement ought to be had, that is, that when ons part allegeth the custome, and an other part denyeth it, if it be pronoũced on the custome side, that doth confirme it. But

In other definitiõ of customs. *Hostiensis.*

all theſe thynges, as I haue before ſayde muſt be reuoked vnto the rule of the worde of God.

A cuſtome that is burdenous to the Church is not to be ſuffred. *Auguſtine.*

Now this onely is to be added, whiche is had, Extra de Conſuet. chap. 1, that a cuſtome can not be ſuffred, if it be burdenous to ỹ Church. Auguſtine alſo cõplayned, that in his tyme were ſo many new ceremonyes & rites brought in, that the Church was greuouſly burdened, and the ſtate of Chriſtians, at ỹ tyme was nothing at all more tollerable then in the old tyme the ſtate of ỹ Iewes was. That alſo we laye againſt our aduerſaryes that the Churche ſhould not be burdened. This is their owne lawe. Why do they not acknowledge their owne wordes? Theſe things haue I therfore mencioned that we might vnderſtand how firme an argument Iephtah vſed of Preſcription, namely that the Iſraelites poſſeſſed that land, 300. yeares: whiche is much more firme and of greater force, then if they had poſſeſſed it but. 30. 40. 40. yeares. Now let vs go to the other part of the chap. wherin Iyphtahs victory againſt the Ammonites is deſcribed.

29 Then the ſpirite of the Lord came vpon Iephtah: and he paſſed ouer to Gilead, & to Manaſſeh, he paſſed ouer alſo Mizpa Gilead, & from Mizpa Gilead he went to the children of Ammon.
30 And Iephtah vowed a vowe vnto the Lorde, and ſayd: If thou ſhalt deliuer the children of Ammon into myne hand.
31 Then that thing that commeth out of the dores of my houſe to meete me, when I returne in peace from the children of Ammon, ſhall be the Lordes, or I will offer it for a burnt offring.
32 And ſo Iephtah went vnto the children of Ammon, to fight againſt them, and the Lord deliuered them into his handes.
33 And he ſmote them from Aroer, euen till thou come to Minnith, twenty Cityes, and euẽ to Abel, a very great region of vineyardes: Thus the children of Ammon were humbled before the chyldren of Iſraell.

Two Mizpas

Mizpa Gilead, is an other City, differyng from that Mizpa whiche lay in the tribe of Iudah. The ſpirite of the Lord, which is ſayd to haue come vpon Iephtah, was the ſpirite of ſtrength. For there are ſundry gifts of the ſpirite, as of Wiſedome, of Vnderſtandyng of Counſell, etc. Among which, alſo is reckened the ſpirite of ſtrength. Wherfore the Lord gaue vnto Iephtah this ſpirite, that is, all warlike might, as well of the minde as of the body, that he might valiantly execute that warre. But we knowe that thoſe giftes, whiche in ſchooles are called

Fre gifts iuſtify not.

gratuita that is free giftes, do not iuſtifie: for they happen as well to the euill as to the good. But the ſpirit of god is three maner of wayes in men. Firſt, in that he is god: for ſo he is infinite, & is euery where. Secondly he is in men by fre gifts,

The holy ghoſt is three maner of wayes in me

namely of miracles, wiſedome, ſtrength, etc. And theſe two wayes he is as wel in the euill as in the good. But the third way he is men by ſanctification, and renouation. And this dwellyng of the ſpirite of God is to be wiſhed for of all the godly. God had before ordeyned Iephtah to be head ouer al the people of Iſraell: but ỹ was vnknowen vnto the people. And ỹ Gileadites when they made Iephtah theyr captayne, thought nothyng of a Iudge whiche ſhould gouerne all Iſraell. Here God ſheweth his iudgement, when he inſpired hym with the gift of ſtrength, ỹ all men might vnderſtand that God had choſen him to be captayne. Neither yet do I thus ſay, that Iephtah had the ſpirite of ſtrength, as thoughe he had not alſo the ſpirit of ſanctification, for as much as he might haue both. But being moued with this ſpirite of ſtrength, he went out with a great courage, and finiſhed the

Captaines were wont to vowe.

thing valiantly. But before he went to handſtrokes, he vowed a vow vnto god, as the Hiſtory declareth. It was the maner of Captaines, that when they ſhould

make

make any great warre, they vowed something to God, so that they got the victory. In Leui we rede oftētymes, ỹ the Romayne Captaynes vowed riche spoiles, prayes, temples, and such like, either vnto Iupiter, or vnto Apollo, or to other Gods. So the people of god (as it is written in the boke of Numbers:) when king Adar inuaded them, they vowed to make his land Cherem. Nowe also *Iphtah* voweth: but his vowe is confused, and defineth no certayne thing.

VVhat soeuer (saith he) shall come forth, that shalbe the Lordes, and shalbe sacrificed. There are some expositors, whiche thinke this letter Vau otherwise a copulatiue, to make in thys place a distinction: as thoughe he should haue sayd: Either it shalbe sacrified vnto the Lord, if it be of that kynd, that it may be sacrificed: or if it be not, yet it shalbe the Lordes, that is, it shalbe dedicated vnto the Lord. And in deede D. Kimhi is of that opinion. The like manner of speakyng is there in these wordes: If a man strike father and mother, he shall dye the death: for there also Vau is a distinctiue. And the meanyng is. If a man strike either father or mother, &c. Herein what I thinke I do not declare, I will afterward intreate more largely of this matter. It is not gathered by these wordes, ỹ *Iphtah* made this vowe by the inspiration of the holy ghost. The spirite in deede moued hym, valiantly to atchieue the enterprise, yet we rede not that it moued hym, to make a vowe. *Kimhi.* *Iphtah vowed not by the inspiration of the holy ghost.*

The Latine translation hath: That whiche shall first come forth, but ỹ worde first is not in the Hebrew, but must nedes be vnderstand: otherwise he had bound all thinges that should come forth of his house. But as I haue said it is an ambigous & confused vowe. For what if such a thyng should haue met him as myght neither haue ben sacrificed, nor dedicated to the Lorde? What if a dogge had met *Iphtah* at his returne, as it is a louing beast, and oftentymes meeteth his Lord returnyng home. But it is an vncleane beast, neither may it be sacrificed, nor redemed with any price. It is wonderfull that so great a Captayne was so ignorāt of the law of God, that he vowed not more distinctly. It may be sayd that the Israelites had so longe tyme worshipped *Baal* vnder the Ammonites, and other nations, that they had forgotten the worshipping of the true God. But especially *Iphtah* which was both a bastard, and a banished man, and also a man of warre, which kinde of men do not so much thinke vpō the lawes. Wherfore he voweth, but not according to the prescript of the lawe. But we must knowe that it was lawfull for the Iewes to vowe menne also vnto GOD, and to dedicate them vnto hym. Yea and the redemption of manne is sealed in the lawe by the variety of kynd and age. Hanna the mother of Samuel dedicated him from a childe to the deuine worshyppyng, and it is very likely that Helkana her husbande alowed the vowe. *It was lawfull to vowe mē also vnto God.*

But that which Interpreters say of the virginity of the daughter of *Iphtah*, it cannot be gathered by the woordes of the history. Yea rather it is not true: although some Rabines were of that opinion, but yet without example and testimony of the woord of God, I know that that Hanna, of whom Luke maketh mēcion, was dayly in prayers, and other women for praiers sake, watched continually at the Tabernacle, and that the sonnes of Hely accompanied with diuers of them, but the scripture testifieth not of any that vowed chastity, neither did God in the olde Testament euer speake anye thing of thys kynde of vowe. Wherfore this sentence: And *I* wyl offer it for a burnt offring, is an interpretation, for it expoundeth and contracteth the first part of the Oration: *It* shalbe the Lordes. How shal it be the Lordes? He declareth howe, when hee addeth: And I wil offer it for a burnt offring. Other make Vau a distinctiue, as I haue before touched. But that is not certayne. Neither is the vow therfore excused, but that it was vnwarely made. For there mought easely haue met him a dogge (as I before admonished) whiche could neither be sacrificed vnto GOD, nor dedicated vnto hym. *The vowe of Iphtah was vnwarily made*

He

He went forth and smote. The victory is not here onely described, but also amplified, namely that there fell many in that battayle, and that he ouerthrewe twenty Cityes, and subdewed vnder him the Ammonites.

34 Then Iephtah commyng to Mizpa to hys house, beholde hys daughter came out to mete him with timbrels and daunces which was his onely child, and of hym selfe he had neither other sonne nor other daughter.

35 And when he sawe her, he rent his garmentes and sayd: Alas, Alas my daughter, thou hast brought me lowe, and thou art amõg them that trouble me. For I haue opened my mouth vnto the Lord and can not go backe.

36 And she aunswered hym: My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth vnto the Lord, do vnto me as thou hast promised, seyng that the Lord hath auenged thee of thine enemies the childrẽ of Ammon.

37 And she sayd moze ouer vnto her father. Do thus much for me: suffer me two monethes, that I may go downe to the mountaynes and bewayle my virginity, I and my friendes.

38 And he sayd. Go: And he sent her away two monethes. So she went with her frendes, and lamented her virginity vpon the mountaynes.

39 But after the ende of two monethes she returned to her father, who did to her accordyng to the vowe, whiche he had vowed. Wher fore she had knowẽ no man, and it was a custome in Israel.

40 The daughters of Israell went frõ tyme to tyme to lament the daughter of Iephtah the Gileadite, fower dayes in a yeare.

When he had gotten the victory agaynst his enemyes, he returned home to Mizpa: for there he dwelled. And therfore we heard before how he made the couenant with the Gileadites before the Lord in Mizpa. Here let vs note with howe great a moderation godly princes in those tymes made warres, they prolonged them no longer then necessity required, but as soone as their enemyes wer tamed, they strayght way returned home. So also the dictator among the Romaynes, his enemyes beyng vanquished and all thinges accomplished accordyng to his minde, he straight way forsooke his office of a Magistrate. Iephtah is sayd not to haue had other children of himselfe: bycause peraduenture he had by his wyfe children in lawe. Yea and he might haue children whiche were adopted. Of him selfe he had begotten onely this daughter. And this is put in, that we might vnderstande how we hearde and bitter it was vnto hym, to slaye hys onely daughter. She went out to mete her father by the waye with timbrelles and daunces, to reioyse for hys victory, and to singe a songe of victorye, for so were the thynges that were nobly done by princes wonte to be celebrated with daunces and songes. The mayden also when Saul returned, came and met hym with reioysing. And vndoubtedly suche reioysinges were nothyng elles then publique geuyng of thankes.

Things nobly done of princes wer publiquely songe.

In that it is sayd, thou hast brought me lowe, In Hebrew it is expressed by this verbe Caraa: as thoughe it should haue ben sayd, thou hast thrust me done or thou hast humbled me: of late I was puffed vp with the victory whiche I obteyned agaynst myne enemyes, but thou hast thrust me downe, yea rather thou hast vtterly destroyed me and brought me to nothyng, for as muche as my posterity is vndone, myne enemyes did grieuously vexe me: and now thou my daughter al

ly

ſe art one of them whiche trouble and afflicte me.

I haue opened my mouth. This is a circumſcription or deſcription of the vowe. He tare hys garmentes, after the manner of the Hebrues, when they ſawe that they were ouerwhelmed with any greuous calamity vnlooked for, they tare theyr garmentes, ſignifyeng that they were now ſubiect vnto the anger of God, and not worthy to be couered with garmentes. I haue opened my mouth (ſayth he.) The lawe of God in the booke of Numbers, the. 30. chapter intreatynge of vowes, vſeth ſuch a forme of ſpeakyng, whereby myght be vnderſtande, that the vowe was conceaued, not onely in mynde and purpoſe, but alſo outwardly expreſſed by wordes. Wherefore they were called calfes of the lippes, whiche a man had promiſed to God, not onely in mynde, but alſo in voyce. And I can not go backe (ſayeth he.) It is meruelous why he ſhould ſay ſo. For in the laſt chapter of Leuiticus are many thynges wrytten of the redeemyng of vowes, whiche I wyll thus gather into a ſewe. If any had vowed a man, it was lawfull to redeme hym with a pryce, and there was an eſtimation ſet. And therefore it was called the vowe of eſtimation. For they vowed either themſelues, or theyr ſeruauntes, or theyr children, and it was lawfull for euery manne to vowe them which he had in hys power. From twenty yeares vpwarde to ſixty, they payd for the male fifty ſicles, for the female. 30. From fyue yeares vpwarde to twenty, for the male they payd twenty ſicles, and for the female tenne. If a manne had vowed a houſe vnto GOD, and would redeme it, the houſe was eſtemed, and the redemer added the fifth parte beſides the pryce. If a manne had vowed a fielde, the eſtimation was taken of the ſeede thereof, an Homer of Barly was eſteemed at fifty ſicles of ſilner. And how much nearer the yeare of Jubile was, ſo muche the more was there abated of the pryce. A cleane beaſt beyng once vowed ought vtterly to be ſacrificed, neither mought it be redemed: but if it had ben vncleane, it might haue ben redemed.

What the teareyng of garmentes ſignifieth.

What to open the mouth in vowyng ſignifieth.

Wherefore ſeyng GOD did ſo diligently prouide for the redeemyng of vowes, howe doth Iephtah ſaye, that hys vowe can not be reuoked? This maye bee aunſwered two wayes. Firſte it myght bee, that Iephtah as he was a man of warre, ſo was he ignorannte of this manner of redeemyng of vowes. An other waye it maye bee aunſwered, that he promiſed not the vowe of eſtimation, but Cherem, that is a curſe. And thys kynde of vowe neuer returned to hys owner, neither could it be conuerted to a prophane vſe. A fielde after thys manner dedicated, was alwayes appoynted for the tabernacle: yea and aſſes and horſes ſerued the Lorde, neyther could they be redemed. So if a man had vowed to be a Nazarite all hys lyfe tyme, he was neuer redemed: althoughe that were not in vſe. And vnto thys kynde of vowe pertayned, if a man had made himſelfe Cherem, becauſe he neuer returned into libertye. With ſuche a vowe was the City of Jericho bounde, neyther was it lawfull for the Iewes to touche any of the thynges that were without life, pertaynyng to the City whiche were vnder this vowe. Therefore Achan ſinned moſt grieuouſly, whiche tooke to hymſelfe ſome parte thereof. But there was an other kynde of Cherem, whiche was not vowed but vowed to the death vnto the Lorde, and what ſoeuer was after this maner vowed vnto the Lord, the ſame ought without redemption to be ſlayn: ſo were the Amalekites vowed, and Saul moſt bitterly reprehended, becauſe he had ſpared Agag their kyng, and ſaued ſome of their oxen on lyue. Wherefore it may be that Iephtah vowed, that whatſoeuer thing met hym firſte out of hys houſe when he returned, ſhould be ſlayne. But he was very much deceaued: for thys kynde of vowe had not place, but in wicked men, and ſuch as were declared to be the enemyes of God: therefore he was not bounde by this lawe of vowes to ſlaye hys daughter. Wherefore in that he ſayeth, I can not call backe, if we vnderſtande it generally of vowes, it is not true, becauſe it was lawful to redeme them, but if we haue a reſpect vnto Cherem, the perſon vowed ought to be ſlaine,

Note the two manner of vowes.

Two kynds of the vowe Cherem.

1.

2.

if the

if the vowe had ben of force: whiche thing could not haue place in this mayden, bycause she was not declared to be the enemy of God.

My father, If thou hast opened thy mouth. The godlynes and obedience of this doughter is very much commended: she obeyeth her father, and confirmeth the vowe. Do (sayth she) as thou hast promised. For this was a great obedience, and therefore she is praysed of the fathers, Augustine I saye and Ambrose. She mought haue iustly not obeyed, seyng her father had vowed so rashely, but it easely appeareth, what she had a respect vnto, for it is added: Seyng the Lord hath auenged thee of thine enemyes. She had a regard onely to the glory of GOD, as thoughe she should haue sayd: Seing the Lorde hath geuen thee the victory ouer thyne enemyes, it is not greuous to me to dye. And God, seyng he hath heard thee, seemeth to haue allowed the vowe.

Augustine. Ambrose.

But here aryseth a doubt: Why God heard this vowe, when as it was vnadui sedly vowed. I aunswere. I doubt not but that God gaue the victory: but that it was geuen for the vowe, it is not founde by the wordes of the Hystory: otherwise we should be compelled to allowe this vowe. The daughter doth in deede obey the father, but in the meane tyme she requireth a litle space, namely of two monethes, that she might together with her fellow virgins comfort her self, and bewayle her virginity. But how is it sayd: That she would discend to the mountaynes: For we go vp to mountaynes, & not go downe. Peraduenture Iephtahs house was situate vpon a mountayne, and the mayden desired leaue to discende to the litle hilles vnder it: or peraduenture she asked leaue to go to an other mountayne, vnto whiche she should go by a valley, and so we must vnderstande that she firste discended, and then afterward ascended. She bewayled her virginity. Bycause that seemed a heuy and lamentable thing, that a virgin should dye, leauing no childzen behynd her. For it was a certayne curse, if any dyed without childzen. God had at the begynnyng commaũded men to multiply and fill the earth. Farther, the Hebrues endeuored to augment the holy publique wealth. They hoped also that Messias should be borne of their stocke.

What was the bewayling of virginity.

Ambrose. She returned at the tyme appoynted. Ambrose sayth: That those two Pithagorians were muche to be praysed, of whiche the one gaue hym selfe for a pledge for hys fellowe, whiche was condemned to death: and the other for hys frendes sake faythfully returned to death at the tyme appoynted: but muche more is thys mayde to be commended, whiche after two monthes returned to her father, to be slayne, bycause she seemed to do that onely of a zeale to godlynes, and the worshippyng of God.

Two frendes of Pithagoras schoole.

And it was a custome in Israell. The Hebrewe woorde is Choke and it signifyeth a lawe not written, but a custome vnwritten.

From tyme to tyme. That is from yeare to yeare: for it was a certayne yearely assemblye. This Hebrewe woorde Littenoth signifieth to speake, to mourne, and to comforte. The doughters of Israell went euery yeare and bewayled, and seemed to lamente, bycause that mayden was slayne: for they would not haue so great a thing to be put in oblition. And peraduenture they did it to admonish the parentes, not to binde themselues hereafter with such a vowe.

Of the Vowe of Iephtah.

Whether Iephtah sinned in vowyng.

HEre seemeth to be demaunded, whether Iephtah sinned in so vowyng, and in fulfyllyng hys vowe. It is a heard question, bycause it pertayneth not to the lawe, but to the acte. We knowe that in those tymes it was lawfull to vowe, but what is to be thought of this acte, nothyng can be gathered by the woordes. It is possible that he so vowed by the inspiration of GOD, whiche being a singular example, ought not to be drawen into imitation. As there are very many of this kynde in the holy Scriptures. There are whiche contend that Iephtah dyd

not

not in very dede offer his daughter, but only punished her wᵗ ciuile death, namely in separating her frō the cōmon cōuersatiō, so ỳ she liued onely to god, geuing her selfe to prayers onely, and liuing a parte from other men. And they seeme to affirme that ỳ vow was Cherē, but not such, that the maydē should be bounde to be killed: but ỳ she should lyue dedicated to God, and should continually geue her selfe to ỳ worshipping of god. And euen as a field or house vowed with this vowe Cherem, could not be reuoked vnto the first owner: so say they, thys maydē being once dedicated vnto the Lord, could not returne to her old estate.

*D*auid Kimhi in defēding this sētence bringeth these reasōs. First he weigheth the wordes of *I*iphtah, what soeuer cōmeth out of my house, shalbe ỳ Lordes, & I will offer it for a burnt offring. This letter Vau being a cōiunction copulatiue, as we haue before said, he thinketh to make a propositiō disiūctiue: as if it should haue ben sayd: If it be such a thing as may be sacrificed, it shalbe sacrificed: but if otherwise, it shalbe the Lords, & it shalbe dedicated vnto him. Farther he sayth ỳ ỳ maydē desired space, to bewayle her virginity: neither is it written to bewayle her soule or life. Wherfore it seemeth ỳ she bewayled this onely, that she should wāt a husbād & childrē. But if she should haue ben offred vp, she ought chiefly to haue lamēted for her life. Lastly saith he ỳ ỳ very wordes of ỳ history declare this thing. For it is not sayd ỳ *I*iphtah sacrificed her: but did according vnto hys vowe. If he had killed her, it should haue ben writtē, And he offred her a burnt offring to the Lord. Of the same opiniō is R. L. ben Gerson, & he addeth, ỳ it is written in the terte, And she knew no man. As though hereby might be vnderstād, what kind of sacrifice ỳ was. And he thinketh ỳ *I*iphtah builded a house for her, where she should line a lone, & he permitted her fellowe virgines once in a yeare to go and se her, and bewayle her virginity together with her. And afterwarde he addeth that a man so dedicated, ought not to lyue without a wyfe, because the man is not subiect vnto the wyfe. Samuel, although he were dedicated vnto the Lord by the decree of hys mother, yet had he wyfe and children. But a woman beyng so dedicated coulde not marry: because it was necessary that she shoulde serue her husbande, and if he remoued any whether, she should go together with hym. And therefore it is written, that *I*iphtah dyd vnto her according vnto hys vowe, and she knewe no man.

R. L. ben Gerson.

The same sentence Lyranus embraceth, and there are of the newe writers whiche are of greate learnyng, whiche doo followe this interpretation. But Lyranus ponndereth these wordes. And the spirite of the Lorde came vpon hym, and he sayth. That that spirite would not haue suffred *I*iphtah to committe this murther. Farther he writeth, that there were two monethes space geuen, so that he mought aske counsell of the Priests. But it is, not very likely, that he asked not then Counsell of so weighty a matter, or that they tolde hym not that he myght haue redemed hys vowe. Neither is it probable that thys Iphtah constituted any thyng rashely. when as the Epistle to the Hebrues calleth hym holy. If thou wilt saye: He did vnto her as he had vowed, but he had vowed a Sacrifice, and to offer what soeuer mette hym, they will aunswere: He vowed in deede, but vpon this condition, so that it were lawfull. But when his daughter met him, either he learned, or els he vnderstood ỳ it was not lawfull. Wherfore if he had killed her, he had not accōplished his vowe, but should haue contaminated hymselfe. But on the contrary part it seemeth wonderfull that he was so abashed, and rente hys garmentes, if the mayden shoulde not haue bene offred vp. Farther, what shoulde the virgines haue lamented her? For if she shoulde not haue bene slayne, there seemed no iuste cause of mournyng. Moreouer if her virginitye shoulde haue bene offred vnto GOD, it shoulde haue bene geuen wyth a wyllynge mynde and not wyth an vnwyllyng mynde: and in rendryng vowes thys thyng was chiefely regarded, to render them wyllyngly and with a cherefull mynde. Besides these thynges, *I*iphtah had no example

Lyra.

What is chiefly regarded in vowes.

in the scriptures, ẏ it was lawfull for the father to binde his daughter by a vow, to kepe her virginity: but God contrarily promiseth aboundaunce of children vnto the obseruers of the law, in Deuteronomy the. 7. and Exodus the. 23. Wherfore that which God promised in the place of a great benefite, the same could not be hyndred by a vowe. Farthermore, the arguments of the Rabines are cold and weake, as afterward shalbe more abundantly declared.

Paul in his. 1. Epistle to the Corinthians the. 7. chapter writeth: If the father shall determine firmely in his hart, hauing power ouer his owne will, to keepe his virgine vnmaried, he doth well, &c. Why writeth he hauing power ouer his owne will? If the mayden her selfe will, the father may kepe her vnmaried, so that she consent. But Iiphtah knew nothing of the will of his daughter, whē he vowed, wherfore he ought not to thinke his vow to be ratified, when his daughter met him. And if this kynd of vowe was not firme in the new testamēt, it was of much les value in the olde Testament, where the vowe of virginity was not knowen. But of this thing I haue spoken more in my litle booke of Vowes.

There were other whiche thought that Iiphtah did in very dede offer ẏ mayden, which in these tymes ought not to seme so new and vnaccustomed a thing. For God required of Abraham to offer his sonne, and such a vow was thought of many to be most acceptable vnto God, and that opinion also did spread abrode among the Ethnikes wherfore, this sentence is often spoken: Thou hast allaged the windes with blood, & with ẏ virgin slayne. There are workes of Poetes whiche make mencion of Pollixena & Iphigenia: & also Historyes of the Curtians and Decians. And vndoubtedly with this exposition agreeth the Chaldey Paraphrast, which among the Hebrues is in a maner in the same estimation and authority that the holy scriptures are in. That Paraphrast sayth, that the mayden was immolated: & reproueth Iiphtah, because he asked not counsell of the hyghe priest. And the same thing do al the auncient Rabines thinke, which also reprehēd the hyghe priest, because he of his own accord went not vnto Iiphtah. Iosephus also is of their opinion. Chrisostome also writeth many thinges of this matter, but altogether farre from the History: he followeth allegories, so that in a maner no certaynty can be gathered out of him. But Ierome writeth agaynst himselfe. In his Epistle to Iulianus, he sayth that Iiphtah was numbred among the sayntes, because he offred his daughter. But in his. 1. boke agaynst Iouinianus he writeth, after the minde of the Hebrues, that because he made an euil vowe by the dispensatiō of god, he felt his error in ẏ death of his daughter. For there mought haue met hym either a dogge, or an asse, whiche had ben wicked to haue offred: and so in one place he prayseth that, whiche in an other place he dispraiseth.

Iosephus. *Chrisostome.* Ierome.

Ambrose in his. 3. booke de Virginitate sayth, ẏ the mayden was in very deede immolated, & he writeth ẏ Iiphtah vowed not before the battaile, but in the fight, & in the very conflict, when things were doubtfull. And he addeth: I do not allow ẏ murther, but I se a laudable feare, ẏ he would not violate his promise ẏ he had made. And he saith moreouer, ẏ this act is to be cōferred wt the worke of Abrahā. For Abrahā, when he was about to kill his sonne, the Lord cried out vnto him: Now I know, ẏ thou louest me. And he concludeth, ẏ after the same maner may Iiphtah be praised, because he shewed by his example, ẏ the oracle of god, wherin he cōmaunded ẏ vowes should be performed, was to be preferred before childrē, although the onely begotten child should be killed. But he demaūdeth, whether God haue a respect vnto persons, whiche letted Abrahā, ẏ he should not offer vp his sonne, but with stoode not Iiphtah. He denieth ẏ God accepteth persons, but it behoued (saith he) to declare vnto Abrahā, ẏ he delighted not in humane sacrifices. Afterward succeded the law, which in Deut. & Leui. prohibited the immolatiō of children. Wherfore the will of god was already declared both in Abrahā, & in the law, wherfore there neded no new oracle, or new prohibition. Farthermore, he noted that in Iiphtah was not that perfection whiche was in Abraham.

Ambrose.

For

For Abraham wept not, tare not his garmentes, deferred not two monethes, but strayghtwaye went, and Isaac followed hym. Therefore it is no meruayle (sayth he) if God prohibited not Iephtah, for so muche as he woulde punishe hys longe tarying.

And in his thyrd booke de officiis the. 12. chapter, he writeth: I will neuer be perswaded but that Iephtah vowed vnaduisedly, for so muche as he afterwards repented. And he addeth that in deede he alloweth not the acte, but he sayeth that in a godly feare he fulfylled his vowe, but in suche sorte, that he appointed his posterity to lament it. He sayeth farther, I can not accuse the mã, bycause it was necessary for hym to paye that whiche he had vowed, but it is a miserable necessitye (sayeth he) whiche is payed with parricide: and it is better not to vowe, that thyng whiche he wyll not, vnto whome thou vowest. And strayght way he saith: All promises are not to be kept: for euẽ god also sometymes chaungeth his will. By which wordes he alludeth vnto the place whiche is written in Numbers the. 14. chapter, of the prayers of Moses.

Wherfore Ambrose is vtterly of that sentence, to thinke that the mayden was offred: and for that cause (as I haue sayde) preferreth her before the two Pithagorians. And of her he sayeth in hys exhortation to virgins: She payed with her blonde the vnaduised vowe of her father. And vpon the firste Epistle to the Corinthians the. 15. chapter he sayth: In a thyng whiche could not be acceptable, he was founde faythfull, offryng his daughter, as he had foolishely vowed. And agayne. The acte is not allowed, but the perseueraunce of fayth is worthy to be brought forth for an example to followe.

But these wordes of Ambrose are not so lightly to be passed ouer: for they can not be simply allowed, and as they be spoken of hym. Yet haue I brought them, to shewe that he thought that the mayden was offred in very deede. But in hys wordes thys firste I marke, that he affirmeth a certayne godly feare to be in Iephtah, whereby he was led to performe his vowe: and that children were not to be preferred before Religion: thirdly that Iephtah was found faythfull in that thyng, whiche coulde not be acceptable vnto God. Lastly that hys perseuerance of fayth is brought forth for an example to followe.

What thynges are to be noted in the wordes of Ambrose.

As touchyng the first, I knowe not, how that may seeme a godly feare, which driueth a man to parricide: for he calleth that killyng parricide, and that three or foure tymes. Ther are in dede affections in vs which are graffed by god, but yet to vertues, and to do well. A feare, to eschewe sinnes. An anger, to punishe wicked actes, &c. Wherfore feare, when it is applied vnto vertue, may be called godly: but if it serue for vice, it can not seme godly, yea rather, it hath a certayne maner of vngodlines. Otherwyse ỹ endeuor of Idolatrers might be praysed: for we see them diligently labor to worship god, but bycause they apply not themselues to the sincere worshippyng of God, their endeuour can not be called godly. So when that feare of Iephtah draue him to commit parricide, howe could it be godly: If thou wilt say that by parricide he vnderstãdeth not the sinne, or the wicked acte, but ỹ immolatiõ of his daughter: I will demaũd, why he sayth ỹ he alloweth not the acte: vndoubtedly if he cã not allowe it, then perceaueth he ỹ it is sinne.

1 Godly feare driueth not a man to commit parricide.

What affections are to bee cõsired godly.

But in that he sayth: That the loue of children is les to be estemed then Religion. That is true: but that was no religion, but a foolishe vnaduised, and rashe vowe. Neither is the loue of children to be les estemed then such religion.

Thirdly he sayeth, that he was founde faythfull. But what fidelity is there in that thyng, whiche coulde not be acceptable to God? If my seruaunt should do that whiche I had forbidden hym, can he therin seme faythfull?

But in that he calleth the vnchaungeable mynde of Iephtah constancy, in my iudgement he erreth, when as rather it was wilfulnes, wherby he would nedes fulfill that whiche he had vnaduisedly vowed: neither can perseuerance in an euill thyng bee called constancy. He attributeth vnto hym a feare, whiche also he

calleth a godly feare, and yet afterwarde he sayth that he repented. If he repented hym, he dyd agaynst his conscience: but no man ought to doo any thyng agaynst it. For what is not of fayth, is sinne. Farther, if he repented, why amended he not hys faulte? For if any thyng had ben done rashely, that ought to haue ben amended. If GOD (as he sayeth) doo sometymes chaunge his sentence, why then is it not lawfull for vs to chaunge a sentence that is not ryght? Afterwarde he sayth: he can not but prayse Iephtah. But what will he prayse? An vncircumspect vowe? But that ought rather to bee reprehended. What, will he prayse the performaunce of the vowe? But that he calleth parricide, neyther can that bee praysed. I saye therefore that Ambrose affirmeth, that the mayden was in very deede immolated: and yet are not al hys wordes to be allowed.

Augustine.

Let vs heare nowe what Augustine sayeth of thys thyng. In hys question 29. vpon thys booke he writteth that out of this place, the enemyes of the olde Testament, snatche occasion to speake euill of GOD the creator of the world. For they called hym both an euyll GOD, and a cruell. Suche were the Maniches, Valentinians, Marcionites, and suche lyke pestilences. When he deliteth (saye they) in the bloude of manne, howe can he not but bee cruell? Augustine aunswereth: So farre is it of that GOD reioyseth in the bloude of man, that he reioyseth not euen in the bloude of beastes: onely he suffred for a tyme that sacrifices of beastes shoulde be offred, by lytle and lytle to instructe men. But what the sacrifices of the Elders signified, whiche serued to theyr erudition in that place, he declareth not, but I will in fewe woordes shewe it. First was set foorth in those sacrifices, that the rewarde of sinne is death. And that dyd he after a sorte testifie, whiche brought the sacrifice, namely that he had deserued to be kylled, but by the goodnes of GOD hys death was transferred to the sacrifice. By thys meanes were the Elders instructed, that they should eschewe synnes. Farther, those sacrifices directed the myndes of menne vnto Christe, and they were certayne visible sermons of hym, and taught that Christ shoulde bee that sacrifice whiche shoulde take awaye the sinnes of the worlde, and vpon whom our death and damnation should be transferred.

God reioyseth not in bloud.

What the sacrifices of the Elders signified.

Wherefore GOD of hymselfe delyghted not in bloude, but by thys schoolyng he instructed his people. Yea if he had delyghted in sacrifices, he mought haue required them of the number of menne. For what should haue letted hym, or what iniury shoulde he haue doone vs, if he woulde haue had sacrifices of menne offred vnto hym? For manne must needes sometymes dye. Wherefore to preuent the tyme one yeare or two, it woulde not haue bene so grieuous, neither shoulde he haue doone vs any iniurye, chiefly when we shoulde vnderstande that with hym we shoulde lyue for euer. Vndoubtedly in thys thyng no manne coulde haue accused GOD as cruell. But nowe seyng he hath remoued all those holy seruices, he manifestly teacheth that he reioyseth not, neither in the bloude of menne, nor in the bloude of beastes. Yea the firste borne of menne, when they were bounde vnto hym, he woulde not haue them sacrificed, but redemed with a price: whiche he woulde not haue doone, if he had taken any pleasure in bloude. In Deuteromy the. 12. chapter he sayeth: The Nation whiche I wyll expell before thee, doo sacrifice theyr sonnes and daughters: but see that thou do not so.

God mought haue required humane sacrifices.

God woulde haue the firste borne of menne redemed, and not sacrificed.

Certayne kyllynges of men are acceptable vnto God.

But Augustine demaundeth farther, whether there be any slaughter of men whiche is acceptable vnto GOD? Yee aunswereth that there is. But what slaughter? When menne (sayeth he) are kylled for ryghteousnes sake: not that the death of Martyrs of it selfe pleaseth GOD, but bicause faith towardes God & pietye is by that, both declared and also kept. And the death of Christ so pleased God, that it redemed the whole worlde: and the death of Christians whiche they suffer in Christes name, may be called after a sorte a Sacrifice. Wherefore Paul in the. 2. to Timo. the last chapter writeth, ἤδη σπένδομαι, that is, I sacrifice, &c. in

Martyrdomes are lyke sacrifices.

whiche

whiche saying he calleth his death an immolation. And to the Phil. the. 2. καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ λειτουργίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν that is, but if I offre in an oblation and seruice of our fayth. And yet do not such sacrifices make satisfaction for sinnes: for that doth the death of Christe onely. But the death of Martirs are acceptable, because the cause is thankefull. Augustine was baptised of Ambrose: and being wōderfully affectioned toward him, he followeth his opinion as his Scholemaister, asmuch as he may, but somwhat more warely. He cōpareth Iephtah with Abraham: but he putteth a difference, whyche Ambrose noted not. Abraham, sayth he, had the woorde of god to sacrifice his sonne, so had not Iephtah, yea rather he had the law against him, that he shoulde not sacrifice: And in Abraham not the death pleased god, but the faith. Farther, there is great difference, for a man to do any thinge of himself, and to haue a will to doo those thinges that are commaunded him. And Augustine doth subtilly admonish, that Iephtah vowed an humane sacrifice, not deceaued, but willingly. Whatsoeuer sayth he, shall come out of my house, I will offer it for a burnte offringe &c. Doo we thinke that beastes woulde come forth to meete him returninge home? Men vse to go and mete such as haue the victory, and to reioyse. Wherfore he vowed an humane sacrifice.

The martirdomes of men make not satisfaction for sinne.

Iephtah vowed an humane sacrifice, as Augustine thinketh.

The scripture only maketh mencyon of this acte, but praiseth it not: as also it is there written that Iudas had to do with his daughter in law, but it is not allowed. So there can nothing be gathered by these woordes, why the acte of Iephtah should be praysed. Farther Augustine thinketh with Ierome, that god woulde punish the rashenes of the vow in the father, by the death of hys daughter. But there are two places, sayth he, why I cannot reprehend Iephtah. Because in the Epistle to ỹ Hebrewes he is numbred among the saints, & in this place it is writ ten, that the spirite of the Lord was vpon him. But those holy men which are rekoned vnto the Hebrewes, did they neuer sinne? Undoubtedly their sinnes also ar set forth in the holy scriptures. Gideon, who is in ỹ number, a little before his deth made an Ephod, which was ỹ destructiō both of himself & of his house. But as touchinge the other place: The spirite of the Lorde came vpon hym. But this nothing letteth, but that afterward he might fall. But Iephtah thou wilte saye had the victory, but Gidion after that acte, nothing went well with him. Yea rather sayth he, Gideon did before after a sort tempt God, & yet he had the victory. So much of Augustine.

The rashenes of the father is punished in the death of the children.

But I would say otherwise. For I agree not with Augustine, to thinke that Gidion tēpted God. Therfore I would aunswere after this maner: Dauid cōmitted aduoutry, & straightway afterward obteined ỹ victory, & toke ỹ city Rabath-Ammon, in whose siege he prepared that Vrias should be slayne. Saule persecuted Dauid, in the meane time there were brought him messengers from the *Philistians*. He leauing *Dauid*, went to war, and obteined the victory. Moses sinned at the waters of strife: the people also hadde sinned many waies, and yet they obteyned the victorye agaynste Sihon and Og moste myghtye kynges. Wherefore wee will graunte that Iephtah was numbred amonge the Sayntes; and yet he mighte sinne, and althoughe he synned, he obteyned the victorye. And we wil graunt that the spirite of the lord came vpon him, but we haue alredy interpreted that it was the spirite of strength. And although the spirite of the Lord was vpon him, yet is it not of necessitye that he did all thinges by that spirite. For we also which are Christians, haue the spirite of Christ, when as yet none of vs is renewed in all partes, yea rather we all very oftentimes sinne.

Augustine addeth moreouer, that although the fathers sometimes sinned, yet it nothinge letteth, but that god maye vse theyr sinnes, to signifye those thinges whych myght instructe the people. For god is so good, that euer of sinnes he picketh out laudable commodities, and maketh them alligorically to declare what

semeth profitable vnto hym. As in that Iudas played the whoremonger with his doughter in law, it signified that god would couple vnto himself ỹ churche, which before was an harlot: so also maye it be, that by this acte of Iephtah be signified, that god so loued mankinde that he would gene his onely begotten sonne vnto the death for it: for he did not in vaine, and without any cause suffer such a thing to be don by the fathers. Although they greuously sinned, yet god could vse their actions to the instruction of his people. They were amased at the sacrifices of beasts, neither did they as it was mete, lift vp ỹ eies of their minds vnto christ. Wherefore god would by this meanes stirre vp the sluggish, that they should be enduced by the humayne sacrifice of Iephtahs daughter to thinke vpon Christ. For he should geue his lyfe, and be made a sacrifice for mankinde.

Farthermore, Augustine toucheth a reason whereby he defendeth the acte of Iephtah. It may be said, saith he, that he was moued by the spirite of god to make a vow, and led by the same spirite to performe it. Wherefore he is the more worthy of prayse, so far is it of, ỹ he shoulde be reproued. But ỹ cannot be gathered by the wordes of the history. But that which some saye, as we haue before touched, he wepte, tare his garments, and was exceedingly sorye: therefore he was not moued by the spirite of God: this I saye doth not muche moue me. For god so requireth of vs the duties of piety, thatyet he withdraweth not frō our minds humayne affections. Christ himself when he should willingly go to dye for our sakes, sayd for all that: my soule is heauye euen to the death. He prayed also, father, if it be possible, let his cup go from me. But Augustine intendeth to declare how Iephtah might be defended: which I also would gladly do, if I had any part of the history to helpe me. But that which followeth in Augustine, is spoken to imitate Ambrose. For he writeth: The error of Iephtah hath some prayse of faith, which thinge (as I haue before shewed) can not be reckened. For if it were an error, then can it not be ascribed vnto the motion of the holye ghoste. Farther, if it were sinne, what prayse of fayth can there be in it? Because he feared not to render that which he had promised. What if the vowe were not lawfull? Can fayth be there praysed? Moreouer he saith: He declined not from the iudgemēt of God, and he hoped that he would haue prohibited him, frō killing of his daughter. He would rather vtterly performe the will of god, then contemne it. These thinges were well spoken, if he had bene assured of the wil of God. But he was not assured of it: yea rather god had otherwise prohibited it in his lawe. Wherefore if it were an error, it ought not to be praysed. But if the spirit moued him, then was there in it no error. That which he afterward addeth is moste true, and maketh on my syde. First he sheweth, that it was prohibited that a man shoulde kill his childrē, both by the example of Abraham and by the law. Farther, why the maidens wept, he bringeth the same reason that I brought, namely, both that the fathers should beware, not to bynd themselues with such a vow, and that so great an obedience of this mayden should not be put in oblition. These thinges wee haue out of Augustine, by which woordes appeareth, that he thoughte that this virgin was in very dede immolated, and not compelled by the vowe of chastitye to line alone. Which sentence I my selfe also do altogether allow.

God so requireth obedience that he withdrawyeth not affections.

The error of Augustine.

They which think otherwise, haue not passing two or three authors, but I haue many which are on my side, and especially the auncient Rabbines, whyche liued at that time, wherin the Chaldey Paraphraste, and the writinge of the Thalmut was made. For the Chaldey Paraph. affirmeth, that the mayden was slayne. Iosephus, Ambrosius, and Augustin are of the same opinion. And we haue reasons not to be contemned. First, because there was no law in the old time, that maydens should vow chastity: yea rather it was a curse, if a womā had died without children and baren. Yea and god promised vnto the hebrewes, if you obserue my law there shalbe no barren woman among you. Neyther is it very lykelye, that holy men would by theyr vow hinder this promise. Farther in all the scriptures

Reasons which confirme the interpretation.

1.

2.

reueled

reueled by god, there remayneth no example of such a thinge. Also by this inter- 3
pretacion, we should seeme after a sort to confirme monasticall vowes, which ar
playnly against ỳ holy scriptures. For Paule admonisheth ỳ he which cannot con
taine, should mary a wyfe. I will not speak how Iephtah taried not for the consēt 4
of the mayden before he vowed, without whiche (as I haue before shewed) the
vowe of Virginity could not be ratified. I haue opened my mouth (sayth he) vn-
to the Lord, and I cannot go backe. Wherefore he vowed not the Virginitye of
the mayden, when as he asked not counsell of her. To this also serueth the wee- 5
ping of the Virgins, and therewithall the weepinge of the mayden herselfe. For
she desired, that shee might with her fellowes bewaile her Virginitye. But if it
were a vow, why should she haue lamented it? We vse to bewayle our sinnes, &
not our vowes. But the cause that moued the Rabbines, Kimhi & Ben Gerson,
was this, because they will eyther allowe or excuse the acte of Iephtah. But wee
must not labor for that: not that we would willingly vncouer the defaultes of
the fathers, but because we see that thinges whiche are not well doone, are not
to be excused. Moreouer, also this doth not a litttle moue me, because ỳ Iewes at 6
this day haue not this vowe of Virginity among them. Wherefore al these rea-
sons lead me to think that the daughter of Iephtah was in very dede immolated.

But if it be demaunded, whyther he sinned or no in doing this, it may be aun- The question
swered two manner of wayes. Firste, because as he was a man, so moughte hee aunswered two
seme, as very many of the elders fel. Secōdly, it may said, ỳ he did this by the im- wayes.
pulsion of the holy ghost, not as though god would haue other men to imitate
this act, but that men might by it vnderstand, that Christ should dye for their sal-
uation. It is indifferent for every man to chose eyther of these aunsweres. But
I thinke rather he fell. Nowe resteth to confute the argumentes of the
Rabbines.

In that they say the mayden was not killed of her father, but only punished wt
ciuil death, namely that she should liue a part from the fellowship of men with
out a husband and children, it is not wel sayd: because it can not be proued by the
holy scriptures that there was any such kind of vow in the old time. I know that
there were Nazarites, whiche abstained from wyne and stronge drinke, and all
drinke which would make one dronke: but they abstained not from matrimony.
Samuel and Sampson beyng either of them a Nazarite, had wiues, and Samuel
had children, as the holy history declareth. But departinges from the companye
of men, are not altogether to be disalowed, so that of them come some fruite vn-
to the church. Christ departed .40. dayes, and fasted: but afterward he returned How depar-
to instruct the people. Iohn Baptiste went a parte, but yet for certayne dayes, & tings from the
baptised and preached. So some of the fathers went sometime a part, wher they company of
gaue themselues both to prayers and godly meditations, wherby they might re- men are allo-
turne the better instructed to preach. But I can in no case allow the perpetuitye wed or disalo-
of solitarye life: for wee are not borne to oure selues, but to other also. But that wed.
in the olde time there were some whiche were Nazarites for euer, that was not
don by the institution of man, but by the commaundement of God: which thing
is written to haue happened to Sampson and Iohn Baptist. Otherwise Nazarites
vowed but onely for a time. Wherfore that which the Rabbines claime, is false:
for there was no ciuill death by the law, whereby men or women were for euer
depriued of matrimonye.

Kimhi sayth that this letter Vau maketh sometimes a proposition disiunctiue.
I graunt that the same is found in certayne places of the scripture. But it is not
a fyrme argument, if we shall say: It is thus founde in some places, therfore it is
so also in this place. But rather for the most part Vau maketh not a disiunctiue
proposition, but a copulatiue. And vndoubtedly here it is brought in by exposi-
tion. It shalbe the Lords sayth hee. After what manner? For I will offer it for a
burnt offringe.

Farther they reason: The mayden desyred space of time, wherin to bewayle her virginity: neither saith she, her soule or life. This argument hath a shew, but no strength. For if death be to be lamented, vndoubtedlye then is it muche more to be lamented when it hath a bitter condicion annexed wyth it. The mayden was sure to dye at some certaine time, but that seemed vnto her very hard, that she should dye without childe. Therfore that condicion is expressed, which made the cause more miserable. He sayth moreouer: It is not writen that Iphtah offred her for a burnte offringe, but onelye that he dyd accordynge to hys vow. I aunswere. That there is sufficientelye sayde, when it is sayde that he did according to his vow. And it is often sene, that in narrations the sharpest thinges are not expressed. And although the woordes be not all one, yet is it sufficient, if they be equall.

Leui Ben Gerson reasoneth of this, that it is written, and shee knewe no man. Therfore sayth he, she lived, but maried not. But this reason hath no force. For this sentence is an exposition of the woordes that go before. For why did the virgins bewayle her? Because she was vnmaried, and was not coupled to anye manne.

But Liranus sayth: The spirite of the Lorde came vpon Iiphtah, wherefore he vowed not his daughter for a burnt offring. This reason Augustine (as we haue heard) aunswereth. That spirite vndoubtedlye was the spirite of strength and warrelike knowledge. Neither can al that Iiphtah afterward did, be said to haue come from the same spiryte. Moreouer sayth Liranus, ther was twoo monethes space betwene, wherin he asked counsel of the priestes, and thei gaue him counsell to saue his daughter a Virgin. Yea but the auncient Iewes affirme that he was so stubburne that he woulde not aske counsell of the priestes. And for that cause he is reproued by the Chaldey Paraphrast. Neither is it any newe thinge, that men somtimes sinne, because they thinke not that they haue nede of counsel, and that is wont most of al to happen vnto princes. For they haue a high mind and proude stomackes, wherfore they think that they haue counsell inough. But he is numbred among the sayntes. To this Augustine aunswereth also, that other were also numbred amonge the Sayntes, whiche yet grenouslye sinned. Lastly he saith: If he had sacrificed his doughter, he should not haue fulfilled, but contaminated his vow. I graunt that. Neither is it any maruaile, that he erred, seyng he was a man, and might fall.

Now shoulde remayne to declare what I thinke of vowes in vniuersall: but because of that matter, I haue written aboundauntly in an other place, namely in my Apology against Smith, therefore I remitte the reader to reade ouer that booke,

¶The.xii.Chapter.

1 AND the men of Ephraim gathered themselues together, and passed ouer Northward, and sayd vnto Iiphtah: Why haste thou passed ouer to fyghte agaynste the childzen of Ammon, and haste not called vs to goe with the? We will therfore burne thee and thyne house with fyre.

2 And Iiphtah sayde vnto them: I and my people were at greate strife with the childzen of Ammon, and when I called you, ye deliuered me not out of theyr handes.

3 So

3 So when I sawe ye delyuered mee not, I put my lyfe in myne handes, and went vpon the children of Ammon. And the Lord hath delyuered them into myne hande. But why are ye come vpon me this day, to fight against me?

4 Then Iephtah gathered all the men of Gilead, and fought against Ephraim. And the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they sayd: Ye Gileadites are abiectes among the Ephramites, and among the Manassites.

5 And the Gileadites tooke the passages of Iordan before the Ephramites. And when the Ephramites that were escaped sayd: Let me passe, the men of Gilead sayd vnto him: Art thou an Ephramite? If he sayde, Nay:

6 Then sayde they vnto hym: Say now Schiboleth: but he sayde Siboleth: for he coulde not so pronounce. Then they tooke him and slewe hym at the passages of Iordan, and there fell at that tyme of the Ephramites twoo and fourty thousand.

HEre is a sedicion set foorth vnto vs: the cause whereof was the pride of the Ephramites, whyche was so great, that they thought there was nothyng which was not due vnto them. Euen the lyke did they vnder Gideon, as wee haue before heard in the. viii. chap. But nowe are they more insolent, for they would not be content with Iephtahs defence. These Ephramites also did the like when they instituted Ieroboam king, against the house of Dauid. They which ar infected with pride, doo euermore endeuour themselues to be aboue other, and to excel them in dignity and other commodities. Cicero in his booke de Particionibus, sayth that Pride followeth the loftynes of the minde, in aduaunc ing of his own thinges. They which are proude, are swelled like bodies that are pufted vp, which haue not sounde flesh and sinoes, but consist of a vaine swelling. So the proude, although they excell not others in vertue, yet do they aduaunce them selues aboue them. The true noblenes of the mynde consisteth herein, that we should contemne thinges vile, and be occupied about those thinges, whych ar in deede great thinges. But they that are proude haue not a noble minde, but a vayne, for they study not for true glory, but for vaine glory, wherefore they are iustly called vayngloryous. And they which are infected with this disease of the mynde, the same men are enuious, as Aristotle teacheth in his. 2. booke of Rethorikes, and he declareth that both the ambicious persons, and the vayne gloryous are enuious. Which thing Paul also to the Galathians confirmeth, wher he saith: be not ye made desirous of vayne glory, prouoking and enuying one an other. Of enuy doo straightway spring sedicions. Wherfore by these two vices the Ephramites fel into sedicion.

The Ephraims wer very proud

Cicero.

Pride & noblenes of minde ar compared together.

κενοδοξι. Aristotle.

VVere gathered together. Not vndoubtedly by any order. For no lawful Magistrate assembled them together, but they were tumultuously styred vp. And they passed ouer Northwarde. For they passed ouer Iordane, to inuade the Galaadites.

COf Sedicion.

BVt that of hautines and pride doo arise sedicions, the Apostle in the. 2. to the Corrin. the. xii. chap. very well declareth, φυσιωσεις, καὶ διχοστασιαι, where her ioyneth hautynes with sedicions. In what thyng this vice chiefly consisteth, appeareth by the Code de sedicionis, in law. 1. where it is thus had: They are counted sedicions, which doo gather the people without anye certayne commaundement, and doo defende them against publike discipline. Yea & also many thinges hereunto

Pride is ioined with sedicions.

hereunto belonging, may be had out of the Digestes, ad l. Iuliam de vi publica. In summe, thē chiefly is sedicion, when by a tumult, they which ar of one & the selfe same company and body, doo mete out of sundry partes, to fight together. This vice is in especial contrary to peace and ciuil concord. For in sedicion there are manye partes of one people, and the vnitye of Citizens is troubled and endaungered.

Wherin the vnity of citizens consisteth. *Augustine.*

But that we may know in what thing the vnity of the people consisteth, let vs geue eare vnto Augustine in his seconde booke De ciuitate dei, who in hys xxi. chapter bryngeth something out of the bookes of Cicero de Repub. that are worthy to be knowen, where Scipio thus speaketh: Wyse men called not euery company a people, but a company associated together by consent of the law, and communion of vtility. Wherefore there are twoo bandes of the people, one is that they agree in the same lawes of thynges diuine and humane: the other is, that they haue among themselues a communion of publike vtility. Whosoeuer ryse vp agaynst these thynges, maye iustlye be called sedicious. Suche tumultes when they happen for doctrines of religion, or Ecclesiasticall matters, are woont to be called schismes. And they are more grieuous offenders in thys wycked crime, namely of sedicion, which first haue sowed the matter, the cause and seedes thereof, although the other also which are adherentes vnto the authours thereof, are not vngusilty.

What company may be called a people.

And although the people are twoo partes at the least, which runne together in a sedicion with contrary mindes, yet are not both parties guiltye of sedicion: but onely that part is to be accused of so great a wicked crime, whyche inuadeth the bondes of vnity, that is, common lawes and publike vtility. But they which resist such troublesome men, are not to be counted sedicious, but good Citizens.

We are falsely accused of the Papistes as sedicious.

And hereby it is manyfest, how falsely we are accused of the Papistes as sedicious, when as in very deede we desyre to haue the lawes of Christian Religion, which haue bene euen from the beginning retained by the worde of God, to remayne safe and perpetuall: and we by all meanes procure to reedify the publike vtility of eternall saluation, and of the worshipping of God, which are on euery syde fallen in decay, which two thinges vndoubtedly, pertaine (as it is sayd) vnto good Citizens. But they haue to their power ouerthrowne these good thinges, and do continually hinder them. Wherefore they are iustlye and worthely both to be accused, and also to be condemned of sedicion.

What are the punishmentes of sedicious persons.

But with what punishmentes this wicked crime is to be punished, it is easely gathered, both out of the lawes of God, and the lawes of man. God punished Dathan and Abiran with the opening of the earth, vpon Core and his fellowes he sent fyre, sometimes also he vsed the stinging of Serpentes, and at length for this wicked crime aboue al other of the number of the Israelites, which wer sixe hundred, thyrtee score and sixe thousand, when they came out of Egipt, there diminished so many in the space of. 40. yeares, that twoo onely, namely Iosua and Chaleb entred into the land of Chanaan. Also by the iudgement of God Absolon came vnto an euyl ende, and Syba the sonne of Bichry, and Adonias, which moued sedicion agaynst Dauid. But the Romanes, as farre as we can gather out of Liui and Plutarch, dyd put to death the tenth man of sedicious souldiours. The Ciuill lawes, as it is had in the Code, in the title De Sedicionibus, l. 1. punished thys wycked cryme with extreme punishment, that isto saye, with cutting of the head: or if they had a respect vnto the dignity or condicion of the person, they that were sedicious, were somtymes hanged on a forke, and somtimes throwne to wylde beastes, or banished into an Ilande, as it is written in the Digestes, De pœnis, in the law Si quis aliquid.

The ingratitude of the Ephramites against Iephtah.

Wherefore nowe that wee haue briefly shewed the causes of thys troublesome commocion, and haue defined the cryme of sedicion, and declared the grieuousnesse thereof by the punishmentes, nowe lette vs see howe ingrate the

Ephra-

Ephramites were againſt Iiphtah. Yee, ſeing he had excellentlye well deſerued of Iſrael, they ought vndoubtedly by the lawe of iuſtice and honeſtye, to haue gone and met him, to haue ſoong ſonges of victorye, and with great honour and prayſes haue exalted and commended him. For as much as iuſtice and honeſtye do requite this, that we ſhould geue thankes vnto them, which haue beſtowed benefites vpon vs. Nature followeth this order, that we ſhoulde conuert the effectes into their cauſes, for as much as they haue their conſeruacion and increaſe from thence, from whence they ſpring.

The degrees of benefites.

This therefore was due vnto Iiphtah, for as muche as he ſhoulde haue had either the higheſt place, or next vnto the higheſt, among thoſe that had well deſerued of the publike wealth. For firſt thou ſeeſt ſome, whiche when they beſtowe benefits, haue onely a reſpect vnto them ſelues. So doo ſhepeheards, neateherds and ſwinehearde, when they prouide paſture for their cattel, which they haue charge ouer: for there they hunt onely for their owne gayne and commoditye. Otherwiſe they haue no loue to Oxen, ſhepe and ſwine. There be others which in doing good, haue a regarde both vnto themſelues, and alſo vnto them whom they doo helpe. For the poore doo ſerue ryche men and Princes, partlye by cauſe they loue them, and partly to get ſome commodity at their handes. They are to be placed in the third degree, which doo in ſuche ſorte beſtow a benefit vpon any man, that they looke for no recompence of him. It oftentimes happeneth that when we ſee one in miſery, we are touched with mercy, and we helpe him: which without doubt proceedeth of humanity. For as much as we are men, we thinke that nothing that is humane, but it pertayneth vnto vs. They are counted in the laſt and chiefeſt place, whiche benefite others euen with their owne griefe, hart, and loſſe. After which maner Chriſt did towardes vs: he redeemed mankinde, with the loſſe of his owne lyfe. Vnto whom Iiphtah after a ſorte is lyke, who brought the Iſraelites into liberty, & that to his great daunger, which he declareth by this forme of ſpeaking: I haue put my lyfe in my handes, that is, I haue not refuſed to endaunger my lyfe. Wherefore the Ephramites wer moſt ingrate, towardes ſo great a benefite.

1.
2.
3.
4.

Iiphtah touched almoſt the chiefeſt degree of good benefitence.

The firſte place of ingrate men is, when they recompence not againe good thinges beſtowed vpon them. The ſeconde is, when they prayſe not, neyther alow thoſe thinges wel of good men, which are wel done vnto them. The thyrde is of them which doo forget the benefites that they haue receaued. The fourth and wooꝛſt of al is, when for benefites, iniury and hurtes ar rendred. After this maner the Ephramites behaued them ſelues towardes Iiphtah, who becauſe he had gotten the victory, would haue burnt him and al his. What other thyng is this, then to contemne both the benefites beſtowed, and alſo the benefit geuen? But theſe men are moſt of all vngrate, forasmuch as in ſo doing, neither ar men onely or other creatures deſpiſed, but God himſelfe is contemned. For whatſoeuer benefites we receaue of men, we haue them of God, which vſeth the labor of men to relieue the miſerable and afflicted. Wherfore they which are ingrate, are voide of charity, aſwel towardes God, as towardes men.

The degrees of ingrate men.

1.
2.
3.
4.

But thou wilt ſay: when men that beſtow benefites, doo ſomtimes light vpon ingrate perſons, what ought they to doo? Shal they ſtraightway withdraw their benefites from them? Vndoubtedlye they deſerue this: but we muſt not ſo doo ſtraightway, becauſe men, by reaſon nature is corrupt, are ſlow, neither are they without difficulty moued to doo their duty. Therfore we muſt go forward in wel doing: for he which is not moued to be thankefull with the firſt benefite, ſhal peraduenture be fyred vp with the ſecond, third, forth, or fift. But if he al together ſticke in his ingratitude, we may iuſtly withdraw from him our benefites, not moued therunto by hatred or deſyre of reuengement, but that he may be corrected, and that he doo not continually reproche the benefites, which ar the giftes of God. This thing doth God alſo, who by Hoſea the Prophet ſayth vnto

Whyther benefites are to be withdrawē frō the vnthankfull

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the vnthankful Hebrues: I wyl gene vnto you a heauen of braſſe, and an earth of yron. I wil take awaye from you my wooll and my flare. &c. bicauſe ye haue made them Baals thinges.

Thou wilt aſke perdauenture: why did Chriſt commaund vs, that we ſhould be perfect like our heauenly father: which maketh his ſunne to aryſe as well vpon the euil, as vpon the good, and as it is written in Luke. 6. chap. He is good towardes the ingrate? I anſwer: That this ſentence of the Lord, is not againſt the definicion now declared. For God hath two kindes of benefites. There are certaine which are principal, as the reuelacion of the Goſpell, fayth, iuſtification, & laſtly glorification or eternal lyfe. Theſe he geueth onely to his. There are certaine other temporall and common giftes, whiche yet are in eſpeciall geuen for the electes ſake: but bicauſe without a miracle it is not poſſible that they ſhoulde come vnto the good, vnles the euil be alſo made partakers of them, therefore he geueth them as wel to the one as to the other. How ſhould a ſhowre be prohibited, that it ſhoulde not moyſten the fieldes of the wicked? God might doo it in deede: but yet not without a miracle. And for as muche as he wyll not alwayes worke miracles, he wil rather, that the vngodlye alſo ſhoulde bee partakers of theſe benefites, then that the good ſhould be deſtitute of commodities neceſſary for the lyfe. Kinges alſo doo not make euery Citizen a Ruler, a Preſident, or other officer longing to a Magiſtrate, but onely them that are iuſt & wiſe: which thing if they doo not, they execute not their office. But when they gene vnto their people lyberall giftes, or a banquet, or diſtribute corne, bicauſe without great labour and griefe they cannot ſeperate the good Citizens from the euyll, therfore they beſtow ſuch thinges which are of this kinde, miredly vpon al men, and chooſe rather to deſerue wel of euyl citizens, then to defraud the good of their liberality, for whoſe ſakes they are chiefly moued to be bountiful towardes the people. Let vs alſo imitate this, that when we beſtow priuate thinges, although we light vpon one that is ingrate, let vs not ſtraightway withdrawe from hym our humanity, but let vs behaue our ſelues in ſuch maner, as we haue before declared, that if he ſtubburnly proceede to be ingrate, let vs at the length ceaſe for his correction, to beſtow any benefite vpon him. But ſuch benefites as are common and publike, let vs continually beſtow them, yea euen vpon ỹ vngrate, as we are of God commaunded, and let vs rather chuſe to haue our good thynges diſtributed to godly and holy men, then to ceaſe of from doing good, ỹ the euyll ſhould not be made partakers of them.

Two kyndes of benefites of God.

1. 2.

A ſimilitude.

How we ſhuld behaue our ſelues toward the ingrate.

But now let vs returne vnto Iphtah, whom the Ephramites offended moſt grieuouſly. Firſt, he is accuſed of them, bicauſe he went to the battail and called not them. This ſeemeth to be the couloure of their complaint, bicauſe people confederated together, ought not to take in hãd any warre, before they haue called their fellowes, and made them of counſell. Iphtah purgeth himſelfe of this falſe accuſation, and ſayth that they haue a falſe grounde, bicauſe he called them, but they denyed to come. But theſe men when they ſawe that by iuſte meanes they coulde not defende that whiche they obiected, they pleade not againſte him at the iudgement ſeate, neither by the order of law, but make a tumult, and ſedicioully brag of ſuche complaintes. And here we ſee the ſtate of holy men ſufficiently expreſſed, how they are alwayes wrapped with new troubles, ſo that they are almoſt no ſooner paſſed out of one, but an other is at hand. But by the goodnes of God, euen that worketh to good in vs: for we are ſo corrupt and viciate, that when thinges go proſperouſly with vs, we are wonderfullye puffed vp, ſo that by our inſolency we are made intollerable: which thing that it ſhoulde not happen, God vſeth agayne to exerciſe the elect with troubles, after that he hath graũted them ſome proſperity. Wherfore let none of vs thinke, when we haue obtained any good ſucceſſe, that ſtraightway we muſt fight no more. Yea rather wee muſt prouide that then chiefly we may euen weary God with prayers, wherby

The ſaintes are alwaies wrapped wyth newe troubles.

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he may bring to a perfect and absolute ende, the good worke that he hath already begone in vs.

We must also marke the wysdome of Iephtah, how first he woulde proue all thinges, before he woulde take weapons against his brethren. First he maketh his Apologie, wherein he sayth that he did not rashlye moue warre, but because there was a very grieuous contencion betwene him and the Ammonites, and that he was muche oppressed by them, and therefore he could not abstayne from weapons. Further, he denyeth that he called them not. I cryed vnto you (sayth he) but when ye saued me not, I tooke in hande warre my selfe, to mine own great daunger. Wherefore he addeth, that God delyuered the Ammonites into hys handes, which myght haue bene a token that God disalowed not his act. Which kynde of argument is in this place of force, for as much as he attempted no vnlaw full thing: otherwyse there can bee no firme reason derined of it, because God sometimes fauoureth the enterprises of the vngodly, by reason of his counsels, which are alwayes iust, but sometimes hidden from vs. Ieroboam the sonne of Nabat was by a sedicion created king ouer the ten Tribes, and obtayned that which with naughty conscience he desired. Nabuchad-Nezar also fought tirannously and ambicionslye agaynst the Hebrues, and obtayned the victorye, when yet no man can allowe those doinges as godly, because of the successe of them.

The Ephramites were not content with this Apology. Wherefore Iephtah fought against them, neither ouercame he his enemies onely, but also followed the victorye, and that they shoulde not escape, he preuented them, and possessed the passages of Iordane.

He found out by a phrase of their speeche, who were Ephramites. They which would passe ouer, might peraduenture be either Rabenites or Gadites, or of halfe the tribe of Manasses. Therefore least they should be deceaued, he tryed them by experience of their toung. Neither needeth we to marueyle at the diuersity of pronunciation among the Hebrues, when as euery nacion, although they vse one common toung, yet haue they some differences in diuers partes therof. All the Grecians spake Greke, and yet among them the Iones, Attici, Dores, Aeoles, and such like, had some difference in their speaking, and that a notable difference. The Prenestines also which dwelt not farre from Rome (as we reade in Plautus) for Ciconia sounded Konia. In Italy also there are at this day very many differences of propertyes of speche. But it may be doubted wherof they should come. Some answer that it commeth of custome, which is not sufficient inough: because we will demaund againe why the first inhabiters of these places beganne so to speake or to talke. Therefore there are other which being led by naturall reason, doo referre that diuersitye vnto the ayre, water, and sundrye aspecte of heauen. But we ascribe the beginning of this thing to haue bene from the building of the Tower of Babel. For in the booke of Genesis it is written, that the differences of tounges sprang thereof, which as they are perfect e very great betwene nacion and nacion, so are they found to haue begon in euery nation.

Diuers properties of speche in one and the self same toung.

From whence the diuersity of the propertyes in speeche is.

They chosed this woorde Schiboleth, not rashly, but suche a one as made very muche for this present matter. For it signifieth both an eare of corne, and also a passage of a Riuer, as it is written in the xvi. chapter of Esay. Wherefore when they were at the passages of Iordane, they put forth this word, whereby they would proue whither the Ephramites should passe ouer, which word should signifye the passage it selfe. They might in deede haue tryed the same in many other woordes, if they would: but they proued it in a woorde, whose signification was agreable with the place.

Wherefore Iephtah made ciuill war, but yet not vnlaw full warre. For he had the sword, wherewith his duty was to punysh not onely the enemies, but also the citizens, when they offend either against the lawes of man, or the lawes of God.

Ciuill warre is not vnlaw full.

God had geuen him the victory. The Ephramites contemned it. God ſhould haue the Galaadites pertaining to Manaſſes to poſſeſſe ꝯ land: the Ephramites enuoured to driue them out from thence, and to deſtroye them. They inuaded their borders, they reproched them, and called them the runnagates of Ephraim. As thoughe they were to be counted as certaine fugitiue bondſclaues, if they were compared with the moſte noble Tribe of Ephraim. Or els they ſo called them, as thoughe at ſome other tyme they had made warre, and they as fugitiues eſcaped out of the battayle. But in the holye Scripture there is no ſuche battayle founde.

They alſo violated humane ryght and the lawes: for wyth weapons they inuaded thoſe that were condemned by no ryght, and they ſhould take awaye the dominion ouer the Galaadites whych was geuen vnto Iiphtah. But gyftes can not be reuoked by anye humane ryght, vnleſſe peraduenture there happen any ingratitude. But that Iiphtah was not ingrate, the benefites whiche he beſtowed on his, doo declare. Yea and alſo in the Digeſtes (De donacionibus, in the lawe talk faue one, in the Paragraphe Si quis) it is hadde, that a gyft geuen vnto a man, for that that he hath delyuered the geuer from theeues, coulde not be reuoked not for ingratitude, if any ſhoulde happen. But Iiphtah delyuered hys, not onelye from theeues, but alſo from moſte grieuous enemies, from the Ammonites I ſay.

The gift which was geuen vnto Iiphtah, could not be reuoked.

Wherefore the principalitye of hys Countrye being geuen hym, he coulde not iuſtly be ſpoyled of it. Whereunto thou mayeſt adde, that he was inſtituted a Iudge by God. Therefore he ought to defende both hym ſelfe and hys in punishyng wycked men. Let vs in this place note the ſeuere iudgement of God, vpon ſeditious and ingrate perſons.

7 And Iiphtah iudged Iſrael ſyx yeares: then dyed Iiphtah the Gileadite, and was buryed in the Cities of Gilead.

8 After hym Ibzan of Bethlehem iudged Iſrael.

9 And he had .xxx. ſonnes, and .xxx. daughters, whych he ſent out, and tooke .xxx. daughters from abroade for his ſonnes. And he iudged Iſrael ſeuen yeares.

10 Then Ibzan dyed, and was buryed in Bethlehem.

11 And after hym Elon a Zebulonite iudged Iſrael, and he iudged Iſrael tenne yeares.

12 Then Elon the Zebulonite dyed, and was buryed in Aialon, in the lande of Zebulon.

13 After hym Abdon the ſonne of Hillel the Pirathonite iudged Iſrael.

14 And he had .xl. ſonnes, and .xxx. ſonnes ſonnes, that rode on .lxx. Coltes. And he iudged Iſrael .viii. yeares.

15 Then dyed Abdon the ſonne of Hillel the Pirathonite: and was buryed in Pirathon, in the lande of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amelachites.

The Hebrewes fable that Iiphtah for hys wycked tyme, in kyllyng hys daughter, was ſo ſmytten of God that hys members rotted, and waſted away. And that when he walked throughe the Cities of Gilead, he loſt in euerye one of thoſe Cityes ſome part of his bodye. And therefore it is not ſayde that he was buryed in any one certayne place, but in the Cities of Gilead.

Howe hee was buryed in the cities of Gilead.

Other

Other say that he was verye riche, noble, and renowne, and therfore he prouided to haue monumentes made for him in manye Cities of that Prouince. These at thynges fryuolous and of fables inuited other Interpreters seing, do thus expounde that forme of speaking, that In the Cityes of Gilead, is nothynges, then in some one certayn of the Cities of Gilead. But I thinke that it might be that the principal Citye of the Gileadites was so builte, that it seemed to bee not one Citye, but many. Therefore it might bee sayde in the plurall number Cityes. So in Hungary is a Citye called Quinque ecclesiæ, whyche is fyue Cyties, and Siracuse a Citye in Sicilia. So that Are Gilead was the proper name of one Citye.

I.

After hym Tibzan iudged Israel. Some conjecture that thys man was that Boaz whych marryed Ruth: but that cannot be confirmed by any authoritye of the scripture. He had thirty sonnes, and thirty daughters. And that we shoulde perceiue that they remayned long vn fyue, it is sayd that they were all by hym coupled in matrimony.

This man is counted to be Boaz.

But bycause the actes of this Iudge, and of the other twoo, whych are afterwarde mencioned, were not (as it is to be thought) notable: therefore they are not spoken of. But thys Iudge was of the Tribe of Iuda, whych thyng Bethlehem bys Countrye declareth.

Elon, whych was Iudge after hym tenne yeares, was of the Tribe of Zabulon.

Abdon the sonne of Hillel the Pirathonite, as the name of his countrey declareth, was an Ephramite, and he also was famous by his posteritye: for he had fourtye sonnes, and of them thirtye Nephewes. It is declared that they all came to rype age, for it is sayde that they were all horsmen, who (as it is to be thought) in ryding compassed the tydes of their father. Vnto a great number of children were an excellent gift of God, if thoughe not so diligentlye haue bene mencioned of in those places. God promised vnto his friend Abraham, that hys seede shoulde be increased lyke the starres of heauen, and sand of the sea. Iacob and David also synneth: Thy wyfe shall bee lyke a fruitfull vyne in the sydes of thy house, and thy children lyke Olyue braunches, rounde about thy table. Priamus also is renowmed of the Poetes, bycause he had fyfty children. The Romanes haue a lawe, called the lawe of three Children. For if anye at Rome had three children a lyue, they were excused from personall offices. Throughout Italy, so obtaine that liberty, foure were sufficient. But in a Prouince, fiue were required, as it is in the Code, of those whych haue deserued an excuse by the number of Children, in the lawe de Personalibus, and Eos vero. But there are some whych doo hate plentifull fruite, bycause they haue no confidence in the goodnes of God, and doo dispaire that they shoulde be able to norysshe them. And there are other whiche are inflamed with this wicked affection, bycause they desire to auoyde the troubles of bryngyng them vp, and are afrayde that they shall leaue their Children beggers behynde them. But thys thing happeneth vnto them, bycause they doo euyll esteeme the benefites of God, neythes vnderstande they what great honour and dignity he geueth them, as often as they haue issue. As God is the Father of men: so also would he haue men to be the Parentes of men, that they should vnderstande by the particular loue and affection, what myndes and deuo[illegible] towardes hys.

To haue many Children is an excellent gift of God.

The lawe of children amõg the Romanes.

They hymes whyche hate a plentifull issue.

What is the dignitye of the Parentes.

¶ The xiii. Chapter.

1.  ut the Children of Israel continued to commit wickednes in the sight of the Lorde, and the Lorde deliuered them into the handes of the Philistines fourtye yeares.

2 And there was a man in Zorah, of the family of the Danites, named Manoah, whose wyfe was barren, and bare not.

3 And the Angel of the Lord appeared vnto the woman, and sayd vnto her: Behold nowe thou art barren, and bearest not. But thou shalt conceaue, and beare a sonne.

4 And now therfore beware that thou drinke no wyne, nor strong drinke, neyther eate any vncleane thyng.

5 Because lo thou shalt conceaue and beare a sonne, and no rasor shall come on hys heade: for the Childe shalbe a Nazarite vnto God from hys byrth, and he shall begyn to saue Israel out of the handes of the Philistines.

This affliction of the Israelits is longer then the other.

GOd afflicted the Israelites, and deliuered the to their enemies, because they returned to their old nature, and forgetting the Lord their God, worshypped Idoles. And this affliction dured fourtye yeares. Nor cease of none longer then this. Found the death of Abdon the last Iudge, euen almost vnto Hely this affliction endured: because Samson did not fully deliuer the people. He in deede smote the Philistines, but he did not vtterlye expell them from oppressing of the Hebrues. Note Zorah is a name of a place, and not of a fameyle, as we shal afterwards vnderstand, lowarde the ende of the chapter.

The prophecie of Iacob as touching Samso.

Of the Tribe of Dan. The scripture forth vpon to this place referre those thinges which are written in the booke of Genesis the. 49. chapter. Where Iacob when he was ready to dye, foretolde what should happen vnto his children after long time. And when he came vnto Dan, Dan (sayth he) shall iudge hys people, and he shal be a serpent in the way, and an Adder in the path, byting the horses heeles, so that hys rider shall fall backward. For Samson after a sorte did breake the roote of the horse, when he ouerthrew the pyller, that is, the roote of the palace, and the rider on the ground, that is, the company of the Philistines, with the fal of the hal. These thinges I therefore make mention of, that it might appeare, that they were no small or vulgare thinges, when as Iacob so long time before prophesied of them. Samson was of the Tribe of Dan, Gideon of the tribe of Ephraim. Neyther did God at eyther any ordinary tyme appoint, that for hys (the Children) sinnes the Parentes of their kynde of gouernment. Where I say no Iudge vnto the tyme of the Tribe of Dan. And there was none of all the Iudges, but onelye Samson, whom God appointed, and as it were gaue a Iudge vnto he was borne.

Onely Samso appointed a Iudge before he was borne.

And hys name was Manoah, whose wyfe was barren. When God decreed to sende any notable and excellent man, he for the most tymes fyxed hym vp out of a barren woman, whereof Isaac and Iacob came to passe in Samson, likewise in Samuel, and in Iohn Baptist, and in very many other, that it myght manifestly appeare to be altogether the worke of God. Barrennes among the Hebrues was a thyng ignominious: but God because he would declare, that of thynges most contemptible, he can bring forth thinges excellent, hath very often tymes done after thys manner. And that fault of barrennes was in thys place in the woman, and not in the man. For sometymes it may be in both: but

Many excellēt men borne of barren mothers.

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the scripture here pronounceth it of the woman, and not of the man.

He shall beginne (sayth he) to saue Israel. Here is signified that Samson should not fully deliuer the people for Israell did not vnder him fight in battayle against theyr enemies: he alone assailed the, & sometimes greuously afflicted them. The Aungell appeared vnto his mother a part, when her husband was awaye, and shewed her of the sonne which she should beare. Also the Aungell appeared vnto Mary the mother of Christ when she was alone.

Iosephus in his bookes of Antiquities addeth, that thys Manoah somewhat suspected his wife: and thought that it was not an aungell, but some man, & that his wifes chastity was assaulted, but eyther doubt was taken away, whē as at the last when he made sacrifice, ỹ angel vanished away in the flame. So Ioseph, whē he somwhat suspected Mary, herd of the Aungell: Ioseph, be not afeerd to take Mary thy wife, for that which is conceiued in her, is of the holy ghost. God would haue his, not onely borne lawfully, but also cleared from all suspicion. But in Samuel there could be no such suspicion: for when Hanna prayed softely, Heli the priest rebuked her, and counted her for a dronkard, who yet when he vnderstode how diligently and earnestly she prayed at the tabernacle of the Lorde, he promised vnto her issue. Iosephus.

But here besides the promise of the sonne, is added also a precepte. For the Aungell commaundeth her to abstaine from wine, and stronge drinke, and all thinge that might make her dronke. There is also a reason added: Because he shal be a Nazarite vnto the Lord. Wherfore the mother also is commaunded to abstayne from wine, stronge drinke, and euerye vncleane thinge, that the child should not be nourished with thynges vnlawfull, no not in the wombe of hys mother. Why such an abstinence was commaunded the mother.

Of the vow of the Nazarites.

And as touching the vow of the Nazarits it is manifestly set forth in the. 6. of Numbr. But those thinges which are there written, maye all be reduced to three principall poyntes. The firste was, that they should drinke no wine nor stronge drinke, nor any thinge that might make them dronke. An other was, that they should not pole theyr hed: but all that time the Nazarite should let his beare grow. The third was, that they should not defile themselues with mourninge for burialles, no not at the death of theyr father or mother. These thinges were to be obserued, but not for euer, but onelye for some certayne time. For he vowed to bee a Nazarite, but for certayne number of dayes, or Monethes, or yeares. The summe of the vow of the Nazarites.

But why did God institute these thynges? There may be many causes geuen. Fyrste, because menne were so prone to chuse vnto themselues certayne kindes of lyfe, whereby they might easely fall into superstition. Therfore God would after this maner bridle them, as though he should haue sayd: Forasmuch as ye are so prone to your own studies, and to inuent newe woorshippings, yet shall ye not do what ye liste your selues, but what I prescribe vnto you. And so geuinge vnto them the lawe of a Nazarite, hee kepte them in doynge theyr dewtye. Why god gaue the institution of the Nazarites.

But what ment these thinges? They ought to keepe theyr heare growinge, till the ende of theyr vow. For then in offring sacrifice, and burninge the flesh in fire, they did cut of the heare, and burned it in the same fire. And frō that time they were free and returned to theyr old manner of life, which was common also vnto other.

Some referre these thinges vnto an Allegorye, that when the heares were

increased, the Nazarites should consider, that vertues also ought to increase in the minde. But me thinketh there may be an other cause rendred, namelye that men should abstayne from to much trimming and decking of the body. For the clipping of the eares much adorneth the body. For Paule sayth in his .i. Epistle to the Corinthians the .ii. Chapter, that to women it is vncomelye if they let their heare growe. Although other reasons of other menne are not to bee contemned.

Cyrillus Procopius.

Cirillus and also Procopius vpon the booke of Numbers, say that these thinges were instituted of God, to reuoke men from the idolatrous worshippinges and rites of the Ethnikes, that that which they gaue vnto idols, ye Iewes should geue vnto him. So also whereas they sacrificed vnto idols, he would haue these men rather to sacrifice vnto himselfe, not that god so much regardeth sacrifices, but to withdraw them from idolatry. We reade that the Ethnikes sometimes suffred their heare to growe, that they might afterward consecrate it eyther vnto the Nimphes, or to Apollo. Wherefore Apollo was by them called ἀγέροχος that is a nourisher of the heare. Yea and Theseus (as it is written in Plutarche) went to Delphos there to dedicate his heare vnto Apollo. And children at Rome when they were past childehode, offred their heare and beardes to some God. Sophocles writeth that Orestes put his heare in the tombe of his father.

Plutarche.

Sophocles

There may also be an other cause rendred, and that not vayne. For the Nazarites ought alwayes to be pure, and although they were not of the tribe of Leui, yet they so behaued themselues all that time, as if they had beene priestes of the tribe of Leui. And the Leuites and priestes were prohibited in the .21. chapt. of Leuiticus from polinge their head. Which thinge maye also be perceaued by the .6. chapter of Baruch. Ye shall see (sayth he) priestes in Babilon with their heades shauen, and their garmentes cutte. And they were priestes of idoles. Wherfore we see that by the commaundement of God, the priestes of the hebrewes had not their heades shauen.

The priests of the Hebrewes shaued not their heades.

In the booke of Numbers the 6. chapter, god calleth the heares of the heades a crowne, or as other translate, a decoration. But contrarilye the Papistes call their hauing of the head a crowne: so do they peruerte all thinges as they like themselues. But what should a man speake of them? They care not what they doo. They will haue lights and ceriling in the temples. If thou aske them why? Because say they God bled them in the olde testamente. But in the olde lawe priests had wyues: these will haue none. They suffred the heares of their head or beard to growe: but these men shaue both their head and beard. Although at this day there is a great contention among the about a long beard, because the counsell of Carthage in the .44. chap. is sondry wayes alledged. For in eraplers it is writen Comam non nutriant nec barbã that is, They shal not suffer their heare to growe, nor theire beard, but in others it is red: Nec barbam tondeant, that is: They shall not clip their beardes: whether of these two sentences will these men follow. For they will not suffer to haue a long beard, least any part (as they say) of the sacrifice should sticke in it. O holy men they se yͤ their sacrifice for it haze halte penie, & then least it should sticke in the beard, they diligently prouide. Is not this to streyne at a gnat, & to swalow down a Camel. Howbeit some of them, least they should seme to do not very wisely nor with any reason: The cutting of (say they) of the beares, signifieth that a priest muste cutte of all superfluous thinges. This is the religion of these men, to haue the signes, when as they haue not the thinges signified. But I rather referre that shauinge of our papistes to softnes or wantonnes. For Suetonius in the life of Otho sayth that he was wont oftentimes to shaue his beard, and to behold his face in a glasse, whither it were trim inough. I will not speake of other which do not shaue the beares, but pluche the

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Why the sacrificing Papists will haue no beardes.

Suetonius.

out

out, to haue the latter tumme.

The next thing was, that the Nazarites shuld abstayne from wyne, and not 2.
from wine onely, but also from vineger, from grapes, and from strong drinke, called Sicera. This Sicera (as Ierome writeth to Nepotianus) was a kind of drink which like vnto wyne, which was made either of wheat, or of apples, or of dates, &c. or els of other fruites. Further they were prohibited to eat the huskes of grapes or kernels, which are taken out of the wine presses. They wer also commaunded not to drinke Mischeleth, which was nothing els then the washing of the grapes. For the wine being pressed out, there was water powred vpon the grapes that were pressed, which when it was purified, retained some sauor of the wine. That we call the second wine. But the Chaldey interpretation calleth Sicera old wine. And it is manifest inough, why the Nazarites wer forbidden to drinke both wine and strong drinke: for these thinges trouble the heade, and stirre men vp to lust, as Salomon in his 20. chapter of Proverbs admonisheth, wine maketh a mocker, and strong drinke a troublesome fellow, and whosoever is deceaued therby, shal neuer be wise. Paule sayth also to the Ephesians the 5. chapter: Be not dronke with wine, wherin is excesse: but be filled with the spirite. Further the priestes in the old law were prohibited to drinke wine before they came to holy seruices. Wherefore the Nazarites, forasmuch as they were like priestes, ought also to abstayne from wyne. What Sicera is. Ierome.

The third thing was, that they shuld not defile themselues with any mourninge for the deade. For as we are with ioy to mirthe lifted vp, so sometimes are we greuously troubled with heauines and mourninge. But God wolde haue his ministers to be voyde of affections, especially of the vehementer affections, when as by them men are more greuously moued then is mete. Neyther yet wer these obseruations merites, wherin they constituted righteousnes, but they were rites onely and exercises, whereby they should after a sorte be kepte in doinge their deuty. For the vow of a Nazarite was a certayne seperation from other me. But what they did in the meane time, it is not prescribed: howbeit many thinke that they were commaunded, to endeuour themselues to the contemplacion and knowledge of the lawe, and to worshippe and call vpon God purely and sincerely. 3.

We se that god by this kind of vowe would instruct the people with singuler wisedome. The Philosophers write that a manne muste contende, to be able to beholde highe thinges, and wyde his knowledge to embrace whole nature. And that they saye canne neuer be doone, vnles the affections in vs be tempered, other wise we are verye often caried awaye by anger and lust. Wherefore God would haue his to be voyde of these affections, namely of mourninge, pleasure, to much care and vexation about the decking of the bodye. For these do not a little hinder the tranquility of the mind, and spirituall cogitations therof. Wherefore in the olde lawe be instituted in a manner to prepare vs, that they shoulde not come vnapte and vnmete to higher thinges. Vndoubtedly they which are indewed with the knowledge of God, oughte to frame and prepare themselues, before that they come to heare the worde of God, or to receaue the Sacramentes. Ieremy in his 4. Chapter hath very wel admonished vs: Breake vp your fallow ground, and sow not among the thornes. And they vowed this kind of vowe (as we haue sayd) for a certayne time, either for a yeare or for a moneth, or as euery man thought it most profitable for himselfe: for the natures of menne are oftentimes chaunged, and the studies of pietye do waxe feable. Wherefore they oughte by some meanes to be refreshed. Hereof sprange the departures of the Elders, into solitary places for a time. So they tobyche gouerned the publike wealth, when they were weary with matters, kept themselues close oftentimes

in fieldes or manors, not to sleepe, or to geue themselues to sluggishnes and idlenes, but to refresh theyr myndes, and that they ought returne the more prompte and better instructed to accomplish thinges. And the most noble Rhetoricians being wearied with pleading causes of the law, went sometimes into the countrey, to heare, to talke, to reade somwhat, to peruse ouer the orations before borne, and so by that meanes to returne more learned and readye to the place of iudgement: So the Nazarites for a certayne time departed from the companye and fellowshippe of other menne, that they might be the better and holier afterwarde to execute the duties of life. Chryste also in the nyghte tyme departed to the mountayne: But in the daye tyme he returned vnto the people. And when the Apostles returned, whom he hadde sente forth to preache, he led them a way for a little while into a deserte, that they might there be quiet, and refresh themselues.

The institucion of Lent.

For this cause peraduenture was Lent first instituted, that men which had all the yeare beene occupied with ciuill businesse, might at the leaste at that time renew pietie. This is the pretence of the Papists.

But graunt that the thinge was at the first instituted for this cause, let them consider what it is now fallen to at the lengthe, vndoubtedlye into mere superstition, whereby nothing els is taught vnto the people, then choise of meates, olde wyues fables, vngodly songes, and pilgrimages (whych they commonly call stations) very prophane and idolatrous. In the meane time there is no mencion made for the abolishinge of couetousnesse, lust, lecherye, and other wicked actes. Farther, menne ought by so longe a fast to haue beene made better, but they are made much worse after Easter.

Paul tooke vpon him the vowe of a Nazarite.

But to returne to the vowes of a Nazarite, Paule seemeth to haue vowed it, when as in the. 18. chapter of the Actes of the Apostles, he poled his heade in Cenchre. And in the. 21. chapter he was perswaded of the Elders to doo it. There are here (say they) foure menne, whyche haue a vowe: Thou shalte bee with them. There the shauinge of the head declareth, that that vowe pertained vnto a Nazarite. For as it is written in the lawe, if it had happened that the Nazarite in the time of the vowe whyche he hadde taken vpon hym, hadde defyled hymselfe vpon the deade, or by anye other meanes, then the vowe was violate. And the Nazarite ought to come vnto the Tabernacle, and to declare vnto the priestes what hadde happened, and to cutte of his heare, to offer sacrifice, and so to begynne the vowe of a Nazarite a newe agayne. For what soeuer he hadde before obserued, it was counted as defyled and of no force. So Paule, as thoughe some thynge hadde happened vnto hym amonge the Gentiles where he had beene conuersant, woulde be purified in the Temple, as thoughe he shoulde haue begonne the obseruation of his vowe agayne.

A fayned tale of the Moonkes.

The Papystes crye that by this vowe of the Nazarites, there was a certeyne shadowe at that tyme of theyr religious Moonkery, neyther consider they that the vowes of the Nazarites were instituted by the woorde of God. Let them shewe on theyr side the commaundement of God for moonkery, which thing if they cannot do, then reste they there not vnto but that we may say, that the institutions of Moonkes are not the vowes of Nazarites, but of superstitious men, and a certayne ridiculous imitation or an vntil pile of the olde vowe of the Nazarites. So also in the olde tyme superstitious men, when they sawe that Abraham would haue offred his sonne, and that for the same cause he pleased God be very well: They also would nedes offer their sonnes, and draw them thorough the fire. By whiche most wicked imitation they grieuously offended God. But our worshipping ought to leane vnto the woorde of God. In deede ciuill institutions, yea euen without the expresse woorde of God, may be receaued, so that they be not

Whereof began drawing of children throughe the fyre.

agaynst the lorde of Goddes worshipping and religion ought not to come to any other thyng, but onely out of the lawe of God. But I pray you, let them tell, whence they haue that vowe of perpetuall chastitie, or how can it agree with the Nazarites? First it is contrary to the creation of man, when as it was sayd vnto the first parentes: Increase and multiply. Further, it is agaynst the oracle, which Paul wryteth: Whiche contayneth not, let him marry. Agaynst the vowes of religious men.

They vowe poverty also. But what maner of poverty, forsoth to lyue of begging? A trimme vowe, to be maintayned with the labours of other men. Vndoutedly that is agaynst charitye, when as Paul sayeth vnto the Ephesians: He whiche stale, let him steale no more, but let him labor rather with his handes, that he maye haue wherewithall to geue vnto hym that suffereth necessitye. But thou wilte say that of the Monkes ther are some which are riche. I graunt that, but they also do contrary to the worde of god, wherin it is commaunded: He whiche laboreth not, let him not eate. Further, they vowe obedience. But to whom? To certayne men, when as Paul expressedly writeth: Be not ye made seruantes of men. But they say: I am of Frances, I am of Dominike, I am of Benedict, where as Paul would not suffer that Christians should saye: I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas. All by these do they cry that they agree with the Nazarites? Let vs diligently examine euery thyng. The Nazarites shaued not the heere: but these men do shaue it. The Nazarites did drinke no wyne: but these might themselues with wyne. The Nazarites came not to funerals: but these men desire not thyng so much as the funerals and obsequies of the dead. But I will ouerpasse these things. One thyng only will I adde: Although in the Iewish religion the vowe of the Nazarites was the principall vowe, yet were they not so bounden to many. In other vowes (sayth Origene) they gaue either a shepe, or a goate, or an oxe, or some other thyng. But in this kynde of vowe, they offred the selues, and yet their state agreed well ynough with matrimony. They agree not but are contrarye to the Nazarites. *Origene.*

But let vs returne vnto Samson. He proued a most strong young man. Who would haue thought that this could haue come to passe? The parentes were not commaunded to instruct hym in the arte of warfare, or to send him forth to warre. A man would thinke much rather that he should be brought vp as a shunke, & not as a souldour. But God would haue, that all the strength which should be in Samson, should be derived from his mother. But that he should be a Nazarite all his lyfe long, as Samuel also was, it was peculiar, and aboue the common institution of others, by the whiche I say am not by the ryght of vowe of the parentes. Samson ought to haue obeyed, although he had not vowed, because it was done by the worde of god. Notwithstanding Hanna the mother of Samuel it may be doubted, how it was lawfull for her to vowe for her sonne? For it may seeme vniust that the sonne should be bound by the vowe of the parent. It was demaunded of the lorde of Basilie, what he the children offred by the parentes vnto monasteries, whether they came into the same state, or by the way? Gregorius Magnus to Augustine a Bishop of England, writeth, that it is verely vnlawfull. Whiche is a doctrine vtterly repugnant and agaynst the worde of god. For Paul sayth, it is better to marye then to burne. Now he whiche can not abstayne, let him marye. In the counsell of Carthage also, whereat Augustine also was present, it was decreed, that children offred vnto God, when they came to mans estate, should either marye, or els vnder a ruling. Many also haue sought vnto me, for to haue me to require this at your hande, being vnskilfull of thinges, & not certayne of his owne strength. But these thinges I speake, that no man should thinke that I erre, and am contrary to decrees. But to returne to the matter. I say that Hanna ought to vowe for her sonne, so as touching the performyng of the vowe, as longe as he was brought vp by his parentes, he might safely prouide, that he should not drinke any wyne, nor cut of his heere, nor be at any funerals. But after he came to lawfull age, it was Samuels duty to obserue these things, not in dede in respect of the vowe, but because of the obe- Whether it was lawful for Hanna to vowe for her sonne. *Gregorius.* *Concilium Carthaginense.*

obedience whiche he ought vnto his parentes. For a childe ought to obey their parentes in all those thinges which are not against pietye & the worde of God. So the Rechabites (as it is in Ieremy) whē they obeyed their father Ionadab, who cōmaunded them to drinke no wine all their life tyme, or to dwell in Cityes, were for the same cause praysed of God. Howbeit Hanna vnles she had had a peculiar inspiration from God, she could not haue vowed, that Samuel should all his life tyme haue ministred at the tabernacle of the Lord: for as much as the law of god abolished mē frō the ministery at a certaine space of yeares, namely in .25. yere.

The Rechabites.

Magister sententiarum.

But that which I haue sayd, that it was lawful for Hanna to vowe the vow of a Nazarite for her sonne, it semeth not to be firme with ỹ definition of a vow, whiche is thus wrought of the Master of the sentences: A vowe is a testificatiō of a willing promise made vnto God, of things which pertayne vnto God. But a vowe which is vowed by the parent for the sonne, can not seme willing. Yea but it is: because the parentes vowed not being compelled, but of their owne free will: further, it is mete for the children to obey the will of their parentes freely & of their owne accorde, especially when they commaunde no vngodly thyng, or contrary to the worde of God.

The definition of a vowe.

By this place some gather, that Samson was sanctified in the wombe of his mother: whiche selfe same thyng is beleued both of Ieremy and also of Iohn Baptiste. And they will haue him so to be sanctified, that afterwarde he committed no mortal sinne, as they call it. But this is false and vayne. Neither to sanctifye in this place is anye thyng els, then to appointe one to the execution of some certayn worke. Samson therefore was sanctified, that is, appoynted of God to deliuer his people. So was Ieremy ordeyned to Prophesie. And Iohn to be the voyce of a crier in the wilderne. Neither of this kinde of sanctification doth it follow, that these holy men neuer sinned. For euery man is a liyer, & also there is no man sayth Salomon which sinneth not. Further, what shal we say of Samson: Did he neuer sinne? We tel you boldly, and that grieuously. Paul also, who sayth to the Galathians that he sanctified himselfe separated from his mothers wombe, and yet he persecuted the Churche of God. Moreouer the children also of Christians are called holy, for as much as God is not our God onely, but also the God of our seede, according to that saying of Paul to the Corinthians: your children are holy, who yet no man doubteth but they often times fal and grieuously sinne.

How some are sayd to be sanctified frō the wombe.

One thinge remayneth to be spoken of, and afterwarde I will returne vnto the history. When the father voweth, and the sonne refuseth to performe ỹ vowe of the father, what if the vow be a gaynst the health of the sonne? He shall peraduenture fal into some disease, and therefore drinke wine, or cut away his heare, what is to be done in this case? I haue declared in an other place abouesayd that the precepts of god are of diuers sortes, for that some are greater, and some easier. As touching gods iustice is the commaundement, all are equall and like vnto an other. But as touching ỹ things which are commanded, there is some difference. Wherefore the lesse precepts must geue place vnto the greater. For Iephthe because Christ sayth he was a prophet, & will haue mercy and not sacrifice: not as though God vtterly condemned sacrifices, seeing he had commaunded them, but because he more esteemed mercy. And Christ also commaundeth in the Gospell in the .5. chapter of Matthew that if thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there remembrest that thy brother hath ought against thee, straight forth leaue thy gift vnto thy brother, and then returning offer thy gifte. Wherby he declareth that he altogether will haue the lesse precepts geue place vnto the greater. Wherfore we must thus answere vnto the question. God commaundeth the Nazarites to abstayne from wine: also commaundeth euery man to defend his life by good meanes. Now when as the diuine commaundement hath the preceptes, it is necessary that he preferre the greater before the lesse. For so dyd the Rechabites: the sonnes of Ionadab behaue themselues. For although their father com-

If the vow be against charity it is to be broken.

com-

cõmaunded them, that they ſhould not dwel in Cities, neither drinke any wine, and were alſo commended of God, becauſe they obeyed the preceptes of their father, yet at that tyme when Ieremy wrote theſe thinges of them, they dwelled at Ieruſalem, contrary to the precept of their father. For the Chaldeyans had waſted all the fieldes. Wherefore they perceaued that there was then no place for their fathers precept. But in monaſteryes they doo contrarily. For if the father be ſicke, the ſonne is ſo bound by religion, that he can by no meanes helpe him.

6 And the wife came, and tolde her huſband ſaying: A man of God came vnto me, and the looke of hym was lyke the looke of an Aungell of God very terrible, and I aſked hym not whence he was: neither tolde he me his name.

7 And he ſayde vnto me: Beholde thou ſhalt conceaue and beare a ſonne. Now therfore thou ſhalt drinke no wine nor ſtronge drinke, neyther eate any vncleane thyng: for the chylde ſhalbe a Nazarite to God from his birth, to the day of his death.

8 Then Manoah prayed vnto the Lord, and ſayd: I praye thee my Lord let the man of God whom thou ſenteſt, come agayne vnto vs and teache vs what we ſhall do vnto the childe when he is borne.

9 And God hearde the voyce of Manoah. For the Aungell of the Lorde came agayne vnto the wife, as ſhe ſat in the fielde, but Manoah her huſbande was not with her.

10 And the wife made haſt and ranne, and ſhewed her huſbande, ſaying vnto hym: Beholde the man hath appeared vnto me, that came vnto me to daye.

11 And Manoah arofe and went after hys wyfe, and came to the man, and ſayd vnto him: Art thou the manne that ſpakeſt vnto the woman? And he ſayd: Yea.

12 Then Manoah ſayd: Nowe let thy ſaying come to paſſe. But what ſhalbe the iudgement of the childe, and his worke?

13 The aungell of the Lord aunſwered vnto Manoah: The womã muſt beware of all that I ſayd vnto her.

14 She may eate of nothyng that commeth of the wine vine tree, that is, ſhe ſhall drinke no wine nor ſtronge drinke, nor eate any vncleane thing: let her obſerue all that I haue commaunded her.

The woman thought that it had bene ſome godly man whom ſhe had ſene, or a Prophete: for ſhe knew not that it was the aungell of God. His looke (ſaith ſhe) was terrible. The Hebrewe worde is ambiguous: for it may be turned both terrible and wonderfull. And vndoubtedly the thinges whiche are wonderful, eſpecially deuine things, doo ſtrike into men a feare. She faythfully ſheweth vnto her huſband theſe thinges, and doth the dewty of a good wife. For Matrimony is an vnſeperable ſociety, hauyng the communion both of thynges deuine & humane. And this matter pertayned partly to thinges deuine, becauſe it was thewed in the name of God, and partly vnto humane thynges, becauſe it was a matter as touchyng the receauyng and education of a child. What matrimony is.

She ſayth, ſhe aſked him not whence he was: becauſe in ſuch viſions men are ſo amaſed, that they are attentiue onely vnto the thynges which are ſpoken, neither haue they any leaſure to enquire of more thinges. So the mother of ỹ Lord, when the Aungell ſaluted her, aſked hym not what his name was, or from whence he came. Gideon alſo when he receaued the oracle of the Aungell, for

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the delyuering of the people, was altogether so astonished, that he was nothyng inquisitiue, what his name was. But the woman speaketh these thynges by anticipation: for she thought that her husbande would beare, and inquire of hym the truth. Although *Iosephus* in hys booke de Antiquitatibus (as I haue before admonished) sayeth, that when he hearde the wordes of his wife, he somewhat suspected her of euill. Howbeit Ambrose in hys. 70. Epistle, where he very diligently entreateth of this Hystory, denieth that to be very lykely. For if (sayeth he) he had ben gelious, God would not haue sent an aungell vnto hym. But me thinketh Ambroses reason is not firme. For Manoah might otherwise be a good man, although he were touched with suspition. Very good men also haue oftentymes some suspition of such thinges. For euen *Iosephthe* husband of Mary, whō the holy Scripture testifieth that he was a iust man, somewhat sinisterly suspected hys Spouse, to whom yet the Aungell appeared.

Ambrose.

Wherefore I rather beleue that Manoah, was either altogether without gelousy, or elles not very muche gelous. For he accused her not abroade, he repudiated her not, neither vsed he the publique remedy of the lawe: For then was in force that lawe whiche was geuen by GOD, that if a manne suspected his wife of aduoutry, he should bryng her to the doore of the tabernacle, where the Priest should searche out the honesty of the woman by solemne waters, and by a bitter curse. For God would that maryed folkes should lyue together with a mery, quiet, and not suspitious mynde. But Manoah dyd not onely not vse these remedyes: but also he by no meanes rebuked his wyfe. But strayghtwaye prayed vnto the Lorde, that that man of God would returne the seconde tyme, wherby he might vnderstand, how the child should be brought vp. Neither dyd he tempt god by hys prayers. In deede no man ought to desire a signe, if he may beleue the articles of fayth. For those thynges whiche are contayned in them, are already before sufficiently proued and confirmed by the worde of God, and by miracles. But if there happen any newe and singular reuelation, bycause there may bee deceates and guiles of deuilles, who transforme themselues (yea euen into the aungelles of lyght) if we require a signe of the Lorde for instruction, we sinne not. That a barren woman should beare, or that a childe should set the people at liberty, it was a certayne singular thyng. Wherefore Manoah prayeth for nothyng curiously, and therefore GOD hearde hym. He afterwarde demaunded the name of the aungel, but bycause he demaunded it curiously, he was not hearde.

The cause of the lawe of gelousy.

The aungell came agayne vnto the woman the selfe same daye, as all interpreters doo agree. And vndoubtedly it might be, that first he came in the morning, and the second tyme, either at noone, or about the sunne set. Manoah asked, Whether he were the manne whiche spake with hys wife: whiche thing whē he affirmed vnto hym, he sayde: *Let* thy sayinge come to passe. It maye be an oration of one that wisheth, as if he should haue sayde: I would to GOD it might come to passe. Or it may by supposition, as if it should haue bene sayde: If it come to passe as thou hast sayde, What then shalbe the iudgement of the child? When he saith iudgement, he asketh not Counsel of Astronomers, which answere by the starres, what shall come to passe of a childe. He onely demaundeth what GOD had decreed of the childe. Neither ought the decree of GOD wherof he inquireth, to be referred vnto the merites of the child, but onely vnto the mercye of GOD. For Mischpat is very well turned a decree, for a decree is of mercye and not of merite. The Aungell repeateth vnto hym all those thynges, whiche he had before commaunded the woman to take heede of. She maye not eate (sayeth he) of any thynge that commeth of the wyne grape. These wordes declare, that there are also other kyndes of vines, out of whiche is not gathered wyne. But when the Aungell sayeth: Neyther shall she drynke

Certaine wine trees beare not wine.

wyne

wine, nor stronge drinke, bys aunswere seemeth not to make muche to the purpose. Manoah demaundeth of the childe, and the aungell aunswereth of the mother. But it is all one, as if he had sayd: That whiche I haue sayd of the mother, I haue sayd it bycause of the childe: Wherfore seyng god wyll haue the mother obserue these thynges, muche more ought the childe to keepe the selfe same things. Howbeit the cõmon trãslation (I cã not tell how) referreth these things vnto the childe, but yet not rightly: bycause in the Hebrewe the feminine gender is kepte still. Augustine is his questions vpon this booke demaundeth, why the mother is commaunded to abstayne from all vncleane thynges, when as that was already before sufficiently forbidden by the lawe of God? He aunswereth: After that the Philistines possessed that lande, Religion among the Iewes was feabled, and the people did without choyse eate thyngs vncleane and forbydden by the lawe. By these wordes Manoah easely perceaued that his wife did rightly vnderstande the wordes of the angell, and that the child should be a Nazarite as longe as he lyued. *Augustine.*

15 And Manoah sayd vnto the aungell of the Lorde: I praye thee let vs retayne thee, and we will make ready a kid for thee.
16 And the angell of the Lord aunswered vnto Manoah: Though thou make me abyde, I will not eate of thy bread: and if thou wilt make a burnt offring, offer it vnto the Lorde: for Manoah knewe not that it was an aungell of the Lorde.
17 Agayne Manoah sayde vnto the Aungell of the Lord: what is thy name, that whē thy saying is come to passe we may honor thee?
18 And the aungell of the Lorde aunswered hym: why askest thou thus after my name, whiche is secret?
19 Then Manoah tooke a kid and an oblation, and offred it vpon a stone vnto the Lord. And he wrought a miracle whilest Manoah and hys wife looked on.
20 For when the flame came vp toward heauen from the alter, the aungell of the Lord ascended vp in the flame of the alter. And Manoah and his wife beheld it, and fell on their faces to the ground.
21 So the aungell of the Lord did no more appeare vnto Manoah and hys wyfe. Then Manoah knewe that it was an aungell of the Lorde.

Whē they had heard these wordes, they would haue retayned this mã of god, & haue made him a banquet. Vnto whom he aunswereth: Although ye make me to abide, yet will *I* not eate of your bread. This Hebrew worde Lechē signifieth not onely bread, but sometymes meate in vniuersall, yea & sometymes flesh also. Hereof was inuented ỹ subtility of ỹ Papistes: to whō when we say, ỹ the bread remayneth in ỹ Eucharist, & proue it by ỹ which *Paul* writeth: The bread which we breake, is it not ỹ cõmunicating of ỹ body of Christ? They answere: ỹ bread in that place may signifie flesh, as it doth oftētymes in the holy scriptures. But they ought to remember ỹ Paul wrote these words in Greke & not in Hebrew. But Αρτος ỹ is, bread in Greke, cã not signify flesh, as Lechem may in Hebrew. Farther in the holy supper the flesh of Christ is not broken, but they ar symboles or signes whiche are broken.

VVe will make a Kid. So some reade it, and doo thynke that to make, is in this place nothyng els then to Sacrifice. Peraduenture Manoah thought that that aungell was a Priest. And in peace offringes one parte was burnt vnto God, an other parte was geuen vnto the Priest, the thirde parte they dyd *Howdyy reasoning.*

eate which offred the sacrifice, and so they banqueted together before the Lord. Wherfore they would entertayne the Aungell with a banquet. But other rede in this place, not to make, but simply to prepare.

If thou wilt make a burnt offring, offer it vnto the Lord. He declared that he looked not for a banquet, because in burnt offrings, al things were consumed with fire. But in ỹ he saith: Sacrifice it vnto the Lord, he putteth him in remẽbraunce of the true God: because the people at that tyme worshypped the Gods of the gentiles. The Papistes cry that to make, is to sacrifice: & that this worde Facere, that is to do or to make, is properly applied vnto sacrifices. And therby they labour to proue, that their Masse is a sacrifice, because Christ sayd in the Supper, Hoc facite, that is, do or make this, which they thinke is nothyng els, thẽ sacrifice this. Neither do they cite these places onelye, but also very many other, whiche are founde in the olde testament. They say also that the Latin Poetes vsed this worde after this maner, as Virgil when he sayd: When I make a calke for corne, come thou. Amitte it be so. But how shall we vnderstand the certayne signification or strength of this worde as ofte as it cõmeth? And whẽ shal it signifie this, & when that? For otherwise to make a garment, shalbe to sacrifice a garment, and to make a fire, shalbe to sacrifice a fire: & that worde as oft as it cõmeth shal signifye to sacrifice, vndoubtedly what ỹ worde signifieth may be easely be vnderstãd by the thyng it selfe, and circumstances of the place, as that in Virgil which they haue alledged, where it is read: When I make a calke, it is certayne that there is mention made of barnest sacrifices. And so it oftentymes happeneth in the olde Testament. But in the supper, what was it that Christe would Sacrifice? what oblation? what blood? Take (saith he,) eate, drinke. Do this whiche I haue sayd, namely to eate and drynke, for a remembraunce & monument of my death. But the Papistes bring forth these vayne & friuolous things, because they haue no better, as they whiche haue no wood vse to burne strawe.

The wilynes of ỹ Papistes, whereby they affirme that ỹ Masse is a sacrifice.

Virgil.

From whence significatiõs of wordes ought to be gathered.

But to returne vnto the Hystory, this semeth wonderful, when as the law cõmaũdeth that sacrifice should be done but onely in the place which the Lord had chosen, how it should be lawful for Manoah to sacrifice at his own house. *Dauid Kimhi* answereth, that this was done by the authority of the man of God, by a certayn extraordinary meane. For Elias also sacrificed when he was among the ten tribes, ỹ is, in the kingdome of Samaria. But those things he saith were peculiar, neither might they be drawẽ into an exãple of others. But I thinke ỹ whilest the arke of the Lord was yet wandryng, & whilest it had not yet founde any certayne place, ỹ precept of the Lord had not yet his full strength. For thus the Lorde had cõmaunded, after that I shall bring you into the lande whiche I haue promised you, ye shall not sacrifice vnto me, but in ỹ place which I wil shew vnto you. Wherfore although before it was permitted to sacrifice any other wher, yet after ỹ Salomon had built the tẽple, it was not lawful to offer out of it: wher fore the highe places were to be takẽ away, & they should sacrifice no where but at *Ierusalẽ*. But of al the kings, onely Iosias & Ezechias toke away ỹ high places: so hard a thing was it to leade ỹ people to ỹ true obedience of god. But Elias was moued by a certayne peculiar inspiration of God to Sacrifice other where.

Whether it were lawfull to sacrifice in any other place, besides the tabernacle.

Manoah demaundeth after the name of the Aungell, neyther dyd he that so simply as hys wyfe dyd. But that he should not be thought to demaund it curiously, or without a cause, he addeth a reason of hys request. That if that come to passe whiche thou hast sayd, we may honour thee, that is wt some reward. But I cã not recõpence thee, vnles I know who thou art, & where thou dwellest. This Hebrew worde Peli is ambiguous to the Hebrues, & signifyeth both wonderful, and also secrete. R. Salomon sayeth that the names of aungelles are secrete, so that they themselues knowe not their owne names. And he addeth also that the Aungelles haue no names of their owne, but onely haue surnames geuen

R. Salomon. Aungels are nõmed of those things whiche they worke.

them

them of those thynges whiche they are sent to take charge ouer. Whiche thyng also the Epistle to the Hebrues toucheth, when it calleth them ministryng spirites. R. Salomon bryngeth examples out of the holy Scriptures. An Aungell was sent vnto Esaye, and because he dyd put a burnyng coale to his lyppes, he was called Seraphim, of this verbe Seraph, whiche signifieth to burne. So maye we saye of Raphaell, that he was so called, because he had healed Tobias, as thoughe he were the medicine of GOD. Gabriell also, after the same manner, was called the strength of GOD. Also thys woorde Peli signifieth wonderfull: for therefore came the Aungell, to woorke a miracle. And vndoubtedly it was very wonderfull, to bryng fire out of a rocke, whiche shoulde consume the sacrifice. And it may bee ỹ the Aungell would not open hys name, because manye at that tyme were prone vnto Idolatrye, and they would easely, when they had heard the name of an Aungell, peraduenture haue woorshypped it to muche religiously.

That which we haue called an oblation, in Hebrew it is Minchah. But what maner of oblation that was, is vnderstoode by the. 2. chapter of Leuit. There were diuers kindes therof, but it euer consisted of corne, but yet not alwayes prepared after one maner, & it was so offred, that some part of it was burnt vnto the Lord, the other part was left for the Priestes. The Papists babble that Minchah was a shadowe of their bready sacrifice, whiche thinge they haue sayned shamefully. But hereof we will intreate in an other place.

Manoah layd the Kid and Minchah vpon therocke. Manoah myght not sacrifice vnto the Lord by the lawe, because he came of the tribe of Dan, and not of the tribe of Leui. Wherefore he deliuered the fleshe vnto the aungell ỹ vnto him he thought to be a Prophete, that he should sacrifice it. For Prophetes had an extraordinary vocation, that although they were not of the famely of Aaron, yet it was lawfull for them to sacrifice: as were of Helias and Helizeus. For whē religiō was decayed in ỹ Priests, god suffred others to ministir their office. But the aungell, when the fleshe was put vpon the rocke, wrought wonderfully. He rayled vp fire out of the stone, whiche consumed the offring. Whiche thing we rede also was done in Gideon. Although it be not herein expressedly shewed that fire was drawen out of the rocke, as it was openly sayd in Gideon, yet is no mention made of fire ỹ was brought by Manoah, & at the last it is sayd that the angell vanished away in ỹ flame, wherof it is credible ỹ fire was taken out of ỹ stone. The angell ascended into heauen, as though he rode the flame for a chariot. He dissolued the body whiche he had, and vanished away into the flambe: whiche was a notable miracle. They fell to the ground for feare: for they were wonderfully amased and affrontshed, when they sawe that it was an aungell, whom before they thought to haue ben a man.

22 And Manoah sayd vnto his wife: We shall surely dye, because we haue seene God.

23 But hys wife sayde vnto hym: If the Lorde would kill vs, he woulde not haue receaued a burnt offryng and an oblation of our handes, neither would he haue shewed vs all these thinges, nor at this tyme told vs such thynges.

24 And the wife bare a sonne, and called his name Samson. And the childe grewe, and the Lord blessed hym.

25 And the spirite of the Lord began to strengthen hym, in the host of Dan, betwene Zora and Esthaol.

In dyeng we shall dye. That is, we shall moste assuredly dye. For the Hebrues in doublyng the woordes doo earnestly affirme.

Bycause we haue sene the Lord. Wherevpon this opinion sprang, I haue tolde in the hystory of Gideon, where also I haue declared, howe God was sene of the fathers. Wherfore it needeth not to repeate them in this place. But this will I not ouerpasse, that R. Leui ben Gerson writeth, that this was not an aungell, but a man of god, and a Prophet, namely Pinhas the sonne of Eleazar. But he was called angel bycause Manoah and his wife thought hym to be so. For after the same maner Ezras, although he was a man, yet was he called an aungell. And Christ whiche is very man, is called the aungell of the Testament. But howe he being a man vanished awaye in the flambe, Leui ben Gerson declareth not. But I more simply doo iudge him to haue ben an aungell in dede. For Pinhas had not a secret name, but a name well knowen in his tyme, and the wordes of the texte do tend to this, to teache that it was an aungell. VVe haue sene the Lord. In Hebrewe it is Elohim, which although it be the name of GOD, yet is it communicated to aungelles, yea and also to prynces and Prophetes, accordyng to that saying: I haue sayde, ye are Goddes. And Christe in the Gospell sayeth: If they are called Goddes, vnto whome is come the worde of GOD, why doo ye murmure. &c

The opinio of R. Leui ben Gerson.

Of the name of Elohim.

This woman seemeth to be of a stouter courage then the man: for she comforteth her husband. Whose Oration is grounded vpon two argumentes. The first is, I do not thinke we shall dye, bycause God would not haue accepted our sacrifice, if he would haue destroyed vs. Wherfore seyng our sacrifice was acceptable vnto him, he counteth not vs as enemyes. But whereby knewe she that that sacrifice was acceptable vnto GOD. Firste, bycause the aungell had commaunded it to be done, which vndoubtedly he would not haue doen, vnles he had vnderstoode that it should be acceptable vnto God. Farther, bycause the flambe had consumed the sacrifice, and the angel therewith all he was awaye, as though he caried vp the sacrifice with him into heaue. An other argument is: He would not haue taught vs so many and such thynges, if we should perishe. He came vnto vs once or twise, and instructed vs of thynges whiche we should doo. Wherfore be of good comforte, we shall not dye.

Of Sacrifice.

The offerer is more acceptable vnto God then the Sacrifice.

VVIthoutedly the womans argumentes are good: out of whiche may some thynges be gathered, whiche are not vnprofitable. And firste that God more acceypteth hym that offreth, then he doth the sacrifice: yea the oblations please not hym, but for the offerers sake. This sentence Irenæus proueth by the scriptures in his fourth booke, and .34. chapter. For God had a regarde vnto Abel, and to his giftes, but vnto Cain and his giftes he looked not, bycause of the disposition of them that offred. For looke what manner of will he that offreth hath towardes God, the tyme will hath God to the oblation. Christ also sayth: If thou bryng thy gifte vnto the aulter, and remembrest that thy brother hath somwhat agaynst thee, go and reconcile thee firste vnto thy brother: and then come and offer thy gifte. As thoughe he should say: If wherest thou art euill, and enemy vnto god, thou doest offer, thyne oblation shall not be acceptable vnto God. Wherfore Irenæus concludeth, that they are not sacrifices whiche sanctify, but the conscience of him that offreth. And he addeth a reason: bycause God needeth not our Sacrifice. Among men, the euill may oftentymes be absolued: bycause men are sometimes couetous and nedy, and are easily wonne with money. But if it happen the Judge to be both iuste and good, he will exacte the money, neither wyl he suffer his equity after that manner to be blotted. So God, bycause he can not be wonne by flattery, obserueth the myndes of men, and not the Sacrifices. In Esay the .66. chapter, he sayth: He that sacrificeth a shepe, is as if he sleawe a dog: not that god hateth sacrifices in vniuersal, but bycause he alloweth not y oblati-

Irenæus.

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ons of euill men. I haue the largelier ſpoken thinges, becauſe the papiſtes boaſt, that in maſſes they offer Chriſt vnto God the father: which thinge if it ſhould be graũted, then muſt god the father more eſteme a noughty ſacrificer, then he doth his ſonne. But this woman reaſoneth moſt wittely. God hath receaued our ſacrifice, therfore he is not angry, neyther will he deſtroy vs.

The ſacrifices of Chriſtians.

We count the ſacrifices of chriſtians to be a contryte heart, prayers, geuinge of thankes, almes, mortifienge the affections of the fleſhe, and ſuche like. Theſe are lefte vnto vs after the abrogation of the carnall ſacrifices, that wee ſhoulde offer them as the fruites of our faythe, and teſtimonies of a thankefull minde. But as touching the paſſieng of God, Chriſte offred himſelfe once vpon the croſſe, neither is there any nede that any man ſhould offer him againe. For by an oblation he accõpliſhed al thinges. Now remayneth, that we embrace his ſacrifice with fayth, and we ſhall haue God mercifull vnto vs, who of his goodnes will by Chriſt accept thoſe ſacrifices which we haue now made mention of. But Auguſtine contra literas Parmeniani, in his. 2. booke and. 8. chapter ſeemeth at the firſt ſight to make againſt vs. For the Donatiſtes wouldе not communicate with the other Chriſtians, becauſe they counted them defiled and vnpure, and they cited a place out of Iohn: Wee knowe that God heareth not ſinners. Your men, ſayd they, haue betrayed the holye bookes, haue burnte incenſe vnto Idoles, haue denied god, how then wil god heare them? Auguſtine aunſwereth, that it may be, that an euill miniſter, although he be not hearde for his owne cauſe, yet when he prayeth for the people, he maye be hearde. And he confirmeth his ſentẽce by the example of Balaam: for he being a moſt wicked man, prayed vnto god and was heard. But if a man diligentlye examine theſe thinges, he ſhall finde that Auguſtine is not againſt vs, although at the firſt ſight he ſemeth a little to preſſe vs.

Auguſtine.

The publike prayers of the miniſter are the prayers of the Church.

When he had ſayde that the euill miniſters alſo are heard, bee ſtrayghteway addeth, that ỳ is not done for their wickednes ſake, but becauſe of the fayth and deuotion of the people, whereby wee gather, that although the miniſter be the guide in woordes, yet are they not his prayers, but the prayers of the Churche. For there muſte bee one certayne manne, whiche maye conceaue the prayers for the reſte, leaſte in the multitude ſhoulde riſe a confuſion or tumulte, if euerye manne ſhoulde by his owne woordes poure out prayers aloude in the Church. Wherfore the miniſter is a certayn mouth of the church. Therefore if he bee euill, it is not he which is heard, but the faythfull people, which ſpeake by his woordes. This thinge taughte Auguſtine when he writeth that an euill miniſter is hearde, not for his wickednes, but for the fayth and deuotion of the people. Hereby are we admoniſhed, that whileſt we are preſente at publike prayers, wee muſte take verye diligente heede, and determine that thoſe prayers whyche are recited, are ours. But Balaam by a certayne forme of prayer prophefied, and therefore his woordes are called a bleſſinge, becauſe he prophefied happye thinges vnto the people of god. And hee was not moued vnto theſe prayers of his owne will, but by the ſpyte of god. Wherfore hee was not hearde, but the holye ghoſte was the true authour of hys woordes.

The Wyniſter is the mouth of the church.

How it is ſayd that Balaam was heard.

Whyther God heareth ſinners

That whiche is alledged out of Iohn: God heareth not ſinners, Auguſtine ſayth that that was not the ſaying of Chriſt, but of the blind mã which was not yet fully illuſtrate. Therefore he affirmeth that ſentence not to be true in vniuerſal. For (as they define) the prayers of peruerſe miniſters ar ſomtimes hard, becauſe they are of the church. But as touching the oblation of Chriſt, I do not think that the papiſts wil graunt, ỳ the whole church offreth it, whẽ as they wil

haue that to be peculiar to the maſſemongers. And though they ſhould graunte that, yet is not the whole Churche greater or more acceptable vnto god, then Chriſt: becauſe he is not acceptable vnto god for the churches ſake, but the church is acceptable vnto god for Chriſtes ſake. But to returne to the ſaying of Iohn, that God heareth not ſinners, addinge a profitable diſtinction, we maye thus

A diſtinction of ſinners.

erpound it. There are ſome ſinners whiche fall of weakenes, or ſinne of ignorance, which yet afterward acknowledge themſelues, are ſorye, and repent faythfully. But there are other, which ſinne without conſcience, want fayth, neyther are they led with anye repentance. The firſte ſorte, becauſe they haue fayth, are heard, the other, forasmuch as they want fayth, do in vayne poure out theyr prayers. But if a man will obiecte the Publicane, who being a ſinner, prayed vnto

What manner of one the publicane was when he prayed.

god and departed iuſtified. I aunſwere, that that publicane was in ſuche ſorte a ſinner, that yet when he prayed, he was not without fayth, yea rather he prayed with fayth, otherwiſe god would not haue heard his prayers. And vndoubtedly Iames doth right wel admonithe vs, when he ſayth: Pray, hauing faith. In ſum, that ſentence is firme and perfecte wherin it is ſayde: whatſoeuer is offred vnto God for a ſacrifice, the ſame is acceptable vnto him, if fayethe and iuſtification of him that offreth, go before.

A verye ſubtile cauilacion.

Some do cauile of the firſt acte of fayth, whereby we begynne firſt to aſſente vnto god, and they doubt, whither it be acceptable vnto god or no. Vndoubtedly before it, he is an enemy, which now beginneth to beleue. Then ſay they, if that firſt conſente be acceptable vnto God, then accepteth he the gifte of an enemye. But if it be not acceptable, then it iuſtifieth not. To this I aunſwer two wayes: Firſt that men are not iuſtified of the worthineſſe of the acte of fayth, but of the firme promiſe of god, which faith embraceth. Farther, when any man firſt aſſenteth, and beleueth, then is he firſt made of an enemy a friende, and although before he was an enemy, yet ſo ſone as he beleueth, he is made a friend, and ceaſeth to be an enemy. But that which we haue before concluded, that he which offreth

Plato.

is more acceptable vnto God, then the gift, the Ethnikes alſo ſawe. For Plato in Alcibiade maketh mention, that the Athenienſes vpon a time made war againſte the Lacedemonians, and when they were ouercome, they ſente meſſengers vnto Iupiter Ammon, by whom they ſayd that they marueiled for what cauſe, where as they hadde offred ſo greate giftes vnto the Gods, and their enemies on the contrary ſide ſacrificed ſparingly and ſclenderly, and yet had they the victorye ouer them. Ammon aunſwered, that the gods more eſteemed the prayers of the Lacedemonians, then the moſte fatte ſacrifices of the Athenienſes. For when they burnt Oxen vnto their Gods, in the meane time they thought nothinge of their ſoules. So in Homere Iupiter ſpeaketh, that the Gods are not moued with the ſmoke and ſmel of ſacrifices, whenas they hated Priamus and the Troyanes. Wherfore the Ethnikes vnderſtoode, that which the Papiſts at this day ſee not, which thynke that their blinde ſacrificer, though he be neuer ſo vnpure and vngodly, doth yet with his hands, offer vp Chriſt vnto god the father.

Now let vs ſee the other argument of this woman. God would neuer haue ſhewed vs theſe thinges, if he woulde haue killed vs: Forasmuche as hee is not wont to make hys enemies of his coũcel. Thus the wife of Manoah comforteth her fearefull huſband. But this argument ſeemeth ſomewhat obſcure, when as *Balaam*, although he were vngodlye, was not ignorante of the Counſelles of GOD. Chriſte alſo ſayth: Manye ſhall ſaye vnto mee in that daye, haue wee not Prophecyed in thy name? To theſe thynges I aunſweare, that GOD dide not onelye foretell vnto them thynges that ſhould

come to passe for the deliuerye of the people, but also of the childe whiche they should receaue, and of his education. Wherefore seying he vsed them as fellowe workemen, it was a certayne argument, that god had not appointed strayghte way to kyll them. Neyther speaketh she here of eternall life, but of this earthlye and corruptible life.

And the childe grew, and his name was called Samson. Hereby we knowe that Zorah was the name of the place where Samsons fathers was borne. Samson. This Hebrew word Shemesch signifieth the sunne, being therefore so called, as though he wer of the sunne: but for what cause he was so called it is not knowen. I merualle that Iosephus interpreteth Sampson for stronge or mightye, vndoubtedly such an Etimology agreeth not with the Hebrew word. But he oftentimes goeth from the history. And in this place also he sayth that the woman prayed, when as that is not founde in the text. God blessed Samson. That is, bestowed and heaped benefites vpon hym. Iosephus.

The sprite of God. That is the spryte of strength and mighte began to strengthen him. In the host of Dan. The history speketh thus by reason of those times. The tribe of Dan had not yet obteined possession in the land of promes, but they wer in tents, and fought against theyr enemyes. R. D. Kimhi sayth that they did thē beseige the city of Lais. Wherefore he being a younge man, was together wᵗ thē in the hoste. The Hebrew worde is Paam, and it signifieth to be moued, & to be striken at certayne tymes, not perpetually, but by courses. He being a yonge man was moued, and wared hote, to fyght the more vehemently against his enemies. And his impulsions, bycause they were of God, therefore are they ascribed vnto the spryte. But bicause wee are alreadye come vnto the ende of thys chapter, before we enter into the next, there are certayne thinges whych are to be marked. R. D. Kimhi.

Fyrst, hereby we gather a most sure argumēt with how singuler a care god gouerneth his church. For although the Iewes had grieuously sinned, yet had god a regard to theyr health, & sendeth thē a captain, which should deliuer them, & foretelleth what things should come to pas, least they should seme to haue happened by chaunce. Farther he woulde haue the childe to be a Nazarite, and to haue his heare to growe, and to abstaine from wine and stronge drinke. Wherefore we are taught that these outward thinges are not vtterly vaine, but may be applied vnto the glory of god. Men are wont sometimes to say, when they are admonished of outward thinges: What, doth god regard these thinges? In dede we know also that in those thinges is no holinesse to be put. Howebeit we muste take heede that both in liuinge, and in apparell, and in going also in all gesture and in habite, we behaue our selues comely, both before God, and also before the churche, not superstitiously but holily, that our modesty may aduaunce the kingdome of Christ and his holy Gospel. Furthermore let vs here consider that the wife helpeth the husband with her councell. For although by the ordinarye lawe it is not lawfull for women to preach and teache in an assembly: yet are they not so destitute of the gratious gifts of God, but that they may instruct theyr husbands with good counsels. Outward thynges are not to be neglected.

Of the visions of Aungels.

The nexte thinge, is that I somewhat intreate of the visions of Aungels. For as we haue now heard an Aungel appeared vnto Manoah, and often-

times in other places (as the scriptures declare) aungels haue bene seene of men. But it may be demaunded, howe they appeared, whither with any bodye, or els onely in phantasye? And if it were with a bodye, whither it were with theyr owne body, or with a straunge body? & if they toke a body, whither they were for a time or for euer?

The opinion of Platos secte.

Of these things, there are diuerse opinions of men. Platos sect do say that the mindes, that is, the intelligences are so framed, that certayne of them haue celestiall bodies, some haue fyry bodies, some ayry, some watry, and some earthlye. And some they affirm to be darke Demonia, which do continually abide in darknes and mist. Of these thinges Marcilius Ficinius hath gathered many things in his. 10. bookes de legibus, and in his argument of Epinomides. The Peripatetikes affirme that there are certaine intelligences which turne and moue the celestiall orbes, neyther make they mencion of any other. But the scholedeuines, do determine that those mindes & intelligences are altogether spiritual, and ỹ they haue no bodies. And this is the reason that leadeth thē thus to think, bycause these intelligences must nedes excell the soules of men, whose most perfect faculty consisteth in vnderstanding. Wherefore as they thinke, in this acte of vnderstanding it behoueth that these intelligences do much excede thē, and ỹ commeth to passe for that these heauenly mindes haue no nede of images, or of senses: and bicause the case so standeth, they shoulde haue bodies in vayne.

The Peripatetikes.

The schole deuines men.

The fathers Origene.

But of the fathers there are some which affirme farre otherwise. Origene in his bokes περὶ ἀρχῶν (as Ierome hath noted in his Epistle ad Pammachium, de erroribus Ioānis Heroſolymitani) saithe that those spirituall mindes, as often as they do offend, slide and are thrust into bodies, but yet not straightway into the vilest bodies, but fyrst into starry bodies, then into firy and ayry, afterward into watrye, and lastlye into humayne and earthlye. And if then also they behaue not themselues well, they are at the laste made deuils. But if they will at least wayes then repent, they may by the selfe same degrees come to theyr olde estate. And this we ought to vnderstand (saith he) by that ladder, wheron Iacob saw aūgels ascending & descending. And Ierome also to make the thinge more plain, addeth a similitude. A Tribune (sayth hee) if hee gouerne not well, is detected from his degree, and is made the princes chiefe Secretary, afterward a Senatour, a captayne ouer 200. men, a ruler ouer fewer, a watcheman, a horseman, and afterward a souldier of the first degree. And although a Tribune were once a commō souldier, yet is he not made of a tribune a younge Souldier, but the Princes chiefe Secretary. But these thynges are absurdè, and very worthye to be laughed at. And vndoubtedly Origene in those thinges speaketh more like a Platonian, then a Christian. That which he first taketh that soules are thruste into bodies, as into punishmentes, is manifestly false, for as much as god hath adioyned the bodye vnto the soule for a helpe, and not for a punishmente. Neither doth he well to geue hope of saluation to come vnto the deuil, when as Christ hath contrarywise taught, sayng: Go ye cursed into euerlasting fyre, which is prepared for the deuill and his Aungels. Neyther can we interpreate it that this word eternum is ther set for this word diuturnū, that is euerlasting, for a long seasō. For Christ most apertly expoundeth his sentence, when he sayth: Their wormе shall not dye, and theyr fire shall not be quenched. Neither doth he truly affirme that the soules fyrst offend before they come into bodies, when as Paule writeth of Iacob and Esau, before they were borne, and had done neither good nor euil, it was said, Iacob haue I loued, and Esau haue I hated: The greater shall serue the lesser. Wherefore thys sentence of Origene is worthely to be reiected of all menne.

Ierome.

Against the translation of soules into bodies after Origines fayning.

Augustine

Auguſtine ſeemeth in many places to attribute bodies vnto Angels, namely in his ſecond booke De trinitate. chap. viii. and in the third booke, chap. i. which thing the Schoolemen perceauing, haue excuſed him, ſaying that he ſpake not accoꝛding to his own opinion, but after the opinion of other men. Which thing I alſo could well allow, foꝛ as muche as I ſee that that father (in his. viii. booke De ciuitate dei, the. xvi. chap.) after the opinion of Apuleius, Madaurenſis, & Porphyrius, defineth, that Demones are in kinde animalia, that is, hauing ſenſe, in ſoule paſſiue, in mynde reaſonable, in body ayꝛy, in time eternal. Undoubtedly, herein he followeth the doctrine of Platoes ſect. But in the places befoꝛe alledged he ſeemeth to ſpeake altogether of himſelfe. Yea, and Bernhardus alſo vpon Cantica Canticorum, as it appeareth, is of the ſame opinio. Wherfoꝛe the ſchole men are compelled to inuent an other excuſe, and they ſay that Angels, if they be compared with men, are ſpirites but if with God, they haue bodies, bycauſe they fayle from the vnity and ſimplicity of God. Tertulian de carne Chriſti, affirmeth that Angels haue bodies. But that is not ſo much to bee marueiled at him, foꝛ he attributeth a bodye alſo vnto God him ſelfe. But he calleth a bodye whatſoeuer is. Foꝛ he had to do with vnlearned and rude men, whych thynke y whatſoeuer is not a body, is nothing. But the ſchoolemen ſay that Angels are in very deede ſpirites, but when they come vnto men, they take vpon them ayꝛye bodies, and thicken them and make them groſe, whereby they may be ſene, touched, and felt aboue the nature of ayꝛe. Ther are ſome alſo which ſay, that ſome earthly oꝛ watriſhe thing is mixed with them and yet will they not that there is there a perfect mixture, that they ſhould not be compelled to put generacio ther. There were ſome alſo, which thought that Angels ſometimes tooke vpon them dead karcaſes. But this ſeemeth vnto the greater parte a thing vnwoꝛthy, ſo to thinke of holy Angels.

Auguſtine.

Bernhardus.

Tertulian.

Here ſome man will ſay that it is abſurde, to aſcribe vnto Angels ſayning & lying, as to faine the ſelues to be men, when as in very deede they are not men. Yea and this ſeemeth alſo to weaken the argument of Chriſt, whiche he vſed after his reſurrection, to touche that he had a true body. Feele (ſaith he) and ſee, foꝛ a ſpirite hath not fleſhe and bones, as ye ſee me haue. Foꝛ the Apoſtles being afrayde, thought that they had ſeene a ſpirite, wherfoꝛe Chriſt to put them out of doubt, bad them to handle and feele his body. But the Apoſtles might haue ſaid: That which we feele is a fantaſie it ſeemeth in deede to be Chriſt, but peraduenture it is not. Foꝛ Angels alſo ſeeme to haue bodies, and to be touched and felt, when as yet in very deede they haue no bodies. Alſo this ſentence may debilitate the argument of the Fathers, as touching the fleſh of Chriſt, againſt Marcion. Foꝛ he did eate (ſay they) he dranke, he was hungry, he ſlept, he did ſweate. Wherfoꝛe he had a true and humane bodye. Unto theſe thinges might be aunſwered: that theſe ſelfe ſame thinges haue happened vnto Angels, when as yet they had not bodyes.

Whither it bee conuenient foꝛ Angels to take vpon them the ſhape of man.

I anſwer: That which they firſt ſay, that it is abſurde to attribute lyes vnto Angels: they ought to conſider, that not whatſoeuer by anye meanes is ſayned, is ſtraightway a lye. Chriſt appeared vnto his Diſciples as a ſtraunger, and yet he lyed not: he appeared alſo vnto Mary lyke a Gardiner, and foꝛ al that he lyed not. So Aungels, although they ſemed men, when as they were not men, yet were they not lyers. Foꝛ they came not therfoꝛe, to proue them ſelues to be men, but onely that they might come to men, and talke with them.

Not whatſoeuer is ſayned, is a lye.

To the argument of Chriſt touching his own body, I thus anſwer. Firſt the apoſtles thought it had ben a goſt which had appeared. And Chriſt to reſel that, ſaith: feele and ſee, bycauſe a ſpirite hath not fleſh & bones. By the feeling might be perceaued, that it was a true and perfect bodye which was preſent, and not a vayne fanſy. But thou wilt ſay, that it was a true body in deede, but yet taken foꝛ a tyme, and ſuche a bodye, as ſometimes Aungels are wont to put on. Whe-

Aungels when they ſemed men, lyed not.

how

how coulde it be taught, that that was the same body, which laye before in the sepulcher? In this thing the authoritye of Christ and of the scriptures ought to be of force. For the scriptures teache manifestly inough that Christ shoulde dye, and after warde rise againe the third daye: but nothing can rise againe, but that which before fel, as Tertulian hath most learnedlye written. And this thing the schoolemen understoode: wherefore Thomas Aquinas sayth, that vnles certayne other thinges were added, this is no firme argument. The same thing maye be answered vnto the reasons of the fathers against Marcion. Many in dede of the actions before alledged, may agree with Aungels, or with the bodies taken, but yet not all. For to be borne, to be nourished, and to dye, and to feele, happen neither to Angels, neither to bodies that are taken. But the scripture most apertly testifieth that Christ was both borne, and that he grew till he came to age, that he was hungry, that he dyed, and was true man. But of these thinges I wyll speake more largely afterwarde.

Tertulian.

Thomas Aquinas.

There are very many other thinges in the schoole deuines, as touching these matters: but bicause they are not so profitable, therfore I ouerpasse them. But this thing I demaund, whither Angels may take vpon the true bodies, & natural, which bodies also had their being before, & vse them at their liberty, as the Deuyl did put on the Serpent, and by him deceaued Eue, the Angell also spake in the Asse of Baleam. Why then can not an Angel after the same maner, possesse an humane body, and speake in it? Undoubtedly it is written in Zachary the prophet: The Angel of the Lord which spake in me. Wherfore it semeth that Aungels may vse the bodies of men and beastes. Augustine in his. 2. booke De Trinitate the. 1. chapter, sayth that this is a very hard question, whether Angels vnto their owne proper bodies ioyne other bodies, and chaunge them into sundrye formes, as we are woont to doo garmentes, or also to chaunge them into verye nature, as we reade that Christ chaunged water into wyne. This thing he saith is not impossible. For thus he writeth: I confesse it passeth the strengthes of my capacity, whither Angels retayning stil the spiritual quality of their own body, very secretely woorking by it, doo take of these more grose inferiour elementes, any thing which being framed vnto them they doo chaunge, as a garment, and turne it into al corporal formes or shapes, yea euen into the true thinges themselues, as true water was turned by the Lord into wyne: or whether they transforme their own proper bodies into what they wyl, being framed to that which they haue in hand to doo. But whether soeuer of these it be, it pertayneth not to thys question.

What maner of bodies the angels take vpon them.

Augustine.

But I say, if the bodies of Angels were true bodies, then was Christes argument firme, and I wil willinglier graunt to this, then to saye as some doo, that Aungels deceaued the senses of men. For after this sorte they striue agaynst vs, when we say that in the Eucharist remayneth bread, which is both sene and touched, they answer that it seemeth bread in dede, but it is not, as the Aungels semed men, when as they were no men. For I deny not, but that the senses maye sometimes be deceaued. But I affirme in the meane time, that there are twoo kindes of those thinges, which are perceaued by sense. For there are some things common vnto many senses, and other are proper to some one sense. For figure, magnitude, and number, are perceaued of manye senses. And vndoubtedlye in such thinges the sense may sometimes be deceaued, as Carneades was woont to dispute of an ore in the water appearing broken, and of the bygnes of the bodye of the Sunne. But in sensible things proper vnto one sense, the sense is neuer deceaued, vnles there be some fault in the body, or ouer much distaunce, or some suche lyke let. Wherfore seyng in the Eucharist the sense iudgeth that the bread remayneth, there is no needo to sayne that the sense is therein deceaued.

A subtilty of the Papists concerning trāsubstantiacion.

A distinction of sensible things. When the senses maye be deceaued, & when not.

But to appoynt a certayne compendious way of this disputacion, there are 1. three maner of wayes, whereby Angels may seme to haue appeared. For either they

they were sene in fantasy, so that they were thought to haue bodies, when they had them not. Which reason cannot be firme, for they illuded not the senses, neither were they sene of any one onely, but very often times of many, & they were so sene, that Abraham washed their feete, and Iacob wrastled with an Angel the whole night. Or els they appeared with a true body in dede, which yet was not such a body, as it was thought to be. Either els they had the self same body truly and in very deede, which they seemed to haue. Of this thirde kinde Tertulian hath written most learnedly in his booke De carne Christi. Thou hast sometyme red and beleued, saith he, that the Aungels of the creator were turned into the shape of man, and that they carped suche a truth of a bodye, that both Abraham washed their feete, and also Lot was by their handes deliuered from the Sodomites: an angel also wrastled with a mã, and desired to be losed from the wayght of the body, by whom he was holden. That therefore, which was lawfull vnto Angels that are inferiours vnto God, that they being turned into the body of a man, not withstanding yet abode Angels, doest thou take away thus from God which is more mightie, as though Christ putting on man in very dede wer not able to remayne God? Thus Tertulian fighteth against the Marcionites: for they affirmed that Christ seemed to haue a humane bodye, but in verye deede hee had none. Tertulian obiecteth against them: and if ye graunt this (saith he) vnto the Aungels, that they had true bodies, why doo ye not rather graunt it vnto the sonne of God? And he addeth: Or did those Angels appeare in fantesy of flesh? But thou darest not say so: for if it be so, that thou count the Angels of the creator as Christ, then shal Christ be of the same substance as the Aungels are, and the Angels shal be suche as Christ is. If thou diddest not sometimes of purpose reiect, and sometimes corrupt the scriptures which resist thy opinion, the Gospel of Iohn shoulde haue of this confounded thee, whiche declareth that the spirite comming downe in the bodye of a Doone, sat vpon the Lorde, which spirite being that he was, was as truly a Doone, as he was a spirit: neither the contrary substance taken, destroyed the proper substance.

Tertulian.

The errour of the Marcionites.

Of the Doone wherin the holy goste appeared.

I know there are some of the schoolemen which thinke that it was not a very Doone, which discended vpon the head of Christ, but onely that it was an ayry & thicke body, which appeared to be a Doone. Yet Augustine de Agone Christiano writeth the contrary, namely that it was a very Doone: for to expresse the property of the holy ghost, a thing (sayth he) serueth better then a signe, euen as Christians also are better expressed in Sheepe and Lambes, then in the lykenes of Sheepe and Lambes. Also if Christ had a true bodye, and deceaued not, then the holy ghost had in very deede the body of a Doone.

Augustine.

What became of the Doue when the holy goste appeared.

Tertulian addeth: Thou wilt demaund where the body of the Doue became, when the spirite was taken againe into heauen, and likewise of the Aungels. It was by the same meanes taken awaye, whereby it was made. If thou haddest seene when it was brought forth of nothyng, thou shouldest also haue knowen when it was turned to nothing. If the beginning was not visible, no more was the ende. Farther, he remitteth the reader to Iohn. Was he also (sayth he) a fantasy after his resurrection, when he offred his handes and feete to be seene of his Disciples: saying: behold that it is I, for a spirite hath not flesh and bones as ye see me haue. Then Christe is brought in as a Iugler or Cunitirer. And in his third booke against Marcion. Wherefore his Christ, that is, Christe of the true God, because he should not lye, neither deceaue, and by that meanes paraduenture should be counted the Christ of the creator, was not that which hee appeared to be, and fayned to be that thing which he was, flesh, and not flesh, man and not man, wherefore Christ is also God, and not God. For why shoulde he not also carry the fantasy of God? Shall I beleue him as touching this inwarde substance, that is ouerthrowen as touching his outward substance? Howe shall he be counted true in a secrete thing, that is found so false in an open thing? And

after

afterwarde: It is inoughe for me to affirme that whiche is agreing vnto God, namely the truth of that thing, which he obiecteth to three senses, to sight, touching, and hearing. Againe in the booke de carne Christi: The vertues (sayth he) proue the spirite of God, the passions proue the flesh of man. If vertues are not without spirite, neither shal passions also be without flesh. If the flesh with his passions be fayned, the spirite also with his vertues is false. Why doest thou by thy lye take but halfe Christ? He is al whole truth.

The opinion of Apelles.

Apelles the heretike, being in maner ouercome with these reasons, graunteth that Christ had in dede true flesh, but he denieth that he was borne, but brought from heauen: and he obiecteth that the bodies, which were taken by Angels, wer true bodies, but they were not borne. Suche a body (sayth he) had Christ. Tertulian answereth hereunto: They, sayth he, which set foorth the flesshe of Christ, after the example of the Aungels, saying that it was not borne, namelye a flesshye substaunce, I would haue them to compare the causes also, as well of Christ as of the Aungels, for which they came into the flesh. No Aungel did at anye tyme therefore discende to be crucified, to suffer death, and to rise againe from death. If there was neuer any such cause why angels should be incorporate, then haste thou a cause why they tooke flesh, and yet wer not borne. They came not to die, therefore they came not to bee borne. But Christe beyng sent to dye, it was necessarye that he shoulde bee borne, that he might dye: for none is woont to dye, but hee whiche is borne. He addeth moreouer: And euen then also the Lorde himselfe appeared among those angels vnto Abraham without birth, namelye with flesh, for the same diuersity of cause. Afterward he addeth: That the Aungels haue their bodies rather from earth, then from heauen. Let them proue saith he, that those angels receaued the substance of flesh of the stars. If they proue it not, bicause it is not written, then was not the flesh of Christ thereof, to whych Christ they apply the example of Angels. And in his third booke against Marciō: My God, saith he, which hath reformed it, taken of the fyme in this quality, not yet of seede by mariage, and yet flesh, might as wel of anye matter haue framed flesh also vnto Angels, which also framed the world of nothing, into so manye and suche bodies. Againe in his booke de carne Christi, hee saith: It is manifest that angels cary not flesh proper of their own, as substāces by nature spiritual, and if they haue any body, yet it is of their owne kinde, and are transfigurable for a time into the flesh of man, that they may be sene, and haue fellowship with men. Farther, in his third booke against Marcion: Know thou saith he, that this is not graunted vnto thee, that the flesh in Angels was putatiue, or by imagination, but of the very and sound substance of man. For if it were not hard to geue vnto that putatiue flesh the true senses and actes of flesh, much more easyer was it to gene a true substance of flesh, to true senses and actes, euen for that he is the proper authour and worker therof. For it is a harder thyng for God to make a lye, then to fayne a body. Last of al, thus he concludeth: Therfore are they truly humayne bodies, bicause of the truth of God, who is far from lying and deceate.

The summe of the opinion of Tertulian.

And bicause they can not humanelye be handled of men, but in the substaunce of men.

I could rehearse mo thinges out of Tertulian, but these seeme sufficient for this present purpose. In summe, he thinketh that Aungels haue bodies, but yet straunge bodies, and not their own. For their proper bodies (as he thinketh) pertaine vnto the spirituall kinde. Secondlye, he sayth that those straunge bodies which they take, are created either of nothing, or els of some matter which shall seme good vnto God. Thirdly he affirmeth that they were true, perfect, and humane bodies, and not dayne or fayned, but of a true flesh, and not of a flesh onely appearing, so that of men they might be both touched and handled, to the end he might both remoue dissimulation from God, and also confirme the veritye of humane flesh in Christ. Wherby is concluded, that the humane senses wer not

deceaued concerning theſe thinges: as the Papiſtes contende that the ſenſes are deceaued concerning the breade and wyne of the Euchariſt.

But Origene in hys booke περὶ ἀρχῶν (as he is cited of Ierome agaynſte Iohn Origene. byſhop of Ieruſalem) thought farre otherwiſe. For wher we ſay that the viſions of Aungels may be imagined three maner of wayes, namely either in fantaſye, or in body, but not humane, or laſtly in a true and humane body: he taketh a certaine meane, and ſayth that the bodies of Aungels wherein they offer them ſelues to be ſene, are neyther perfect nor humane, nor alſo fantaſticall, but onelye bodyes, and that he applyeth to them that ryſe agayne. For in the reſurrection ſayth he, we ſhall haue bodies, but yet onely bodies, not bones, not ſynewes, not fleſhe. And in deede there is ſome difference betwene a bodye and fleſhe: for all fleſhe is a body, but not euery body is fleſh. Suche a difference touched Paule to the Colloſſians, ſaying: Being reconciled in the body of hys fleſhe. And in the ſeconde chapter: In the ſpoyling of the body of the fleſh of ſynne. And in the Symbole alſo we ſay, that we beleue in the reſurrection of the fleſhe, and not of the bodye.

All fleſh is a body, but not euery body is fleſhy.

Origene ſayde that he ſawe twoo extreme errours. One was of them which ſayde there is no reſurrection, ſuche as were the Valentinians and Marcionites, ſuche alſo was Alexander, who as Paule teſtifieth, taught that the reſurrection was already done: and ſuche alſo as at this day the Libertines are ſayde to be, who babble I cannot tell what of that matter, both vngodlily and vnlearnedly. An other errour is of thoſe which thinke that the perfecte and true bodyes ſhall ryſe agayne with fleſhe, ſynewes, and bones, whych thing (as hee ſaythe) is not poſſible: becauſe fleſhe and bloode ſhall not poſſeſſe the kyngdome of heauen. But Origene ought to haue conſidered what followeth afterward in Paul. For he addeth: Neyther ſhall corruption poſſeſſe incorruption. Wherefore hys ſentence is, that the corruptible body cannot poſſeſſe the kingdome of God. But Origene to retayne that hys meaning, confeſſed that the bodyes ſhoulde ryſe in deede, but not thycke and with bones, but ſpirituall, as Paule hath ſayde: The body ſhall ryſe ſpirituall.

But Origene in thoſe woordes marketh not that Paule calleth it a ſpiritual bodye, not becauſe it ſhoulde vtterlye bee chaunged into a ſpirite, but becauſe it ſhould haue ſpiritual condicions, namely incorruption, and moſt cleare brightnes. But becauſe he perceaued that the body of Chriſt, which after his reſurrection he offered vnto hys Diſciples to be touched and to be felt, was againſt hys doctrine, therefore he ſayth: Let not the bodye of Chriſte deceaue you, becauſe it had manye ſynguler priuiledges, whiche are not graunted vnto other bodyes. Farther, that by this diſpenſacion he might proone that he verelye was ryſen, he would after hys reſurrection haue a true bodye, not that other bodies in the reſurrection ſhoulde be lyke. But he ſhewed the nature of his ſpirituall body in Emaus, when he vaniſhed awaye from the ſight of hys Diſciples. And an other tyme when he entred to his Diſciples, the doores being ſhut.

Ierome thus oppoſeth himſelfe againſt theſe thynges: If Chriſte (ſayth he) Ierome. after hys reſurrection dyd eate in verye deede, then had he alſo a true bodye: but if not, how prooued he by a falſe thyng the truth of hys body? But in that he vaniſhed awaye from the ſyght of the Diſciples, that was not by the nature of the body, but by the deuine power. For in Nazareth when the people woulde haue ſtoned him, he wythdrewe himſelfe from their eyes. And that whiche might bee done of a Cunſurer, ſhall we thynke that the Sonne of God cannot doo? For Apollonius Thianæus, when hee was brought into the Counſell before Domi- Apollonius Thianæus. tian, ſoothwyth vaniſhed awaye. And that that thyng in Chriſte was not by the nature of the bodye, but by the power of GOD, it is declared by that whyche wente before in the ſame Hyſtorye. For when hee was in the

way wyth hys Disciples, their eyes wer holden that they coulde not know hym. But in that Origene sayth, that the body of Christ was spirituall, bicause he entred in, the doores being shut; Ierome answereth that the creature gaue place vnto the Creator. &c. Wherefore the bodye of Christe pearsed not throughe the myddest of the boordes and postes, so that twoo bodies were together in one, and the selfe same place, but herein happened the miracle, bicause the very boordes of the doore gaue way vnto the body of Christ. Farther, that which some obiect, that the body of Christ went out of the Sepulchre, it being shut, that also is not of necessitye to be beleued, but wee maye thinke that the stone was roled away before he went foorth. And least a man shoulde thynke that I fayne these thynges, lette hym reade the. lxxxiii. Epistle of Leo, ad Episcopos Palæsthinos. The flesshe, sayth he, of Christ, wheych went out of the Sepulchre, the stone being roled away. &c. Nowe to returne to the purpose, bycause I haue sayde that the bodyes of Aungels may be thought to haue bene eyther fantasticall or spirituall, or els perfect and in verye deede humane, & the twoo first partes ar reiected: then resteth that the bodies of Aungels wherein they appeare, are true and humane. Whiche thing I affirme onelye to bee true, for as muche as Aungels were so sene, that they wrastled wyth men, and offered their feete to be washed. Neyther doo I iudge that it is lawfull there to saye, that the humane senses were deceaued, when as the thinges were outwardlye done. But I doo not denye, but that there somtimes happened imaginatiue appearinges vnto the prophetes, when as they sayd that they sawe God, or the Cherubin, or other suche lyke thinges. For that, for as muche as it was in their mynde or imaginatiue facultye, it might well be done by formes, images, and visions.

Nowe remayne there twoo thynges to be diligently wayghed. One is, whether Aungels, when they after this sorte put on humane bodyes, maye bee called men. I thynke not. For if we vnderstande humane flesshe, whiche is formed and borne of a reasonable soule, vndoubtedlye Aungels after that maner cannot be sayd to haue humane flesshe. What then, wyll some man saye? Were the senses deceaued when men sawe them? Not so. For the senses iudge onelye outwarde thinges, and suche thinges as appeare. But what inwardlye impelleth or moueth those thinges which they see, they iudge not. That longeth to reason to seeke and searche out. Thys also is to be added, that Aungels dyd not continually retayne these bodies, bicause they were not ioyned vnto them, in one and the selfe same substaunce: so that an Aungell and a bodye were made one person.

The holy ghost also, although it was a true Doone, where he descended, yet was not he together one substaunce with it. Wherefore the Doone was not the holye ghost, nor the holy ghost the Doone. Otherwyse Aungels may (as we haue before taught) enter in deede into a bodye before made, and whiche before had hys being, as it is read of the Aungell whiche spake in the Asse of Baalam, and of the Deuyll, which by the Serpent talked wyth Eue. But at thys present we dispute not of that kynde, but onelye saye, that Aungels woorking in thys manner in the bodies of creatures, are not ioyned vnto them in one and the selfe same substaunce. Wherefore the Asse coulde not be called an Aungell, neyther was the Aungell an Asse, euen as the serpent was not in very deede the Deuyl, neyther was the Deuyll the Serpent.

But the Sonne of God, for as much as he tooke vpon him humane nature, was man, and man was God, bycause of one and the selfe same substaunce, wherein were twoo natures. But before when he appeared vnto Abraham, and to the Fathers, although he had true flesshe, yet bycause it was not ioyned vnto hym in one and the selfe same substaunce, he could not be called flesshe, neither was flesh, God. But afterwarde, when he tooke vpon hym both flesshe and soule,

Howe the body of christ entred, the doores being shut.

The bodye of Christ wēt not out of the sepulchre, it beyng shut. Leo.

The bodyes of angels wherin they appeared, were true and humane.

The visions of Prophets wer somtime imaginatiue.

Angels appearing in humane bodyes wer not men.

The holy ghost was not the Doone, nor the Doone the holye Ghost.

The sonne of God, is God & man.

ſoule, ſo that there was onely one ſubſtance or perſon, then man was God, and God, man. Whereby it came to paſſe, that he ſhoulde truelye bee borne, that hee ſhould dye, and redeeme mankinde. Wherefore he dyd truely call hym ſelfe the ſonne of man: and in Iohn he ſayth, ye ſeeke to kyl me, a man, whiche haue tolde you the truth. And in the Scriptures it is ſayd: Made of the ſeede of Dauid. And Peter in the Actes: ye haue kylled, ſayth he, a man appoynted you of God. And Eſay: Behold, ſayth he, a virgin ſhall conceaue and beare a ſonne. Theſe wordes haue great force. For vnleſſe Chriſte had bene true man, a Virgin coulde not haue conceiued him, neither haue brought him forth, nor called him her ſonne. This thing Tertulian prudently marked. If he had bene a ſtraunger, ſayth he, a Virgin coulde not either haue conceaued him, or borne him. The Aungell alſo ſaluted Mary after this maner: Be not afraid ſayd he, thou ſhalt conceaue. &c. Elizabeth ſayd: How happeneth this to me, that the mother of my Lorde ſhoulde come vnto me? If ſhe had Chriſt onely as a ſtraunger, ſhe coulde not be called hys Mother. The Aungell alſo ſayde: Bleſſed be the fruite of thy wombe. But how could it haue bene ſayde, the fruite of her wombe, if he had brought a body wyth hym from heauen? And in Eſay it is wrytten: A rod ſhall come oute of the roote of Ieſſe, and a floure ſhall aſcende out of his roote. Ieſſe was the ſtocke, Mary the braunch, but Chriſt is the floure which tooke his body of her. Mathew alſo thus beginneth his Goſpell: The booke of the generation of Jeſus Chriſte, the ſonne of Dauid, the ſonne of Abraham. If Chriſt brought a bodye from heauen, how was he the ſonne of Abraham or Dauid? Farther, the promiſe made to Abraham of Chriſt, is in this ſorte: In thy ſeede ſhall all nations be bleſſed. Paul intreating of theſe woordes to the Galathians: He ſayde not, ſayth he, in ſeedes, as though in many, but in thy ſeede, whych is Chriſte. And in the Epiſtle to the Romanes wee reade: Of whom is Chriſte according vnto the fleſhe. All theſe thynges proone moſt apeartly, that Chriſt was true man, and in hym was one ſubſtaunce of God and man. Theſe thinges cannot be ſayd of the Aungels, neither of the ſonne of God, before he was borne of the Virgin: although whyleſt he appeared, he had true fleſhe (as we haue before ſayde:) but yet not ioyned vnto hym in one and the ſelfe ſame ſubſtaunce: neither could it be ſayde of the holy ghoſt, that he was in very deede a Doone, althoughe that wherein he once appeared, was a true Doone. And in this ſenſe wrote Tertulian thoſe thynges whych we haue before cited, whych thinges being not wel vnderſtoode, might breede either error or offence vnto the Readers. *Tertulian.*

Now reſteth the other queſtion: Whyther Aungels clothed wyth bodyes taken, dyd in verye deede eate and drinke. Of the Schoolemen ſome thinke that they dyd eate in verye deede, and other denye it. Scotus thynketh that to eate is nothyng els, then to chawe meate, and to conueyghe it downe into the bellye. And thys thyng dyd the Aungels, wherefore he gathereth that they dyd eate in very deede. *Whither Aungels did in verye deede eate & drink whē they appeared. Scotus.*

Other thynke that to eate, is not onely to chawe the meate, or to conueyghe it downe into the bellye, but moreouer to conuert it into the ſubſtaunce of hys bodye, by concoction thoroughe the power of vegitacion. Thys, for as muche as the Aungels dyd not, therefore they dyd not eate in very deede. The booke of Tobias is not in the Canon of the Hebrewes, but yet it might be applyed vnto our purpoſe, but that there is variaunce in the coppes. For in that booke which Munſter ſet forth in Hebrue, in the.xii. chapter, Raphael the Aungell ſayth: I ſeemed to you to eate and to drinke, but I dyd not eate, neyther drynke. The common tranſlacion hath: I ſeemed to you to eate and to drinke. But I dyſe inuiſible meate and drinke. Neyther text denyeth, but that the Aungell dyd after a certayne maner eate. *The booke of Thobias.*

Auguſtine. But whatſoeuer may be gathered of thoſe woordes, me thinketh the interpretacion of Auguſtine is to be receaued, in his. iii. boohe de Trinitate, the. xi. chap. where he thus writeth: The Angels did eate in very deede, but not for neede, but to contract cuſtome and familiarity with men. Wherefore when in the one text it is ſaid that Raphael did not eate, it muſt not to be vnderſtand, as thoughe he did not eate at al, but becauſe he did not eate after the maner of men. But thys is there chiefly to be marked, when the Angel anſwereth that he vſeth ſpirituall meate and drinke, that ſpirituall nourifhment was nothing els, then an apearte and manifeſt knowledge of the true God, and execution of his will, as Chriſt alſo ſayd, that that was his meate, to doo the will of his father. The ſame alſo is our meate, although it be not after the ſame maner. For they ſee God manifeſtly, but we ſee him by a glaſſe, and in a riddle. Wherevnto thou maieſt adde that they which beleue in Chriſt, and doo aſſuredly perſwade them ſelues, that he dyed for their ſake, they I ſay, doth both eate the fleſh of Chriſt, & drinke his blood, to which vſe the ſimboles or ſignes, for that they ſtyre vp the ſenſes, are verye much profitable: not that the fleſh and blood of Chriſt are poured into the bread and wyne, or are by any meanes included in thoſe elementes, but becauſe thoſe thinges are of the beleuers receaued with a true faith. For they are an inuiſible nourifhment, which is receaued onely in the mynde, as Auguſtine hath faithfully admoniſhed, ſaying: Why prepareſt thou the teethe and the belly? Beleue and thou haſt eaten.

What is the meate & drinke of Angels.

Who eate and drinke the body and bloode of Chriſt.

The fleſhe and blood of Chriſt are neither included nor powred into the ſimboles or ſignes. *Auguſtine*

¶ The. xiiii. Chapter.

1 AND Samſon went downe to Thimnath, and ſaw a woman in Thimnath, of the daughters of the Philiſtians.

2 And he came vp and told his father and his mother, & ſaid: I haue ſene a woman in Thimnath, of the daughters of the Philiſtians. Now therefore geue her me to wyfe.

3 Then his father and his mother ſayd vnto him: Is there neuer a wyfe among the daughters of thy brethren, and among al my people, that thou muſt go to take a wyfe of the vncircumciſed Philiſtians. Samſon ſayde vnto hys Father: Geue me her, for ſhe pleaſeth me well.

4 But hys Father and hys mother knewe not that it came of the Lord, that he ſhould ſeeke an occaſion againſt the Philiſtians: for at that tyme the Philiſtians raygned ouer Iſrael.

NOw are we come to the warlike feates of Samſon, whiche he wrought for the health of his people, and firſt is ſet forth vnto vs, how he ſought hym a wyfe. He went downe to Thimnath. But why he went thither it is not written. Some ſay that he went down to a certaine ſolemnity or feaſt day. But it is more likely yͤ ther was thͤ ſome aſſembly, either ciuil or warlike, as it is accuſtomed. At that time the Philiſtians raygned ouer the Hebrues. And he ſaw ther a mayd, and deſyred earneſtly to haue her geuen hym to wyfe. This thing to doo he was moued by faith: for the woord of the Lorde did to that ſtyre vp his minde. For (as we ſhal afterward know) theſe thinges were done by the wyll of God. The Epiſtle to the Hebrues numbreth Samſon among thoſe whiche pleaſed God by faith. This is notable and wooꝛthye to be marked, that a young man, although he exceedingly loued the mayden, yet durſt he not ſpeake anye thing of matrimonye, without the knowledge and wyl of hys Parentes. He returneth home, he prayeth them to geue her hym to wyfe. Thys was to honour hys Parentes.

Some

Some thinke that Samson was minded to marye this mayden, but vpon this condicion, to make her first a proselite, otherwise it had not bene lawfull for him to haue maried with a straunger. But in our history there is no such thinge red: vndoubtedly this seemeth to me to be a certaine singuler thing, and done by the instinction of god, as shalbe afterward more apertly vnderstand. Wherefore we must not curiously search for that matter.

But Samson neded no longe Oration to his parentes. They obiected vnto him the kinred of the woman, and admonished him, that he ought rather to seke a wife in his owne nacion: Howbeit they fulfill his mind, and went forwardes with the mariages, as it shal afterward be sayde. But contrarywise amonge Christians it oftentimes happeneth, that the children take them wiues againste theyr parentes will: Of which thinge Esau remaineth as a most wicked example, who against the will of his parent, maried wiues of the Chananites, whose sight and conuersation they could not abide. We must not regard that which is commonly sayd, we mary wiues for our selues, and not for our parentes. But we muste rather thinke that God woulde after this manner prouide for miserable younge men, that theyr rashe and vnaduised age should not deceaue them. Howbeit parentes on the other side ought to see that they vse not tirannycall power towardes theyr children, or marye them to suche whome they canne not abyde. But of these thynges wee wyll speake more aboundantlye afterwarde.

Moreouer wee muste note, that the Parentes of Samson when they call the Philistians vncircumcised, doo after a sorte vpbrayde vnto their sonne, that hee would mary a wife borne of strangers and idolatrers. Yet they speake nothing roughlye vnto him, they thrust him not out of the doores, nor cast him out of their fauor. For that they saw his minde very fyrme and bente to that purpose. And although it be not written in the history, yet is it probable that Samson shewed vnto his Parentes the mistherie, namely that he was by the impulsion of god instigated to this mariage: otherwise it had not bene lawfull for them to haue assented vnto theyr son, to mary one of a contrary religion. His father & his mother knewe not at the beginninge, that this was the will of God, that he shoulde seeke occasion against the Philistians. That is, that by them some begynninge of iniurye myghte springe, whiche he afterwarde myghte seeme by good ryghte to prosecute.

5 Then went Samson and his father and his mother downe to Thimnah, and came vp to the vineyardes of Thimnah, and behold a Lions whelpe roared vpon him.
6 And the spyrite of the Lorde came vpon him, and he deuided him, as one shoulde deuide a kidde, neyther was ther e anye thinge in his handc. And he tolde not hys Father nor his Mother what he had done.

The Parentes when they knewe and vnderstode their sonnes wil, and paraduenture had knowledge of the instinction of god, do not onely assent, but also follow him, that the wedding might be the more honestly accomplished, the parentes not onely requiring, but also being presente. In this place appeareth the will of God both hidden and manifest. The will of God was declared by the law that a Iewe shoulde not take to wife a straunger, but by his secrete and hidden wyll he contrarily decreed of Samson. But we muste followe the will of God expressed by a common rule, and sealed by his lawe: to that will wee muste directe both life and manners. For the other will we must not be to much carefull, vn-

The will of god hid and manifest.

les we feele it moſt apertly. And we muſt with great diligence take heede, that when we thinke we are ledde by the impulſion of the holy Ghoſt, we be not led by our affections. Of the ſecrete will of God Paule intreated, when he made mẽcion that of Iacob and Eſau, before they had done any good or euill, it was ſayd: Iacob haue I loued, but Eſau haue I hated. This will of God is obſcure and hidden from the eyes of men: therefore no man can render a reaſon of it. Wherefore when we heare any thinge of it, we muſte ſay with Paule: O the depth of the riches of the wiſedom and knowlege of God, &c. But by the will reueled we may vnderſtand that we are acceptable vnto god, when we truſt in him, when we deteſt vices, and renew our life and manners by the grace of god, not becauſe theſe thinges are the cauſes of the goodnes of God towardes vs, but becauſe they are certayne ſure tokens therof. But how theſe two willes are not in very deede ſeperated in God, but are one and a ſimple will, we ſhall declare more opportunely in an other place.

Theſe two willes in god are not in very dede ſeperated.

In that it is now written that Samſon, or rather God ſoughte occaſion of the Philiſtians, it ſeemeth verye obſcure. And what occaſion was there to be ſoughte for? Was not this cauſe ſufficient inough, that they by violence withholde the land promiſed vnto the Iſraelites, and had put them to Tributes and tares? Liranus thinketh that betwene the Hebrewes and the Philiſtians there were certayne couenauntes made, whiche were not raſhlye to be violated. I alſo adde this, that Samſon was a priuate man, as farre as anye man knewe of hym then. And therefore God woulde haue an honeſter occaſion for hym to fyght, ſo that if he being by them contumeliouſlye handled, ſhoulde againe ſomewhat endamage them, he ſhoulde ſeme to reuenge his owne priuate iniuries, and not the publike.

Of the occaſion which God ſought.

Liranus

And vndoubtedlye it ſeemed that matrimonye after this manner contracted, ſhould rather haue cauſed peace to follow. But contrarywiſe there enſued greuous war, which happened not by the default of matrimony, but of men. So alſo now are not a few found, whiche to poſſeſſe kingdomes and to gette them other mens riches, do abuſe matrimony. Wherefore we ought not to meruayle, if ſuche mariages haue verye ill ſucceſſe. For oftentimes by them doo happen both warres and alſo ouerthrowinges of publike wealthes. But by whoſe fault (thou wilt ſay) ſprange this warre? By the faulte of the woman whiche was maried, and alſo of her parentes, and corruption of the publike wealth. And theſe woulde God diſe to bringe to lighte theyr ſinnes and to puniſhe them. The mayden ought to haue eſteemed her huſband aboue all men. But ſhe betrayed him, and ſhewed his riddle to her citizenes, ſo that Samſon was fayne to paye vnto them a greate rewarde. His wiues father alſo did him no ſmall iniury, for he tooke away from him his wife, and gaue her to an other. Thys thynge ought he not to haue doone, for matrimonies ought to be firme and ratified. But the corruption of the publike wealthe of the Philiſtians maye hereby bee knowne, becauſe ſuche a wycked offence was not openlye reproued and punyſhed, as thoughe it hadde euerye where bene lawefull to haue doone it.

What ſinnes happened in this matrimonye.

By the waye Samſon turned a ſyde from hys Parentes, whome a roaringe Lion mette, and mette hym beinge vnarmed: ſo that he myght eaſely haue killed him. But that we ſhould vnderſtande, that Samſon by the power of the ſprite of God preuayled agaynſt that wild beaſt, it is added: And the ſprite of the Lorde came vpon him, and he deuided the Lion, as one ſhoulde rente a kidde. There are foure names of Lions amonge the Hebrewes accoꝛding to the diuerſe decrees of theyr age. The firſt is Gor, when hee is yet a whelpe, The ſeconde is

Fowre names of Lions amõg the Hebrewes.

Cepher

Cepher, when he is somewhat growen in age. The third is Ariath, when he is strong and myghty. The fourth is Liba, when he is waxen olde: although he bee called also Lisch, when he is very olde. That whiche is now written, is called Cephir, that is growen in age, & fyerce ynough, to thend a man should not think that he was a whelpe of the first age. Neyther was he tame and gentle, as sō times they are wont to be, but he ranne roaring to inuade Samson. God would geue vnto Samson an experience of the strength that he had geuen him, that he shoulde enterprise greater thinges afterward. So also he exercised Dauid from his youth, before he shoulde fighte agaynste Goliath. Wherefore he sayde vnto Saule: There came a Beare and a Lion, and thy seruant rent them. Lions are very common in Siria as *Plini* affirmeth.

Why God would haue Sāson to fight with the Lion.

Plini.

Whither it be lawful for children to mary without the consente of their parentes.

NOw shall it be good to see, whither it be lawful for children to contract matrimony without the consent of their parētes. Undoubtedly Samson would not, and it is a matter of much honestye and gratitude towardes the parentes, if matrimony be not contracted without their consent and knowledge. At the beginninge Adam did not chuse himselfe a wife, God was his father and broughte vnto him Eue. Abraham when *Isaac* was now a man, sent his seruant to his kinred, to seke out a wife amongst thē for his son. *Isaac* also sent *Iacob* into *Masopotamia* to his vncle, to the end he might get him a wife there. Afterward succeeded the law geuen of God by Moses, that Children should honoure their Parentes. But the honour which is to be geuen vnto them, is not only to vncouer the hed, to geue the vpper hand, and to rise vp (although these thinges also are to be performed, but yet ar they not sufficiēt) but they must also norish their progenitors if nede shalbe, and shew themselues humble and diligent towards them. Wherfore the power of the father is defined to be a bonde of piety, where with the children are bounde vnto the parentes, to performe the offices of humanity and gratitude. If children in other things ought to obey their parentes, vndoubtedlye they ought chiefly to do it in contracting of matrimony.

Examples of the Elders.

The law of God.

What is the power of a father.

Of this thing there is a peculier law in Exodus, the 22. chap. If a maidē which is not betrouthed, shalbe deceaued, hee that hath defiled her oughte to geue her a dowry, and to take her to wife. But it is added, if the father will: otherwise hee shall onely geue a dowry, neyther shall he haue the mayden to wife agaynste the fathers will. And in the booke of Numbers the. 30. chapter, if a mayden bowe a bowe, and the father heare it, and letteth it not, the bowe shalbe firme: but if he gainsay it, it shalbe in vain. But what is a bowe? A promes made vnto god. But matrimony is a promise which is made vnto mā. If god permit a bow made vnto him to the iudgement of the father, much more will he permit matrimony vnto hym, when as it is a promise made betwene men. In the seconde booke of Samuel, Thamar aunswereth vnto Ammon her brother: If thou desire me of my father, he will not deny me vnto thee: The custom was then that the doughters were desired of the parentes. Here I dispute not whither it was lawfull for *Dauid* to geue to Ammon his sister to wife. This shalbe entreated of in his conuenient place. Farther Paule sayth to the Ephesians: Children obey your Parentes in all thinges. He excepteth nothynge when he wryteth so, but he sayth in all thynges, namelye whyche they commaunde not agaynst the worde of God.

And in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corrint. the 7. chapter is moſt manifeſtly declared, that it longeth to the Parentes to place theyr daughters to huſbands. And that was knowen not onely by the law of God, but alſo by the light of nature, which thinge alſo the Comedies of Terence and Plautus manifeſtly declare. And in Euripides a mayden aunſwered: Of our mariages my father ſhall haue charge, for that iudgement pertayneth not vnto vs.

Euripides

Ambroſe. Whiche verſe vndoubtedlye ſo pleaſed Ambroſe, that he rehearſed it in hys booke of the patriarches. Farther it ſerueth very much for domeſticall peace: for the daughter in law ought to be to the father in law in ſtede of a doughter: Contrarily of raſh mariages riſe great diſcords at home. And foraſmuch as the father ought to helpe the ſonne with his goods, it is right, that the ſon agayne in contractinge matrimonye obey the father. In other ciuill contractes the ſonne can doo nothynge wythout the conſente of the Father, as appeareth in the Digeſtes De mutuo, ad ſenatus conſultum Macedoniarum. Wherefore in a thynge farre greater it is meete that the iudgemente of the Father be had.

What the ciuill lawes iudge in mariage of children.

The ciuill lawes haue decreed this ſelfe ſame thinge. Iuſtinian in his inſtitutions, in the title de Nuptiis, will not that mariages ſhould be firme, without the conſent of the Parentes. And in the Digeſtes De ſtatu hominum in the Lawe Paulus: If a ſonne mary a wife againſt the will of his parentes, the childe which ſhalbe borne of thoſe mariages, ſhall not be legitimate, &c. And in the Code De Nuptiis in the law Si proponis, the caſe is diligentlye to be marked. The daughter marieth by the conſent of her father, ſhee afterward complayneth of her huſband, and departeth from him. Afterward he cõmeth into fauor agayne, and ſhee marieth him againe againſt her fathers will. It is aunſwered, that that matrimony is not lawfull. Hereby appeareth how much the lawes eſtemed the power of the father. Afterward in the law Si furioſi: Children, if peraduenture their parentes bee mad or beſtraught of theyr wittes, bycauſe they cannot vſe their conſent in contracting of matrimony, ſhall vſe the conſent of theyr tutors.

What the canons iudged.

Wherefore it ſemeth meruelous, how Chriſtians at this day determine that mariages are lawefull without the conſente of the parentes, and for that thinge they lay for an excuſe the Cannons: of which I thinke it good briefly to declare ſome. And firſte I will make mencion of the better Cannons whiche were more aunciente: For the later they were decreed, the more corrupte they were.

In the decrees. 30. queſt. 5. chap. aliter: Matrimonies are then lawfull, when the maydens are deſired of their parents, and deliuered openly. Otherwiſe they are not matrymonies, but whoredomes, vnhoneſt companieng, aduouteries, and fornications. Thus decreed Euariſtus. Nicolaus alſo at the conſultacion of of the Bulgares in the. 30. queſt. 5. chap. noſtrates. Thoſe matrimonies are firme which are ioyned with the conſente of thoſe that contracte them, and of thoſe in whoſe power they are. Leo alſo thyrſt in the. 30. queſt. 5. chap qualis: Then it is to be counted matrimony, when the mayden is by her parentes deliuered vnto her husbande. And in the 31. q. 2. chapt. non omnis. A woman whyche marieth by the conſente of her father, is without blame, if anye man afterwarde ſhall fynde faulte withall. And thus Gratianus concludeth that place, that he ſayth, in contractynge of matrimonye, the conſente of the Parentes is alwayes required.

Euariſtus. Nicolaus.

Leo

Gratianus

Ambroſe. Farther, Ambroſe entreating of a place of Geneſis wher it is wryten, that the ſeruaunte of Abraham came into Meſopotamia, and founde a wyfe for hys

maſters

maſters ſonne, the parentes of ỹ mayden, when they labored to retayne hym lon ger, & he would not abyde, they called ỹ mayden, & aſked her whether ſhe would go with him. After this maner he ſayth, as alſo it is declared, in the, 23. q. 2. chap. honorandum. They aſked not her (ſayth he) touching ỹ weddyng, but onely whe ther ſhe would go with him. For it pertaineth not (ſayth he) to maidenly ſhame faſtnes, to chuſe vnto her ſelfe a huſband. And the ſame thing affirmed he of wy dowes which are yonge. Although he to ſpeake the truth, I can not in this thing graunt vnto Ambroſe, ỹ the mayden was not demaunded the queſtion whether ſhe would mary hym, neither do I doubt but that ſhe was aſked the queſtion of either cauſe. For in the. 30. q. 2. chap. vbi non eſt, it is had: That there can be no matrimony, where is not the conſent of thoſe that contract, yea in mariages of childzen, which are but. 7. yeares of age, bycauſe at that age they are thought to vnderſtand ſomewhat of matrimony, the conſent of thoſe that contract is neceſ ſary. And bycauſe there is mention made of ſponſages, this ſemeth good to be no ted by the way, ỹ childzen ſo contracting, ought to be ſeuen yeares of age, other wiſe the parents can promiſe nothing for thē. The ſame childzen, if afterward, being of more yeres, they ſhal contract an other matrimony, the ſame is of force, and not the ſponſages: whiche yet is to be vnderſtand if the parentes conſent to the ſecond matrimony. Moreouer in the. 31. queſt. 2. chap. tua, Hormiſdas anſwe reth, that childzen when they contract after this maner, ought to ſtand to ỹ will of their parentes. And Extra de ſponſatione impuberum. chap. tua, it is ordayned that childzen when they come to ripe age, ought to obey their parentes, for as much as alſo they gaue their faith, and conſenteth.

The conſent of childzē is required in ſponſages.

I thought it good alſo to bring ſomewhat of the counſels. Concilium Toletanum the fourth. 31. q. 2 chap. hoc ſanctum, decreeth: If widowes will not profeſſe chaſtity, let thē mary to whō they will: and the ſame thing it decreeth of a mayden, but it addeth, ſo ỹ it be not againſt the will of ỹ parentes or her own. Such an addition we ſe that Nicolaus the ſecond added, as it is had in the. 27. queſt. 2. chap. ſufficiat, where he writeth after this maner: To ioyne matrimony, the cōſent of thoſe whiche contract, is ſufficient, & it followeth, according to the lawes matrimonyes of childzen are not acknowledged, if they be made without the cō ſent of ỹ parentes. Yet the gloſe referreth not thoſe wordes vnto ỹ ciuile lawes but to the Canons, bycauſe (as the Canoniſt ſay) the ciuill lawes are ſometimes corrected by the Canons. But oftentymes happeneth that thoſe Canons are in very deede Dadroms, that is rules without a rule, as, Extra de conlugiis ſeruorum, chap. 1. If bondemen contract, yea againſt the will of their Lordes, ſuch matrimo nyes ſhalbe ratified. Beholde, ſayeth the Gloſe, the Canons amende the ciuill lawes. For in them it is forbidden, that a bondemā ſhould mary a wife againſt the wil of his Lord, yea if a free man haue very much reſort vnto an others mās bondewoman, he is made a bondeman, & a free woman if ſhe haue much accelle vnto an other mans bondeman, ſhe alſo loſeth her liberty. The gloſe ſaith more ouer, that more is attributed vnto matrimony, then vnto holy orders: bicauſe it is not lawfull to bring a ſtraunge bondeman into orders, but it is lawfull to cō tract matrimony with him. Wherefore it manifeſtly appeareth that ỹ latter Ca nons were violated and corrupted, whiche tooke away from mariages the con ſent of parentes, as neceſſary.

Councels.

A diſcord of the Canons and of the ciuill lawes as touchyng ỹ matrimony of bondemen.

But nowe let vs ſee what reaſons they pretend. Extra de ſponſalibus, chap. cum locum, it is ſayd: There ought in contracting of matrimony to be moſt full liberty. And in the ſame chap. veniens: If there ſhould be there any feare, the ma trimony ought to be voyde, and there is geuen a reaſon, bicauſe ſhe can not long pleaſe hym of whom ſhe is hated. And bycauſe ſuch contractes haue oftentymes an vnlucky end, and alſo bycauſe that is eaſely contemned whiche is not loued. Yea the Canons ſeme ſo to haue loued liberty in contracting of matrimony, that the Counſel of Paris (as it is had in the. 30. queſt. 2.) decreed: That it is not law full

ful to desire a wife by the letters of a kyng. Although the same thyng also be decreed in the Code de Nuptiis, in the law. 1. chap. Si nuptias ex rescriptio. The reason is, bycause the letters of princes are in a manner commaundementes and threatninges. Neither do I disallow that: although be I do not a litle meruayle, that the Canons haue proceded so far, that they haue decreed that matrimonye may be cõtracted betwene hym ỳ steales away a mayde, & her that is stolẽ. Extra de Raptoribus & Incendiariis, chap. cum causa. A mayden that was stolen awaye out of the house of her father, had contracted matrimony with hym that stole her, ỳ father withstandeth such a mariage. Here the good Pope aunswereth, for as muche as the mayden consenteth, she can not seme to bee stolen. Wherefore he decreed that matrimony to be good. And in the next chap. Accedens: If a man had stolen away a mayden, not onely agaynst the wyll of her parentes, but also agaynst her owne wil, whiche mayden yet, if she afterward consented with hym that stole her, he decreed that firme matrimony may be contracted betwene thẽ. The same thyng seemeth to be decreed in ỳ. 36. q. 2. chap. in summa, where is entreated of the stealer and her that is stolen, & it is decreed: If she ỳ is stolen shall consent with ỳ stealer, matrimony may be contracted betwene them: but yet in such sorte, that first they do same penance. But bycause some Canons make agaynst this decree, therfore they thus moderate the matter, that wheresoeuer they rede that matrimony cã not be contracted betwene such persons, that they vnderstand to be sayd for some one of these thre causes, either bycause she that is stolen did not consent, or ells bycause she was betrouthed before vnto an other by words (as they vse to spake) of ỳ preset tense, for I say not of ỳ future tense, for ỳ husbãd was not cõpelled to mary one defiled, or bicause she was not marigeable.

But in the Code it is farre otherwise decreed for stealers away of virgins, namely that matrimony can by no meanes be contracted betwene those persõs, yea although the father cõsent vnto her that is stolen, and Iustinian also in his Authentiques, Collation. 9. in the title, que raptoribus nubunt, decreeth the same to the detestation of so great a crime. But our Canonistes, in gods name do thinke that matrimonyes are lawful euen against the parẽtes wil, wherfore in the. 32. q. 2. chap. Mulier, the glose sayth, ỳ the power of the father is broken as touchyng an othe and matrimony, when rype age cõmeth, which sentence the schoolemen also haue followed. Of this matter they dispute in the. 4. boke of Sentẽces dist. 28. where they define that a man, euen the sonne of the father of the house, hath a certayne dominion ouer his owne body, neither is so bound to his parentes, but that he may at his owne liberty dispose of it, as touching matrimony. And when they rede in the Canons that the consent of the parentes is required for the contractyng of matrimony, they by their interpretation corrupte them, and say that Euaristus, Nicolaus, and Leo when they so decreed, dyd iudge that the consent of the parentes is required as touchyng the honesty of matrimony, but not as touchyng the necessity: whiche thynge peraduenture they drewe out of the glose Extra de desponsa. impuberum, in the lawe tua, whiche is after this sorte: That the good will of the parentes is to be required, but rather for the comelynes of the mariage, then for the necessitye, so that if the parentes will not assent, yet are the children free, and maye contracte matrimony at their owne liberty. Yea and the Master of the Sentences also in the distinct. 28. The consent of the parentes (sayeth he) serueth for the comelynes and honesty of mariages, and not for necessity. And he bryngeth the woordes of Euaristus, but he sayeth there is a difference betwene those thynges whiche are required to the substaunce of mariages, and those thyngs which serue for the honesty and comelynes. And the good will of the parentes as he sayeth, pertayneth not to the substaunce of mariages, he thynketh that without it children maye lawfully contracte. And for as muche as he maketh matrimonye a Sacramente, hee willeth that in such

How the Papistes require the consent of the Parentes.

The master of the scholemen.

in ſuch mariages ſhould be the vertue of matrimony, and not the honeſty.

But becauſe they very much preſſe the wordes of Euariſtus, when he writeth that mariages contracted without ỹ good will of the parentes, are whoredomes, fornications and aduoutries: the maiſter of the ſentences anſwereth that that is true, not becauſe ſuch mariages are in very deede ſuch, but becauſe they aſſembling together ſecretly among thẽſelues, & priuely without the parents knowledge, are wont to be counted as whoremongers and adulterers, but yet the matrimony abideth ratified and is firme, becauſe of the wordes of the preſent tenſe which wer therin vſed. Alſo Thomas Aquinas in the ſame place, is of the ſame iudgement, and vnto that whiche is brought out of Paul vnto the Epheſians (where he ſayth, children obey your parentes in all things:) he anſwereth that that is to be vnderſtand of thoſe things, wherin the children haue not any liberty, namely as touching familiar and domeſticall things. And this reaſon he addeth: becauſe matrimony is a certayne kynde of ſeruitude, which the childe is not compelled to take vpon him agaynſt his will. And in that it is written of Abraham, that he ſought his ſonne a wife out of hys kinred, he anſwered that that happened, becauſe he knew that that lande was promiſed vnto hys poſterity, and that God had decreed to take it awaye from the Chananites. Wherfore he would not haue hys ſonne contract matrimony with them. *Thomas Aquinas.*

These fellowes in deede ſpeake many things, but they bring not ſo much as one word out of the holy ſcriptures: they ſtil contend that children ought to haue moſt ful liberty left them, as touching mariages. But that is a mere inuention of theirs, whiche by no meanes hath his foundation vpon the worde of God.

The old fathers were of our opinion: but of them it happened, as of the Canõs, for the more auncient they were, the more ſincere they were, and the more new, the more corrupte. Tertullian in his. 2. booke to his wife, as touching the mariages of Chriſtians with Ethnikes, writeth very wel, neither alloweth he mariages betwene perſons of a contrary religion. God ſayth he, deliuereth thee to a ſpouſe. And he addeth: Go not in earth cã daughters right and inſtly marry with out the conſent of the parentes. How therfore wilt thou mary without the conſent of thy heauenly father? Chriſoſtome vpon Geneſis and vpon Mathew, when he entreateth of mariages, remitteth the matter vnto the exãples of the fathers in the olde Teſtamẽt: neither is it of great neceſſity to rehearſe his wordes, whẽ as the ſame father vpon the firſt Epiſtle to Timo. in his. 9. Homely, entreateth very manifeſtly of that matter: there he exhorteth parents, becauſe of the ſlippery age of their chilrẽ, to ioyne them in matrimony, but he exhorteth not the children that they ſhould chuſe vnto thẽſelues husbandes or wyues, but by Apoſtrophes he conuerteth his oration vnto the parentes, that they ſhould prouide for them as touching matrimony: & he addeth a very notable ſentence: If (ſaith he) they begin to playe the whoremongers before they be maryed, they wil neuer be faithfull in matrimony. I wil note alſo by the waye, what he writeth in ỹ place of weddyng crownes or garlandes. For euen at that tyme they vſed crownes or garlandes in weddinges. What (ſaith he) ſignifieth the crown or garland? Forſoth that the husband and the wife ſhould declare, that euẽ to that tyme they had ben vanquiſhers of luſtes: if thou haſt ben an adulterer or whoremonger, howe weareſt thou a crown or garlãd? Auguſtine in his. 133. Epiſtle, beyng deſired to make ỹ mariage betwene a manchilde & a womãchild, I would do it (ſayth he,) but the mother of the child is not preſent, and thou knoweſt that to contract the mariage, her good will is neceſſary. In this place Auguſtine writeth more ſeuerely then the ciuill lawes. For they will not haue the childe to be in the power of his mother. Of Ambroſe I will ſpeake nothing nowe: I haue ſufficiently ſpoken of hym before. Wherfore ſeyng the lawe of God and the law of nature, the ciuill lawe and oeconomical lawe, the fathers and ſincere Canons do affirme, ỹ the conſent of the parentes is neceſſary, and the exãples of the ſaintes declare *What the olde fathers iudged Tertullian. Chriſoſtome. Auguſtine.*

the

the same, what should let but that we should be of ỹ same mind? Neither ought this to seeme grieuous vnto children: for it was for theyr commodity so appointed by God and by lawes. For young persons in such thinges, and specially wemē, prouide very yll oftentymes for themselues. Wherefore it is written in ỹ Code de sponsalibus in the law si pater: When a father hath betrouthed his daughter, if he afterward dye, ỹ gouerner or tutor cānot breake the couenant of the father, and a reason is added: because tutors sometymes are wonne with money, and women thorough weakenes fall to their owne discommodity. The example also of Christ ought to moue vs, whiche was geuen of his father a husbande vnto the Churche, and he alwaye sayd that he did not his own will, but the will of his father, of whō he was sent. Farther, how great a disorder ariseth in ỹ publique wealth of this deprauation and abuse: how great a windowe is opened vnto sylthy lustes: he that can first haue carnall fellowshyp with ỹ mayden in some places, hopeth to obteyne her to wife, yea euen against her parentes good wil.

It is mete the children should require the consent of their parentes.

To the reasōs of the aduersaryes.

But now must we answere the reasons whiche the contrary party alledge for themselues. First, as we before sayd, they cry that in contractyng of matrimony, there ought to be full liberty. But I pray you what liberty: Of the flesshe, or of the spirit: Undoubtedly that liberty of the spirite is the greatest, when we obey the cōmaundemētes of god, who if he would haue vs obedient vnto our parētes in other thinges, why not also in contractyng of matrimony? Wherefore they breake the lawe of God, which obey not the parents also in this thing. Farther, if they will haue the liberty of contracting of matrimony to be so great, why doo they themselues prohibite so many degrees of mariages, whiche God neuer prohibited: Once the Popes would not suffer matrimony to be cōtracted, euē vnto the seuenth degree, but now they contayne within the fourth: moreouer why do they forbid mariages vnto the ministers of the Churche? Farther, why did God himselfe forbid matrimonies betwene persons of contrary religion, if in mariage there ought to be so great a liberty as they fayne to be? But they adde: Children for feare of their parentes will saye that that matrimony pleaseth them, whiche pleaseth them not. But the sonne is not compelled so to say: nothyng letteth but that he may answere, that that wife pleaseth him not, and that such a matrimony he can not abyde. And in deede without his consent matrimony can be by no meanes contracted. In the digestes de ritu nuptiarū, in the lawe non cogitur, we rede ỹ the sonne cā not be cōpelled to mary a wyfe, & de sponsalibus, in the lawe sed ea, if ỹ doughter hold her peace, she seemeth to cōsent vnto the father: ye there are two causes ascribed wherfore the doughter may resiste her father, if either ỹ father offer her a wicked husband, or a disfigured husbād. Otherwise, if there be none of these causes, it is required of her to loue him whom the father hath chose. If she wil not assent, when the husbād hath neither wicked maners, nor is mishapen, she incurreth the crime of ingratitude: whiche is so great that the father may disinherite her for it. And in ỹ title de ritu nuptiarum, in the law si cogente patre. Although the sonne haue assented for feare of the father, yet because he had rather assent then offend his father, such a matrimony ought to be firme and ratified. I would adde vnto the former cause the third, if the father offer a husband whiche is of a contrary religion: and I would euer counsell the parentes to gratifie their children, vnles they see them to obstinate and vniust. But when the parentes deale to tyrānically with their children, & compell them to mary wiues whom they cā not abyde, the matter ought to be brought before the Magistrate, whose office is to heare the cause, and to deliuer the sonne from iniury, if he be to cruelly oppressed. Then if the sonne mary a wife by the authority of the Magistrate, yea agaynst the will of the father, he can not seme vtterly to haue maried without his fathers cōsent. For the Magistrate is the father of the cōtrey. The same thing seemeth to be decreed de ritu nuptiarū, in the lawe qui liberos. And me thinketh the schoolemen haue not well sayd, that the children of the household

The chiefest liberty is to obey the commaundements of god

The punishement of ingratitude.

What may be done against to streight parēts

The Magistrate is the father of the cōtrey.

haue

haue dominion ouer their owne body. For as much as they owe vnto their parentes that they are. They ought not to be compelled to mariages agaynst their wil, but that they should mary without the consent of the parentes, it can not be graunted thē. And when they so often obtrude vnto vs liberty, & alledge ỳ dominiō of their body, we lay against it ỳ answer of god as touching ỳ daughters of Zalphead, who sayth of them: Let them haue heritage among their brethren, but let them mary in their own tribe. These wemē are compelled to mary their nyest of kynne, neither had they that liberty whiche these men sayne. And the brother was sometymes compelled to mary the wyfe of his brother beyng dead, neither could she mary an other: therfore so great liberty is not necessary in mariages, as these men pretend. And by the ciuill lawe, so great is the power of the father ouer the sonne, that he may sell hym if he fall into greuous necessity. And least that should seeme barbarous vnto any man, the same thyng is permitted by the lawe of God in Exodus the. 21. chap, but yet adding certayne cautions, whiche I thinke not good here to repeate. Wherefore they did not rightly argue, when they sayd, that matrimony is a kynde of seruitude, which the sonne ought not to take vpon him at the appointement of his father.

The doughters of Zalphead.

It is permitted vnto the parentes to sell theyr children.

And in that they saye, that the consent of the parentes is required for the honesty of matrimony, and not for necessity, it is friuolous and vayne. For what greater necessity can there bee, then that whiche the lawe and commaundementes of God bryng with them? Children are commaunded to honour father and mother. Also Paul the Apostle prescribeth them to obey their parentes in all thinges. And the same thyng writeth he vnto the Phillipians the. 4. chapter. That whiche remayneth brethren: What soeuer thynges are true, whatsoeuer are honest, whatsoeuer iuste, whatsoeuer pure, whatsoeuer profitable, whatsoeuer lucky, these thinges do ye. &c. By these woordes appeareth that the thynges whiche are honest, muste not bee separated from the commaundementes of God. Wherefore looke howe necessary it is to obey the commaundementes of God, so necessary is it not to mary without the consent of the parentes. And that whiche they adde that the consent of the parentes is in deede required, but yet if they will not consent, the matrimony may be firme: What is nothyng elles then to deride the parentes. For what contumely is it, for the sonne in suche sorte to desire the consent of hys parentes, that thoughe he be agaynst it and gayneſay it, yet notwithstandyng will he abyde in hys purpose, and execute it? It were muche better not to desire it, then to desire it with that mynde. This also seemeth wonderfull vnto me, that the master so peruerteth the woordes of Euaristus: that when Euaristus sayeth that matrimonyes contracted without the consent of the parents are whoordomes, and fornications, and not matrimony, he dare expounde that the matter is not so in deede, but bycause they so assemble together, as whoremongers and adulterers vse to doo. But the sentence of Euaristus is manifest. They are not (sayeth he) matrimonyes, and he addeth what in deede they are, namely fornications, adulteryes, and whoordomes. And he sayeth not that they seeme to be these thynges, but that they are.

3.

4.

5

There are other whiche obiecte vnto vs the booke of Genesis, where it is 6.
written that Esau maried Chananitishe wyues, whiche his parentes tooke in very yll part, for he had maryed them contrary to their cōmaundement. And yet the Scripture calleth them wyues. Wherefore it seemeth that matrimony may be contracted euen agaynst the parentes will. I graunt in deede that in the holy Scriptures they are called wiues. But yet for that cause, bycause he so coūted thē, & bycause the nations amōg whom he dwelled, counted thē for wyues. But hereby is not gathered, ỳ the scriptures do confirme such matrimony. The same forme of speakyng vsed Paul in the firste to the Corinthians the eyght chapter: Euen as there are many gods and many Lordes. He sayeth that there are many

gods, not ꝑ there are so in deede (for there is but one God,) but because the most part so beleued, and publique persuasiō thought ꝑ there was an infinite nūber of goddes. Therfore he sayth many goddes, but to vs that thinke rightly, there is but one God, & one Lord Iesus Christ. It is no vnaccustomed or straunge thyng in the scriptures so to call thinges as men vse cōmonly to speake: yet in an other place, when they speake properly, they call euery thing by his owne name. But thou wilt say, we neuer rede that ꝑ children of Esau were not legitimate. I answere, that Esau had in dede a greate posterity, but whether it were legitimate or otherwise the Scripture declareth not. Wherunto adde, that with those nations among whome he dwelled they were counted legitimate. For they had not the worde of God, wherein it is commaunded that that should not be doone: and they had wonderfully corrupted the lawe of nature.

The scripture so calleth thyngs as they are cōmonly called of men.

7. Other crye: What shall we thinke of our elders? what also of many whiche lyue nowe, and haue contracted matrimonyes without the consent of their parentes? Shall we call them mariages or adulteryes? And shall we counte their children for legitimate or for bastardes? I aunswere, when such mariages were had in those darkenes before the new light of the Gospell, those men were not in dede excused from synne (for it was not lawfull for them to be ignorant of the law of God) but yet because they were done publikely, & the Magistrate permitting them, I am persuaded that such contractes are firme and ratified. If they obiect that in such mariages the consent of the parentes wanted, I aunswere that it was there, & not there. For the Magistrates had made their ciuill lawes subiect vnto the Canons, whiche vndoubtedly they ought not to haue done. And in this thing all mē agree. And for as much as the Magistrate hath authority ouer the people, if he consent to any thing, there after a sorte is the publique cōsent of the people. As at this day in assemblyes, when they assēble, that some summe of money should be payd, although some priuate mā of the people do take it in euill part, yet because it is agreed vpō by the Magistrate, he ought to seme to haue cōsented: So the father would not that the matrimony of his sonne should be firme without his cōsent, yet because he hath made his owne will subiect vnto the iudgement of the Magistrate, he ought to seme after a sorte to haue consented. But nowe the truth of the thyng beyng knowen, the Magistrates ought to reuoke the errour. Wherfore the matrimonyes whiche haue bene hitherto, that is in darknes contracted agaynst the will of the parentes, ought to bee firme, and the children borne of them ought to be counted legitimate. But if the lawe should afterwarde bee reuoked, then should they not be matrimonyes, but onely be presumption, but in very deede fornications, whoredomes, and aduoutryes, as Euaristus ryghtly iudgeth. But whylest the lawes whiche are nowe of force, are not abrogated: I doo not dissolue the matrimonyes whiche are so contracted, neyther doo I saye that the children borne of those mariages are bastardes: but I declare what seemeth more agreable vnto the woord of GOD, and vnto honesty. But Euaristus myght iustly write so, because in hys tyme the Romane lawes were of force, whiche counted not suche coniunctions for matrimonyes. Farther, I adde that fathers are not to bee obeyed, when they let the mariages of their children, onely for religion sake, because in that case God is to be obeyed aboue all thynges, who is the chiefe father of all men.

7 He went downe I say, and talked with the woman, which pleased the eyes of Samson.

8 And within a fewe dayes when he returned to receaue her, he went aside to see the carkase of the Lyon. And beholde there was a swarme of bees, and hony in the body of the Lyon.

9 And

9 And he toke therof in his handes, and went eatyng, and came to his father & to his mother, and gaue vnto thē, & they did eate: but he told not them that he had taken the hony out of the body of the Līō.
10 So his father went downe vnto the woman, & Samson made there a feast. For so vsed the ponge men to do.
11 And when they sawe hym, they tooke 30. companions, and they were with him.

In this place the Lion is not called Cepher as he was before, but Ariah: because that difference whiche I haue before shewed is not alwayes obserued. The matrimony of Samson is celebrated: wherein the prouidence of God prepareth occasion, whereby he should doo some violence vnto the Philistines. And that occasion was, because as he returned he remembred the Lyon whiche he had slayne. He went a litle aside, to looke vpon the carkase of the Lyon. And he founde therein a swarme of bees, and a combe of hony. And this is such a straunge thyng as hath not bene heard of: for it is in no other place, that I wot of, eyther shewed or red, that bees haue made hony in the carkase of a Lion. Pliny and Virgil in his. 4. booke of Georgiques teache that of dead bullockes or oxen doo come bees, as of a horse Waspes, and of an asse Hornets. Plutarche in the lyfe of Cleomenes saith, euē as of a horse do engēder Waspes, of an asse Hornets, of an oxe bees: so also of the carkase of a man, and especially of the marow & humor which falleth vpon the earth, are brought forth serpentes. For that cause the elders wer wont to consecrate serpentes vnto noble men. But we never rede any such thing of a Lion, wherfore this ought we to iudge, ỹ this was done by ỹ singular prouidence of God. Ambrose thinketh that the place where Samson had cast the Lion, was a pleasaunt and fertile place, and the bees flyed thether for flowers, and made hoony in the carkase of the Lion. But I (as I saue sayd) doo attribute all this vnto the prouidence of God. Pliny in his. 7. booke sayth, that bees vse not to make hony, excepte it be in the hyue, or in a tree, or in caues vnder the earth, & he affirmeth ỹ aboue al things they flye frō euill sauors. Farther, he saith ỹ hornets and waspes doo eate dead carkases, but bees touche thē not. Ambrose sayth that Samson turned aside to ỹ Lion, to take his skinne, that beyng clothed with it, he might come vnto the feast as a great valiant man, as afterward did Hercules. But because he sawe that that apparell was not very handsome for wedding apparell, he tooke rather thereout the hoony combes, of the which he myght geue part vnto his parentes, and parte vnto his wyfe.

Pliny. *Virgil.* Plutarche. *Ambrose.* *Pliny.*

They tooke thirty companions. Some thinke that these thirty companions were ioyned vnto Samson for to doo hym honour. But some of the Hebrewe interpreters suspecte that the *Philistines*, when they perceaued that he was a strong and valiant man, brought these men to be kepers for hym, least thorough the shewe of mariage, he should make some commotion.

12 Then Samson sayd vnto them: I wil now put forth a ridle vnto you: and if ye can declare it me within seuen dayes of the feast, I will geue you 30. sheetes, and 30. chaunge of garmentes.
13 But if ye can not declare it me, then shal ye geue me. 30. sheetes, and. 30, change of garmentes. And they aunswered hym: put forth thy ridle that we may heare it.
14 And he sayde vnto them: Out of the eater came meate, and out of the stronge came sweetenes: and they coulde not in three dayes expounde the ridle.

What the ridle of Samson signified.

The elegācy of ỳ riddell consisteth in contraryes, for he which eateth, & he ỳ geueth meate, & he ỳ is fierce, & he that is sweete, are contraryes. Such a ridle was not onely put forth to quicken the wittes, but also the holy ghost would by it signifie thinges to come. At that time the Philistines ruled ouer the Iewes, & oppressed them with tyranny, & after a sort deuoured them. Therfore by the ridle is signified that at the length they should be ouercome, & be eaten of the Iewes: & for as much as they were most fierce, they should be at ỳ last not hurtfull, but great cōmodity vnto ỳ Hebrues. Augustine vpon ỳ. 70. Psalme referreth these thinges vnto an Allegory of Christ & princes of the earth. For when ỳ Gospel begā first to be preached, princes ran vpon Christiās, like Lions, withal their might to deuoure them. But our sunne, that is Christ, was present, & toke away the Lios, whom yet he did not so detect that they should not be, but that for deuourers of the flocke, they should be noorishers of the Church, and defenders of the Gospel. This is a very elegant allegory, and the foundation therof, is the kylling of the Lion, wherby we first vnderstād what should happen in the people of ỳ Iewes, & then what should come to passe in Christ. Ambrose demaundeth the cause why Samson put out this ridle, and he aunswereth: bycause in feastes men are sometymes wont when they haue well dronke, to be somewhat full of talke, & somewhat to intemperatly to rebuke others, which thinges turneth for the most part into braulynges & chidinges. And to auoyde that, graue mē wer wont to put forth ridles or problemes, omitting dangerous talke, & turning their mind to the exposition of the thinges put forth. Whose example Samson followed, & set forth a reward for him, which should expound his question: as though the knowledge and sharpenes of the minde ought to be rewarded, & contrarily punishmēt is instituted for ignorāce & sluggishenes. The Ethnikes also in the old tyme were wont so to do. Wherfore the Poets fable that Sphing was wont to set forth a reward, namely if a mā had absolued his ridle, he should haue ben let goo free. But if he had failed, he should haue ben throwen headlong downe a rocke. What ỳ Poetes would by this fable signify, I will not at this present declare. This thing euery man may easely vnderstand, that the witte of mā is so composed by nature, that it is not easely stirred vp, but either by setting forth reward, or daunger. Whiche also we may easely see in children. Farther, let vs note that it is one thyng to put a mans money to hasard or chaunce, and an other thing to contend for wyt. But in this contention whiche Samson instituted, there was no place for chaunce, but it was a certayne kinde of play, ciuily, honest, and laudable.

Ambrose. Why ridles were put forth in feastes.

A fable of Sphing.

Of Playes.

AND bycause we are fallen into mention of playe, I thinke it good somwhat to speake therof.

Ambrose. Some of the fathers seme to abhorre from all kynde of playes. Ambrose in his 1. booke de officiis, chapter. 23. Playes (sayth he,) and pastymes seme sweete and and pleasaunt, when as yet they are contrary to the rule of a Christian. For it is not founde in the holy Scriptures, howe they ought to be vsed. Chrisostome vpon Mathewe the. 6. Homelye, sayeth that GOD inuented not playe, but the deuill. For the people sat to eate and drinke, and rose vp to play, in the honour of a most filthy idole. For when they had worshipped the calfe and incurred idolatrye, they seemed to haue obtayned thys reward of the deuill, namely to play. Peraduenture Chrisostome alludeth to that which Plato wrote in Phedro, that Theut the demon of the Egyptians found out Numbers, Geometry, Astrology, letters, and dyse. But Augustine in hys. 2. booke de Musica, sayeth that it is a parte of a wyseman to reuoke the mynde from earnest matters: and that is chiefely done by playe. Wherefore it semeth to be lawfull. But howe so great

Chrisostome.

Augustine

Augustine.

an

an oblectation ryseth of playe, it is not heard to vnderstande. Aristotle in hys. 2. booke of Rhetoriques putteth victory or hope of victorye among the causes of oblectation. But when we playe, either we obtayne the victory, or elles we are in some hope thereof. Wherefore they whiche defend playe, doo determine with themselues, that the mynde ought sometymes to bee no les refreshed, then the body: and as the body is renewed by rest or quietnes, so they say the mynde is recreated by playe. By whiche meanes they thinke to proue that there muste some place bee lefte for playes: addyng yet certayne cautions. Firste, that there be no filthy and vnhonest woordes vsed in playes. It is not seldome sene that in playing both filthy and also blasphemous woordes do happen. We must also take hede, that there be not vsed to muche lyghtnes, and dissolution of grauity and comelynes. For oftentymes it commeth to passe, that men do so vtterly gene themselues to playe, that afterward, they are able to do nothyng gravely. Farther, the circumstances are diligently to be marked, of the person (I say) the place, and the tyme. It is certayn in deede that in the holy scriptures there is no rule or forme prescribed cõcerning playes, although in thẽ are read many kinds of playes. In Genesis the aungell wrastled the whole night with Iacob. Sara saw Isaac play with Ismaell, which she tooke in euill parte, not vndoubtedly bycause he played, but bycause he played together with the sonne of a bondewoman. Dauid also daunced & played before the arke of the Lord. And the maydens sang in their daunces, Saull hath ouercome in his thousandes, & Dauid in his. x. thousandes. And Christ complayned that the Iewes were like vnto children playing in the streetes and saying: We haue songe vnto you, &c. And although of these thynges there be no certayne rules manifestly wrytten in the holy Scriptures, yet are they set foorth in the ciuill lawes.

Aristotle.

Play is a cause of delectation.

Why play seemeth to be lawfull.

1.

Cautiõs to be added vnto honest player.

2.

3.

The lawe of god entreateth nothynge of playes.

But before I speake of them, it shalbe good, to distribute playes into his formes and kindes. There are some which are vtterly referred vnto chaunce, as he whiche casteth most, or casteth thys chaunce or that, carieth awaye the rewarde. There are other whereby the powers either of the body or minde are exercised.

A distinction of playes.

Such playes as depend vpõ chaunce & are vnderstand by the name of disseplay, are both by the ciuil lawes & by the fathers condemned. In the digestes de aleatoribus the Pretor sayth: If a diseplayer be iniuried by his fellowe, I will not gene him iudgement. But if one steale or do violence to an other, I will in deede render right, although he they be vnworthy. And afterward: if a mã compell an other to playe, let hym be punished, so that he be cast either into the quarreys to digge stones, or els into the cõmon prisons. By these thinges it appeareth, ỹ by ỹ ciuill lawe to playe at dyse was a thyng very odious. Cicero in. 2. Phillip. agaynst Anthonius: His house (sayth he) is full of dyseplayers and dronkardes. Farther, the lawes adde, if dyseplayers lay any wagers among thẽselues, they are not firme. Nowbeit it is permitted vnto them of the household to play among themselues, for that whiche may afterward be eaten in a feast. But in the Code de religiosis sumptibus funerũ, it is more seuerely ordeyned of play, dyse, & dyseplayers. In ỹ old time souldiers were permitted to play at dise after their busines done. But ỹ Emperor complaineth that at ỹ tyme al men played, & in trying of chaũces, wasted all their patrimony, & lastly added blasphemy agaynst God. Wherefore he decreed, that it should not be lawfull for any man to play, nor to loke vpon hym that playeth: & he admonisheth the Bishops, diligently to loke that these things be obserued. The same Iustinian the Emperor in his Authẽtiques, in the title de sacrosanctis Episcopis, in the paragraphe Interdicimus doth prohibite by name, that no Bishoppe, Priest, or Deacon, should either playe themselues, or looke vpon them that playe. But if they shall doo otherwyse, hee geueth commaundement to thrust them into Monasteryes for three yeares. Nowe let the Popes go and saye, it is not lawfull for Emperours to ordayne of Ecclesiasticall matters. De excessu prælatorum, in the chapter Inter dilectos, bycause

Of dyseplaye.

Dyseplaye is condemned by ciuile lawes.

a certayne Chanon was found to be a diſe player, & had in play geuen hys money to vſury, to receaue for .x. peeces of money .xii. he was deposed. Also de vita & honeſtate clericorum, chap. Clerici: Let them not play at diſe nor tables, neither let them be preſent at ſuch playes. The ſame thing is had in the diſtinctiõs. 35. chap. 1. Either let them ceaſe to play, or els let them be condemned.

Agaynſte thoſe whyche defend diſeplay.

But they whyche defend this kinde of playe are wont to ſay: What if we will ſo beſtow our money? Are we not Lordes of our own thinges? We do no wrong to our neyghbour, we take not away other mens goodes. Theſe thinges haue they continually in theyr mouth. But they ought to vnderſtande, that it is the dewty of the Magiſtrate, to ſee that euery man vſe hys owne thinges well. Farther we muſt cõſider more deepely that God gaue vnto theſe money, wherewith they might haue to noꝛiſhe their family, and to helpe the poore, and not to caſte them to chaũce, and put them to the ſlipperne ſ of Fortune. Farther it behoueth and eſpecially Chriſtians to repreſent the image of God: who gouerneth and ruleth all thynges with reaſon. But ſo to conſume money, is not to be a Lord ouer his own things, but a tyranne. This alſo mayſt thou adde hereunto, if any thing be gotten by this meanes, the ſame both is, and alſo is called, filthy gayne.

Whether thinges loſt by dyſeplaye may be recouered.

But for as muche as it is counted filthy gayne it may iuſtly be demaunded, whether thoſe thynges whyche be loſt by dyſeplaye, may iuſtly be demaunded agayne. I anſwere, that if he whyche loſeth be not in his owne power, but vnder an other man, as are the children of the houſeholde and ſeruauntes, the lawes do geue recouery, and that euen to .50. yeares. But if they be their owne men, recouery is not graunted, & the cauſe is aſſigned, bycauſe filthines is on either party. In whyche caſe the cauſe of the poſſeſſor is the better. In the digeſtes. In the title de condictione ob turpem cauſam in the lawe vbi autem, when filthynes is in either party, there is no iudgement geuen. What then ſhalbe done with the money? They ſay it muſt be beſtowed vpon the poore, ſo that he whych hath loſt, may haue hurte, and he whych hath gayned, ſhall not haue the fruition of thyngs euill gotten. This is to be done when the poſſeſſion is tranſferred. Of the ſame mynde was Auguſtine in his Epiſtle .54. to Macedonius. Where the poſſeſſion (ſayeth he) is tranſferred, let the money bee geuen vnto the poore. But where it is not tranſferred, as if a man take awaye any thyng by theefte, and loſe it at diſe, let it be reſtored. Wherfore we muſt decree, that ſuch playes ought not to be ſuffred whyche are gouerned by chaunce and raſhenes, ſo that in them, goods and money are endaungered: bycauſe it longeth to the publique wealth, to ſee that thynges be ryghtly gouerned: and God geueth goodes, to be ſpent to good vſes. And bycauſe by it ſpryng oftentymes horrible blaſphemies, and robbyng of our friendes, and couetous deſire of other mens goodes is ſtirred vp, beſides the greate loſſe of tyme. Theſe thynges both the ciuill lawes and alſo the Eccleſiaſticall do ſee: but at thys day they are not regarded. For the Canonicall lawes are contemned of the Clergy, and the ciuill lawes are deſpiſed of the Princes. For there is no where eyther more often or more filthily playe vſed, then among princes, and Eccleſiaſtical men: whyche in deede were of good iudgement, when they wrote thoſe lawes: but they haue lyued and alſo do lyue moſt filthily.

Auguſtine.

What playes are permitted.

But the other kynde of playe, whyche pertayneth to the exerciſyng of the powers, either of the mind or of the body, is not vtterly forbidden. Iuſtinianus in the lawe before alledged, when he had taken awaye playes whyche depended of chaunce, ſubſtituted this other kynd of playes, as throwing a roũd baile into the ayre, handling of the ſpeare, running, & ſuch like. Yea & Ariſtotle in his Rhetoriques commẽdeth theſe exerciſes of the body. And vndoubtedly for as much as a man hath nede of ſome refreſhyng and pleaſure to recreate him ſelfe wãl, thoſe thinges ỹ are honeſt, are mete to be graunted vnto him. So at this day publique wealthes do ſometymes ſet forth rewardes vnto ſuch as cã beſt throw weapons

Ariſtotle.

that

ꝙ they may haue theſe Citizens ꝙ better exercised. Howbeit it muſt be take heed of, ꝙ the kindes of playes be not hurtful or pernicious, ſo that it be daungerous, leaſt in that playe, they which exerciſe the ſelues, or which aſſemble to behold, be killed, or miſerably ſorne or lamed. And without doubt this kind of plaies is prohibited ad legem Aquiliam, in the law Nam ludus, and in the decretals de torneamentis. Thoſe thinges which of their own nature are not euil, but are euil by cauſe of thoſe thinges which often tymes follow, ought to be prohibited. In the old time rewardes were ſet forth vnto Syngers, Orators, Poetes, Readers, which are not vniuerſally to be diſallowed, if they be done iuſtly or moderatly. Afterward were added ſtage plaies, wherof I wil not ſpeake in this place. Maũſes alſo were added, of which we wyl ſpeake in this booke in his due place. But men could not be content with theſe plaies: becauſe alſo their mindes, which for ſundry cauſes cannot exerciſe the powers of the body, are to be recreated with ſome pleaſure: therfore they haue founde out an other kinde of play, namely the play of Cheſſemen, cõmonly called Cheſſe: neither is this kinde of play thought worthy to be condemned.

Farther, there is a certaine other maner of playing, which leaneth partly to chaunce, and partly to induſtry, as is playing at Tables, and ſuche lyke, where in deede they caſt by chaunce, but the caſtes are gouerned by induſtry, wherfore Plato affirmed that the life of men, is like vnto the play at Tables. For euen as in tableplay, ſo alſo in the life of mã, if any thing go not very wel, the ſame muſt by arte be corrected. To which ſentence Terence alſo in Adelphis alludeth: and vndoubtedly theſe kindes of plaies ſeeme ſuche, that ſometime they may be permitted, ſo that they bring no hurt, refreſh the powers, and be ioyned with honeſty, and that that time which ſhould be ſpent vpon better thinges, be not beſtowed vpon them. Tables. Plato. Terence.

But what ſhal we anſwer vnto Ambroſe? This vndoubtedly, that that place De officiis pertaineth not to playes, for as muche as there he entreateth of pleaſant talkes, tauntes, and ſkoffes, eſpecially ſuch as are ioyned with ſcurrility. But vpon the. 118. Pſalme (vpon theſe woordes: Turne away mine eyes that I ſee not vanity) he calleth ſtage playes vanitye, as doth Auguſtine alſo together with Lactantius, Ierome and other Fathers. For they had much filthines, & were at the beginning inſtituted to the honour of Idoles, and therefore they were odious vnto the Fathers & Chriſtians. But the reaſon which Ambroſe firſt alledged was, becauſe there is nothing found in the holy ſcriptures how theſe things ought to be vſed. To that we wil anſwer, that they are found in the holye ſcriptures generallye: whither ye eate, or whither ye drinke, or whither ye doo anye thing els, doo al thinges to the glory of God. Wherfore the body and the minde are ſo ſometimes to be refreſhed with plaies, that we may afterward be prompt to grauer matters. Farther, there is nothing found peculiarly in the holy ſcriptures touching Bakers, Cookes, nor Shipmen, and yet neuertheles their exerciſes are not vtterly to be excluded. Auguſtine. Lactantius. Ierome. Why ſtage playes bee condemned of the Fathers.

Chriſoſtome ſaid that the Deuil found out play, and alledged this: The people ſat downe to eate and to drinke, & they roſe vp to play. If a man looke more narowly vpon that place of this father, hee ſhall ſee that hee ſpake of thoſe men which would not repent, but were woont to ſay: I would to God I might neuer weepe, but might alwaies play and laugh. To whom, he ſayth, Chriſt preached: Bleſſed are they which mourne. And forasmuche as we ſo often ſinne, and doo ſo grieuouſly offend God, how ſhould we haue leaſure to play? He alſo condemneth thoſe playes whereby we are made ſluggiſh & vnapt to good workes. We doo not in play and laughing (ſayth he) imitate Chriſte or the Apoſtles: for we neuer reade that they either played or laughed. How beit he addeth a moderation, for as muche as he addeth, I doo not vniuerſally take away al laughter, but the exceſſiue and immoderate laughter. Laſtly he turneth him ſelfe to ſtage Chriſoſtome.

playes, and saith that they were inuented by the Deuill: for they containe the wicked actes and whoredomes of the Gods, whereby the consciences of godly men are greuously wounded, and wicked lustes are many waies stirred vp. And in that he saith that these thinges were inuented by the Deuil, he speaketh nothing contrary to the truth: because (as I haue admonished) they were instituted in the honour of false Gods. Yea and this thing he addeth also, that the Deuyll builded stages in Cities.

But nowe to conclude, me thinketh that those kindes of playes which serue to renewe strengthes in men, are not vtterly to be forbidden. Neither ought we lightly to be offended, if we se a man play at Chesse, with which play the powers of the body are nothing holpen, but onelye the industrye of the minde exercised. For if through age strength faile, so that they cannot exercise themselues by any other meanes, or that their body be but weake, why shoulde they not be permitted, moderately to delight them selues with this kinde of play? Neither also is he straightway to be condemned, which being sicke or weake recreateth himselfe with that kynde of playe, which dependeth of Fortune or chaunce, so that there in be no daunger of losse of money. For we must chiefly regarde to what entent the lawes forbad that. It was vndoubtedly that a man should not waste his goods prodigally, and therfore it was prouided by the law that a man should not hasard aboue a shilling: as it is had in the Code, in the place before alledged. This was the meaning of the law, that money should not be yll consumed.

To what entēt the lawes restrayned or prohibited playes.

But some say they delight not in play, except they play for money. But I will demaund of them to what vse they entend to bestow that money? Peraduenture they will say vpon a feast. Why not rather vpon the poore? But I saye it is much better and safer not to play for any money. For although it maye bee that thou thy selfe art not touched with couetousnes, the other yet with whom thou playest, is peraduenture touched: Let the occasions vnto euyll be taken awaye, which otherwise are very manye which moue vnto euyll. And if there were nothing els to feare vs away from playes, let vs for Gods sake wayghe this, howe greate the penury of time is. The law of God requireth so manye duties, that not our whole lyfe is able to performe them: and yet shall wee bestowe time in playes? We are otherwise sufficientlye sicke with couetousnes of money, with ambition to ouercome and excell other: why do we styrre vp these diseases with playes? But thou wilt say: These thinges are neuer stirred vp in me. But nowe thou must remember that they maye easelye be stirred vp. And we must see not onely to our selues, but that we bring not other also vnto ye same disease. These thinges are spoken of the honest kindes of playes. If so be there be anye whyche doo play, being entised with couetousnes, let those men knowe that they rather like euil marchauntes trafficke, then playe. For they seeke no other thing but filthy gaine. Neither seeke they pleasure, which in honest playes is the chiefest, but they seeke their owne thinges, and that by filthye meanes. And when they which delight immoderatly in playes, doo say: There must be some pleasure in the life, whereby we maye be recreated: Their request is to be graunted, but in the meane time they must bee admonished, that there are other pleasures more honest. Paul to the Ephesians the. v. chap. saith: Speake vnto your selues in Psalmes, Himnes, and spiritual songes, singing and making mery in your hartes. And the same thing writeth he vnto the Colossians the third chap. Tertulian in Apologetico sayth that Christians vsed to assemble together to their moderate shorte suppers, and when they wer refreshed with meate, they sang deuine praises, or recited somthing out of the holye scriptures, prouoking one an other by them. And by this meanes they returned sober home.

Male mercari

Tertulian.

There are also problemes, wherwith the wits may be exercised and refreshed: which problemes if they seme to hard, there are historyes, which may with lesser labour be learned. Why are not men hyred to reade them vnto them? There is

Other honest pleasures besides playes.

no hi-

no hiſtory ſo ſclender, which is not very much profitable for ſome part of mans life. There are alſo hiſtories of plants, of herbes, and of ſtones. There are lyke wiſe communications of godlye men one with an other, which are ſweete and pleaſant, wherewith mindes are refreſhed, and therewithal edefied. I do not (as I haue ſaid) vtterly take away playes: but I prefer theſe thinges, as much more honeſt and profitable. But now let vs returne vnto the play of Samſon, which though it was honeſt and liberal, yet had it a deadly ende. And if this playe had ſuch yl ſucceſſe, what is to be hoped of thoſe which are prohibited by the lawes? They which made thoſe lawes, were wiſe men in gouerning the publike welth, who ſeing their faith in other thinges is to be allowed, why is it not alſo to be allowed in thys thing?

And the young men could not interpreate. The feaſt indured ſeuen dayes, and when Samſon had put forth his riddle the firſt day, they coulde doo nothing in three dayes: wherefore when wyt failed them, they turned themſelues to craftines and euyll artes.

15 And when the ſeuenth day drew neare, they ſayde vnto Samſons wife: Entiſe thine husband, that he may declare vs the riddle, leaſt we burne thee and thy fathers houſe with fire. Haſt thou called vs that he ſhould poſſeſſe vs? Is it not ſo?

16 And Samſons wife wept before hym, and ſayd: Surelye thou hateſt me, and loueſt me not: for thou haſt put forth a ryddle vnto the chyldren of my people, and haſt not tolde it me. And he ſayd vnto her: Beholde, I haue not tolde it my father, nor my mother, and ſhall I tell it thee?

17 Then Samſons wyfe wepte before hym ſeuen dayes, whyle their feaſt laſted, and when the ſeuenth daye came, he tolde her, becauſe ſhe was importunate vpon hym. And ſhee tolde the ryddle to the chyldren of her people.

18 And the men of the City ſayd vnto him the ſeuenth daye, before the Sunne went downe: What is ſweeter then hony, and what is ſtronger then a Lyon? Then he ſayd vnto them: if ye had not plowed with my Heifer, ye had not found out my ryddle.

19 And the ſpirite of the Lord came vpon hym, and he went down to Aſcalon. And he ſmote of them .xxx. men, and taking away their vpper garmentes, gaue chaunge of garmentes vnto thoſe whyche expounded the ryddle. And hys wrath was kindled, and he went vp to hys fathers houſe.

20 Then Samſons wyfe was geuen to hys companion, whom he had aſſociated vnto hymſelfe.

The young men come vnto Samſons wife, deſire her to intreate her husband, and by al meanes to enquire of him what his propoſition ſignified. They adde moreouer threatninges, and thoſe horrible, namely that otherwiſe they would burne her and her fathers houſe. This is the nature of peruers men, when they can not ouercome by ſtrength and induſtry, they flee to deceites. This maye be ſene in theſe young men: rather then they would ſuffer them ſelues to be conquered or ouercome, they go about fraude and ſnares. But chiefly they go vnto hys wife, that (both becauſe ſhe was a woman, which might eaſelye be wonne, & becauſe ſhe was deare & welbeloued of her husband) they mygbt vſe her labour to wreſt and wring out the ſecrete of her husbande. They make her therefore the betraper, and that which is moſt grieuous, of her own husband. This is often

times

times the ende of playes. The thing for which they contended, was of no great value. For euery one of them were in daunger onely of the losse of one garment and sheete a peece: yet they say: Hast thou called vs, that he should possesse vs? As though they should lose al that euer they had. These thinges rightlye agree with those which do play to that end, to depryue other men of their goods. They which haue lost, may after this maner complain of the winner: Thou hast with this pretence prouoked me to play, to rob me, & not to take any pleasure by play. The woman in the meane time (as Ambrose saith) wept, and complained vnto her husband, that he loued her not, neither esteemed her. Thou hatest me (sayth she) for as much as thou wylt not declare vnto me thy secretes. But Samson answereth wisely. Yea, but I haue not shewed it vnto my parētes, and thinkest thou that I loue them not? What cause is there that thou shouldest complaine? There are in deede many good and faithful women, but Samson had not yet had anye trial of his wife. And seing ther are many euil and babling women, which blab out thinges of great importance, to their husbandes great dammage, therefore wise men commit not many thinges to their wiues secrete keeping: for ther are many thinges that are not expedient for them to know. And babling is a vyce in a maner proper vnto women. Plutarche telleth of this thing an elegant hystory of Papirius Pretextatus, which nowe is sufficient onelye to shewe. Many, though they be strong in body, and excel in strength, yet are they weake in hart. Samson had ouercome a Lyon, but yet at the last, hee coulde not ouercome the teares of hys wyfe. As long as his wife shewed her selfe sad and heauye vnto him, Samson could not beare it. The holye ghost woulde haue these thinges set foorth in the holy scriptures, whereby we might see the nature and corruption of our flesche.

Ambrose.

It is not expedient alwayes to cōmunicate secrete coūsels vnto wyues. Plutarch.

The seauenth day before the sunne went downe. All they of the East did measure the ende of the day by the going downe of the sunne, which by thys place we may gather, and by many other. They expounded the ryddle after this maner: What is sweeter then hoony, what is stronger then a Lyon? Ambrose sayth that Samson, when hee heard these thinges, strayght waye added: what is more vnkaythfull then a woman? This assuredlye which is added in the text, is not much vnlike: Except ye had plowed wyth my Heyfer. To plowe is to dyg, to turne, and to searche the earth. So they searched out the mayden, that by her they might come to the counsell of her husbande. This vndoubtedlye is an easye interpretacion. For that is not sufficient which Leui ben Gerson bringeth, that those young men committed aduoutry with the mayden, and by that abuse vnderstoode the ryddle of Samson. For if this thing had happened, Samson woulde not haue retayned her in matrimony.

The end of the daye is the sunne set. Ambrose.

Leui ben Gerson.

When they had absolued the riddle, nothing remained but ȳ Samson should pay vnto them the wager. And that price would be pay vnto the Philistines, of the goods and riches of other Philistines. The miserable woman feared, that if she had not shewed vnto the young men the secrete of her husband, she should with all her family haue bene burnt. But by thys meanes she did in very deede get vnto her selfe burning. For as wee shall heare, when Samson had inferred grieuous euyls vnto the Philistianes, they not suffring the iniuries, assembled a power, and burnt the house of hys wyues father. So the mayden fell into the pyt which she had made.

And hys wrath was kyndled, namelye against his wyfe. But why did Samson require secretnes of her, which he himself could not keepe? He ought to haue kept scilence, and not haue reuealed vnto her the secrete, if he woulde haue had hys secretes kept close. Farther, as touching the murther of the Philistians, yf we thynke of Samson, as of some priuate man, hee can by no meanes be excused. For it is lawfull for no priuate manne to spoyle and kyll others, to paye hys owne debtes wythall. But because (as the hystorye teacheth) he was stirred

ſtirred vp to doo this by the impulſion of the holy ghoſt, therefore ought he not to be accuſed. For it is written: And when the ſpirite of the Lord came vpon hym, he went downe to Aſcalon. &c. Therefore we will not reprooue Samſon, but yet we will not draw his act into an example. But this let vs imitate, to ſuffer our ſelues to be the inſtrumentes of the ſpirite of God, & let vs with a valiaunt and bold minde follow him being our guide. For although Samſon ſhould fyght at one time againſt. xxx. men, yet bicauſe he was driuen by the ſpirite of God, hee was nothing afearde. He tooke away the ſpoyles. Celiphoth, that is, their vppermoſt & chaungeable garmentes, which he had taken away from them which he had ſlaine. But ther is mention made that he payd onely Celiphoth: neither is there any thing ſpoken of the linnen ſheetes, which yet ought by the bargain to be payde. The Hebrues thinke that here is vſed the figure Synechdoche, that by part is vnderſtād the whole. Dauid Kimhi ſaith, he would not pay the whole, bicauſe they came to the knowledge of the riddle by euil artes, but yet that they ſhould not altogether complaine of his faith, he gaue them part.

There ariſeth a doubt, bicauſe Samſon was a Nazarite, & by his profeſſion it was not lawful for him to drinke wine, nor to cut his heare, nor to touche any dead corps. But he muſt nedes touch their bodies, whom when he had ſlaine he ſtripped out of their clothes. Ther are diuers & ſundry anſwers brought. Some ſay he was a Nazarite, but not as touching this third condicion. For the Angell onelye admoniſhed his Parentes that he ſhoulde drinke no wyne, nor pole hys head: but commaunded nothing for touching of dead bodies. But other ſay that he did in deede kil the Philiſtians, but yet he ſtripped of their garmēts, while they were yet breathing and on lyue. And there are ſome which thinke that hee cauſed that one or twoo of them which wer left a lyue, ſhould ſtrippe the other, and ſhould go free for their labour. But theſe ſeeme mere faininges. The difficultye may be diſpatched by one woord: a Nazarite was bound by religion, not of hys owne accorde to touche dead bodies. But this man was moued by the ſpirite of God: neither did he theſe thinges of his own wyl. Wherefore the commaundement of the religion of a Nazarite ought in this ſteede to geue place vnto the holy ghoſt. I am not ignorant how men doo eaſely maruaile, that the holye ghoſt would mingle it ſelfe with playes and trifles of yong men. For that can ſcarcely ſeeme to be agreable vnto the maieſty of God. Let humane reaſon meruayle at theſe thinges, as much as it liſt: yet is it nothing contrary vnto the maieſtye of God, if it mingle it ſelf with thinges neuer ſo light. For hereby the prouidēce of God appeareth more bright, when men vnderſtande that it alſo conuerteth thinges moſt baſe and moſt light, vnto the glory of the name of God. For, for a man with apt and meete inſtruments, to bring any thing to paſſe, it is no great matter: but with thinges vnapt and deformed, to fabricate any excellent thyng, this ſeemeth to pertaine to a cunning woorkeman. Theſe thinges ſeme in deede to be light, but what is more light then dreames? whiche yet God vſeth to the glory of his name, as the hiſtory of Pharao and Nabuchad-Nezar doo manifeſtly declare. But what doo I ſpeake of Kinges? God would by dreames exalt Ioſeph being a priſoner and pooze man, vnto a kingdome. So woulde he haue the inheritaunce of Eſau turned vnto Iacob, in a maner by a play. And by fraud the bleſſing was wreſted by Iacob from Iſaac, couering his handes & necke with Goates ſkyns. Yea and alſo the ſpirit of God mingleth it ſelf ſomtimes with the plaies and verſes of Poetes, when as they (how ſoeuer they ſeeme to play) do yet ſometimes write true, profitable and graue thinges. And that thoſe thinges are of God, no man ought to doubt. Let this be had for certaine, that all thynges doo obey vnto God, dreames, playes, light thinges, graue thinges, and noble. He is the ruler and gouernour of al thinges, wherefore no man ought to bee offended when hee heareth theſe thinges. God ſeemeth more and more to increaſe the ſtrength of Samſon, for before being vnarmed, he fought with a Lyon: which aſ-

How it was lawful for Samſon to handle dead Carkaſes being a Nazarite.

The prouidēce of God vſeth thinges, though they bee neuer ſo lyght.

ſuredly

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surely was a great thing. But this is much greater, to fight at one time with xxx. men. God would so exercise him, that he should geue ouer him selfe wholye to the counsell of the spirite.

Samson ought not so lightlye to haue gon frō his wyfe.

Samson being angrye with his wife, because she had vttered the riddle vnto the young men, departed from her: which his fact ought not to bee allowed. For he ought not so lightlye to haue seperate himselfe from his wife. It was his part to correcte her, and if neede had beene, to chasten her. Neyther had this departure good successe. For when he was gone, the father gaue his daughter vnto an other husband, namely to the fellow of Samson, and paranymphe, whyche had ioyned himselfe a companion vnto him in the mariage. The mayden sawe she had grieuously offended her husband, wherfore she fearing his fiercenes, desireth her father to prouide her an other husband: For it is not credible (as Ambrose saith) that these thinges were done wont the good wil of the maiden. But diuorcement should not be made so rashly, and for so light a cause. Christe hath made one cause onely of diuorcement, namely aduoutry. Paul addeth the difference of religion: although he wyll not haue the faithfull to depart, if the vnbeleuing party wil dwel together. Neither permitted he second mariages, because man and wife agree not in religion, but because the one wil not abide wyth the other. In Samsons cause there is neither of these. There was no aduoutrye, neyther did the mayden say she would not dwell with her husband: neither did Samson repudiate his wife, although he then departed from her. For afterwarde he returned vnto her, as we shal heare. And although he so departed, that the wyfe knewe not where he was become, yet ought she not straightway to marye an other. For the ciuill lawes, when any suche thing happeneth, doo appoynt her to tary fyue yeares, as it is had in the Digestes De diuortiis, in the law Vxor. And in the Authentikes De Nuptiis, in the Paragraphe Sed etiam. The Canon lawes in the Decretals would haue amended these thinges, and decreed that it should not bee lawfull to marye againe before some certaine woorde were brought of the death of the first husbande or wyfe. But with what godlynes and wysdome they did that, I wyll not at this tyme declare.

Ambrose.

Ther was here no cause of iust diuorcement.

Ioseph. Ambrose.

It is certaine that in this place was iniustice done for the wife to marry an other, being not ignorant that her husbande was yet on lyue. But the Father excuseth the act, saying: I thought thou haddest hated my daughter. But why should he haue suffered himselfe to be perswaded after this sorte? It was conuenient that he shoulde before haue knowen Samsons mynde, and taryed for a booke of denorcement. Although I see that Iosephus is of this opinion, that hee thinketh Samson dyd repudiate his wyfe. But that is not very lykely, when as he afterwarde descended, to take his wife againe vnto him. Neyther should the Philistians iustly haue burned that mā with his family. Yea and Ambrose also denyeth that there was any denorcement. This is in a maner the fruite of those that are ioyned together in an vnequall mariage. We reade the lyke thing in the first booke of Samuel, the. xxv. chapter. Dauid had maryed Michol the daughter of Saul: and when Dauid fled, her Father gaue her vnto an other husbande, when as the first husbande had not yet repudiated her, but afterwarde Dauid demaunded her agayne. In the meane tyme let vs that are Christians, determine thys with our selues, that it is not lawfull to dissolue matrimonies for lyghte causes. Paule sayth: If the wooman depart, let her remayne vnmaryed, or let her be reconciled vnto her husbande. Which assuredlye hee ment not of aduoutry: for he woulde not amende the woordes of Christ, but as Chrisostome

Chrisostome.

sayth, he vnderstoode these thynges of lyghter offences, for as muche as of them some reconciliation may be hoped for: which is vtterly cut of, if she be maryed to an other.

The

The.xv. Chapter.

1 But within a whyle after, in the time of wheate harueſt, Samſon viſited his wife with a kyd, ſaying: I wil go vnto my wife into her chamber: but her father would not ſuffer him to go in.

2 And her father ſayde: I had thought that thou haddeſt hated her: therefore gaue I her to thy companion. Is not her younger ſyſter fayrer then ſhee? Take her I praye thee in ſteede of the other.

3 And Samſon ſayd vnto hym: Nowe am I more blameles then the Philiſtines, and therfore wil I doo them diſpleaſure.

THis was the ſimplicity of thoſe times, that the huſbande ſhoulde bring vnto his wyfe a kyd. It was a gyft of reconcilement, to pacify hys wyfe withall. In ſaying I haue ſayd. That is, I did fyrmly and conſtantly thinke. That doubting of woordes with the Hebrues, addeth a vehemency, which ſelfe thing we maye ſee in that which followeth: In hating, thou diddeſt hate her, that is, thou diddeſt exceedingly hate her. The father in lawe ſeemeth to lay the fault in the Sonne in lawe. For it is as muche as he ſhoulde haue ſayde: Thou waſt the cauſe, that I gaue her vnto an other.

Is not her yonger ſyſter fayrer then ſhee? He feared Samſon, becauſe he was of a ſtrong and mighty body, leaſt he ſhoulde rage and kyll and ſlaye the Philiſtines: therefore he offereth him his other daughter, to aſſwage his anger. He offereth her, but yet againſt the law of God, by which it was not lawfull to marry twoo Syſters, as it is manifeſt in the eightene and twentye of Leuiticus. Wherefore the father offereth vnto Samſon mariage, but yet an inceſtious mariage. Neither was it by the Romaine lawes lawfull to marye two ſyſters, although the firſt were dead: and vndoubtedly for a iuſt cauſe: For, for as muche as man and wife are one fleſhe, thereby commeth that the kynſfolkes of the one are ioyned in the ſame degree with the other. Wherefore the ſyſter of my wyfe muſt be counted for my ſiſter. Let the Pope therefore take heede what he doth, when he ſo eaſely geueth licence in this kinde of mariages. But this is nothing to him which thinketh that all thinges are lawfull vnto hym. But it maye be that the Philiſtians obſerued not theſe degrees in matrimonies. For when Moſes gaue the law before brought: Ye ſhal not doo (ſaith he) as the nacions do, which the Lord your God ſhall ſubdue vnto you. For therefore hath the earthe ſpued them out before your face. Samſon receiued not the condicion offred hym. If you (ſaith he) is wrong the iniury, my cauſe is the better and more iuſt, if it ſhould come to iudgement. Wherfore he hath cauſe to be reuenged of the Philiſtians. And aſſuredly it was written before of God.

It is not lawful to marry two Sisters.

And he ſought occaſion. Here the Reader is agayne to be admoniſhed not to thinke of Samſon, as of a priuate man. For it is not lawful for anye priuate man, after this maner, to proſecute hys owne iniuries. He muſt rather go vnto the Magiſtrate. But Samſon was nowe conſtituted of God as a Magiſtrate. Firſt hee taketh vengeaunce of the goods of the Philiſtians, and that after a wonderfull maner.

We muſt not thinke of Samſon as of a priuate man.

4 And Samſon went & tooke .cxx. foxes, and tooke firebrandes, and turned them tayle to tayle, and put a fyrebrande in the middeſt betwene two tayles.

5 And when hee hadde ſet the brandes on fyre, hee ſent them oute

into the standyng corne of the Philistians, and burnt vp bothe the reekes, and the standing corne with the vineyardes and olives.

6 Then the Philistians sayd: who hath done this? And they answered, Samson the sonne in law of the Thimnite, because he had taken awaye hys wyfe, and geuen her to hys companyon. Then the Philistians came vp and burnt her and her father wyth fyre.

7 And Samson said vnto them: If ye had done these thinges: but I wyl be auenged of you, and then I wyl cease.

This word Lampades they haue translated firebrandes, which are easelye set on fire. Samson bounde the tayles of the Foxes two and two together, wyth a strong knot, and in the middest he bound a fyrebrande. When the Foxes coulde not agree together in their course (for the one drew this way, and the other that way, so that they could not hide themselues in their holes, but the flame by stirring and mouing was more and more kindled) they ran into the standing corn. And at that time was the wheate haruest, and the wheate partlye reaped, and partly grewe still. Wherefore the Foxes running thorowe the corne, dyd them very great hurt. For they lost both their straw and their corns, with their vineyardes and Olives. The cõsideration of Samsons pollecy was this: He chose a Fore to this enterprise, rather then any other beast, because it is a craftye and subtil beast, and goeth by crooked and bye passages. But Samson goeth the right way to woorke: otherwise he mought easelier haue bound Dogges together, but he rather vsed Foxes, for the cause before alledged, as Dauid Kimhi affirmeth. Neither would he to euery Fore alone binde a firebrande: partly because they would haue drawen the firebrands along the ground, and so might easely haue put them out, and partly because they would soone haue gotten them into their holes. But whē two and two wer by the tayles ioyned together, & the one drew one way, & the other an other way, by that motion was the fire the more kindled, and when they ranne into the corne, they did very great hurt. Origene vpon Cantica Canticorum, in his. iiii. Homely, as he is euery where ful of Allegories, referreth al this thing also to an Allegory, although he plainely confesseth, that it is hard to apply an Allegorye vnto this History. But I, as I haue often in other places, so do I also in this place omit Allegories.

Why Samson did chuse foxes.

Origene.

But if a man aske how Samson got so manye Foxes, he must vnderstande, that as there are sundry regions, so are there also in them manyfolde and sundry increase of thinges. In some place there are manye horses, and those fayre. In some place there is great aboundaunce of Cattell. In Englande there is great plentye of Conies, and so is there in the Ilandes called Baleares. In those Regions a man maye easelye in one daye, and in a lytle grounde, take three or foure hundreth Conies: which to some peraduenture myght seeme incredyble. And so is it sayd that there is a very great aboundaunce of Foxes in Siria, and specially in the borders of Iewry. Wherefore Salamon in hys Canticles sayth: Take Foxes for vs which destroye the vineyardes. Wherefore there was so great number of them, that they also destroyed the vineyardes: for they delight most of all in ripe grapes. Yea and Dauid saith of the vngodlye: They shall bee partes of Foxes, that is, their pray, so that their karkases shall be deuoured of them. And out of the. 4. chap. of Nehemias is gathered, that the number of them was so great, that they could in a maner ouerturne the walles of the citye. And Samson tooke them either by his own industry, or by the helpe of his friendes. He sent the Foxes, and destroied their corne. Hereby we may gather, that in iust war, it is lawful to vse burninges and spoilinges, to endomage their enemies.

Siria aboundeth in Foxes.

The Philistians sayd: who hath done this? They seeke for the authour, and they doo not onely fynde him, but also they vnderstand the cause why he dyd it,

and

and they take vengeaunce of hys father in lawe and his wyfe, that was maryed vnto an other. If ye had done these thynges. These are the woordes of a man that is angry, and therefore cut of, wherefore we muſt vnderſtand, if ye had done theſe thinges at the beginning, when my wyfe was firſt taken from mee, I had bene pacified. But ye haue done it to late, therefore I wyll yet be auenged of you. For that which ye haue done, ye haue not done for loue to iuſtice and honeſty, but for feare of a greater hurt. If iuſtice had moued them, they woulde at the fyrſte haue puniſhed them. But they followe the common nature of men, which are with no other thing more touched, then by the feelyng of preſent euyls, which we may perceaue not onely here, but alſo in the hiſtorye whyche is found in the latter booke of Samuel. Abſolon had long lyued in exile: Ioab obtained of the kyng that he might returne. Wherefore he returned, but hee was not admitted vnto the kynges ſyght. And when Ioab wouldo not wyllingly come vnto him, Abſolon commaunded hys ſeruauntes to burne the corne of Ioab. Wherefore Ioab beyng moued with this iniurye, came vnto hym at the laſt. So alſo the Philiſtians, being in a manner compelled, doo reuenge the iniury of Samſon. This alſo is to be noted, that often times a whole City or kingdome is puniſhed, for the ſynne of one man, or of one family. And that ſawe the Poetes, when they wrote, that onelye the aduoultrye of Paris ouerthrewe the kingdome of Troy. And vndoubtedly when a publike wealth eyther wynketh at, or defendeth, or puniſheth not, the ſynne of a priuate man, God counteth it all one, as if they had all ſynned together. If they haue good lawes, and doo followe them in puniſhyng wycked actes, God wyll not for their ſakes punyſhe them all.

When are men moſt moued by hurt then by anye other meanes.

Why ſomtimes the ſyn of a priuate man is the cauſe of the deſtruction of a whole citye or kingdome.

Hereby alſo we may ſee that the ſentence of Salomon is moſt true, wherein he ſayth: That which the vngodly feareth ſhall happen vnto him. The mayden feared leaſt her fathers houſe ſhould be burnt: and ſhe by that waye moſte of all brought burning, by which ſhee thoughte to auoyde it. But why happeneth it, that the vngodlye doo fall into that, which they feare. Becauſe when they feare euyll thinges, they go about to auoyde them by euyll meanes, and not by good. Ioſephs brethren feared leaſt he ſhould be preferred before them, when they ſaw that his father loued him ſo well. And that they might auoyde his promotion, they ſold him into Egipt. But by that meanes chiefly it came to paſſe, that Ioſeph was made ruler ouer them. The Iewes feared leaſt, if Chriſt ſhould go forward as he began, the Romanes woulde come and take awaye their nation and place. And to turne awaye that, they gaue vnto Iudas a price, and crucified Chriſt, whereby they the ſooner threwe them ſelues headlong into thoſe euyls which they feared. The mayden was burned with al her fathers family. By whom? By the Philiſtines, at whoſe handes ſhe looked for fauour.

Why the vngodlye fall into thoſe euyls of which they be afeard of.

8 So he ſmote them hyp and thygh wyth a great plague. Then he went downe and dwelt in the top of the rocke Etan.

What hyp vpon thigh, or hyp together with thigh ſignifieth, it is obſcure, & therfore ther are ſundry interpretacions brought. The Chaldey Paraphraſt expounideth it to be horſmen & footemē, ſo that thigh ſignifieth horſmē, becauſe they ſyt on the horſe with the thigh bowed, and the hyp ſignifieth footemen. Peraduenture at that time it was a kinde of prouerb wel knowen of thoſe men. Dauid Kimhi bringeth an other reaſon, namely that Samſon, both ſlew the Philiſtians and alſo did put them to flight, who alſo as they fled, did fall: as thoughe by thys kynde of ſpeeche might be deſcribed the behauiour of them that fel, whereby the hyp is bowed vnto the thigh. Farther, this hebrue woorde Iarach ſignifieth alſo a ſhoulder, and the meaning may be that Samſon ſmote them from the ſhoulder to the thigh. The rocke Etan is the proper name of a place.

Kimhi.

9 Then the Philistians came vp, and pitched in Judah, and were spreade abroade in Lechi.
10 And the men of Judah sayd: why are ye come vp vnto vs? And they aunswered, to binde Samson are we come vp, and to doo to him, as he hath done to vs.
11 Then three thousand men of Judah went downe to the top of the rocke Etan, & said to Samson: knowest thou not that the Philistians ar rulers ouer vs? wherfore then hast thou done thus vnto vs? And he aunswered them: as they dyd vnto mee, so haue I done vnto them.
12 Againe they sayd vnto him: We are come to binde thee, and to deliuer thee into the hand of the Philistians. And Samson said vnto them: sweare vnto me, that ye wil not fall vpon me your selues.
13 And they answered him, saying: No, but we wil binde thee & deliuer thee vnto their hand, but we wil not kyl thee. And they bound him with two new cordes, and brought him from the rocke.
14 When he came to Lechi, the Philistians shouted agaynst him, and the spirite of the Lord came vpon him, and the cordes that wer vpon hys armes, became as flaxe that is burnt wyth fyre: for the bandes loosed from hys handes.
15 And he found a new iawbone of an Asse, & put foorth hys hand, and caught it, and slewe a thousande men therewyth.
16 Then Samson sayd: with the iawe of an Asse are heapes vpon heapes: with the iaw of an Asse haue I slayne a thousand men.
17 And when he had left speakyng, he cast awaye the iawbone out of hys hande, and called that place Ramath-Lechi.

Thys place is called Lechi by the figure prolepsis: because *Lechi* in Hebrue is a iawbone, and therefore the place is so named, because Samson slewe there a number of hys enemyes wyth the iawbone of an Asse. But that was not then done when Samson came thither at the fyrste. The Philistians, to auenge theyr iniuryes, pytched agaynst Iudah: for thyther Samson fled. But the men of Iudah desyre the Philistians not to be angrye, and demaunde of them why they led an armye agaynst them. As though they should haue sayd: we haue not fallen from you, and we haue payed you our tributes: If Samson dyd anye thyng agaynste you, it was not done by our counsell. And they were pacified and sayde: Delyuer hym then, and we wyl depart. Vndoubtedly an vniust and craftye Counsell: for in suche sorte would the Woulues make a league wyth the Sheepe, on that condicion I say, that they shoulde delyuer theyr Dogges, as Demosthenes sayd vnto the people of Athens touchyng theyr Orators. But why dyd not the Philistians them selues take Samson? Ambrose aunswereth, bicause they durst not. And the men of Iudah were so cowardlye, that they refused not to doo it. There came vnto Samson three thousande men to take hym, and they laye for a pretence the authoritye of the Philistians: VVylt thou (say they) haue vs afflicted for thy sake?

The leaugue of the Woulues with the sheepe. Demosthenes.

Ambrose.

The lyke speeche had the Hebrues in tyme past agaynst Moses: for when the people was oppressed of Pharao: Thou (sayd they) hast made our smel to stinke in the syght of Pharao. Samson vpbrayeth not vnto them their sluggyshnesse and desperatnesse, when as hee myght iustly haue sayde vnto them: Are ye not ashamed to betray hym that hath deliuered you? He handleth hys owne countrey men friendlye, and telleth them peaceably, why he dyd so. They (sayde he)

dyd

did me iniury first, and the same would I auenge. This is the law of rendring like for like, and it is a common rule of all lawes. But sweare vnto me, that you will not fall vpon me your selues. Why requireth he this othe that they shoulde not kill him? Bycause he was godlye towardes his countrey, neither woulde he shed the blood of his citizens, which vndoubtedly must nedes haue bene done, if the matter had come to handystrokes. Lex talionis

The Philistians mighty by a certain outward shew, seme iuster then Sāson. For when they had burnt Samsons father in law and his wife and all his family, yet Samson not being content with that auengement, slew very many of them: and they, though they had so many hurtes, yet they desire onely the death of Samson. Wherefore they may seme more iust, but it is but in an outward shew onely, as we haue sayd. For they would first take away Samson the heade: who being taken away, they myght easely do what they woulde against the people of Israel. And Samson would rather be deliuered vnto his enemies, then that his country shuld for his sake come in daūger: so great a loue had he towards his people, yea rather chiefly a firme and constant fayth towardes God. For puttinge his hope in the mercy of God, he doubted not to commit himself vnto his enemies, and he woulde defende the Iewes, not onely by weapons and strength, but also wyth his greate daunger. The entente of the Philistiās.

And when he was bound, they made him to ascende. This is so sayde, because that rough rock which Samson possessed, was lower then the mountaines which the Philistians helde. Wherefore wee reade before that Samson discended to the rocke, and that the Iewes descended vnto him. When the Philistians showted against him for ioy, ỹ spirit of the lorde came vpon Sāson, so that he brake his cords as easelye as if they had beene slare burnte with fire. And he take the law bone of an asse being new or grene. This Hebrewe woorde Teriah signifieth grene or new, & it is so called, either bicause it was newelye drawen out of the asse, or els bicause it was rotten. For rotten thinges the Hebrewes call grene. Wherefore raw sores and wounds ful of matter or corruption, ar called of thē, grene Teriah. These woords (And Samson said, with the iaw of an Asse: and then it is added in Hebrew Chamor Chamerithim) are very obscure and haue sundrye interpretacions. For Chamor signifieth both an asse, and also a heap or gathering together. Wherefore some following the signification of this woord heape, do thus interprete it, there was made heapes vpon heapes of dead bodies, namely of mē which he had slaine. Or I haue made heape vpon heape. And the sense is, that Samson sayth that he had made so greate a slaughter of his enemies, that he gathered greate heapes of them together. But other hauing a respecte vnto this woorde asse, do thus enterpretate it, of an asse, of asses, that it should not be here vnderstand in a metaphore. And they thinke ỹ a sword which is called by ỹ name had ỹ form of an asse. He saith therfore ỹ it was ỹ iaw bone of an asse, of an asse I say of asses, as in other places of the scripture we reade, a kidde of goates, and a bullock of Oxen. The Rabbines for the most part interprete this place for heapes and gatheringes together of enemies.

When the slaughter was finished, then first the place was named Ramath-Lechi, Ramam in Hebrew is highe. Wherefore Ramah signifieth a high place. And Ramah-Lechi is nothing els then a hill or toppe of a iaw bone. There may also be geuen an other Etimologye, so that the naminge of it may be derined of this verbe Ramah, which is to cast away, bicause Samson in that place threw away the iaw bone, when he had fynished the slaughter.

18 And he was sore athirste, and called on the Lorde, and sayde:

Thou haſt geuen this great deliuerance by the hand of thy ſeruant and nowe ſhall I dye for thirſte, and fall into the handes of the vncircumciſed?

19 Then god brake the cheke tooth, that was in the lawe, and water came thereout, and when he had dronke, his ſpirite came agayn, and he was reuiued. Wherefore he called the name therof Ain Hakorah, which is the fountaine of him that calleth vpon, which is in Lechi vnto this day.

20 And he iudged Iſraell in the dayes of the Philiſtians twentye yeares.

Out of what thing god brought forth water. *Ioſephus.* *R. Leui Ben Gerſon.*

Whereas it is written that god opened the cheeke tooth which was in the law bone, it is in the Hebrewe Aſchar Belchi Hamachtich, wherefore the place is darke: for this woorde Machtiſch ſignifieth ether that holownes wherein the teth are fixed, or els by a Metaphore it ſignifieth a ſtone or rocke, wherein is a hole cut, like vnto the holes of the cheke tethe. And in fine it is that, which commonly we call a morter. And this latter interpretation Ioſephus & R. Leui Ben Gerſon do follow. And they thinke, that god brought not forth water out of the law bone, but out of a rocke being holow like a law bone. But others ſay that water came forthe of that law bone, wherewith he had ſlayne his enemies. The place was called the fountayne of him that prayeth, becauſe God at the prayers of Samſon opened the rocke or lawe bone. And this woorde Ain, *Leui* expounded for an eye, for in very deede it ſignifieth eyther, namelye bothe a fountaine & an eye. And the ſenſe that he gathereth is, that the eye of the Lorde was vpon him, which called vpon him, that is, God had a regarde vnto the prayers of hym that called vpon him. It is added that Samſon iudged Iſraell in the dayes of the Philiſtianes: which is therfore written, becauſe in his time the Hebrewes were not yet fully deliuered from the tirranny of the *Philiſtianes*. *Samſon* beganne to deliuer them, but he finiſhed not.

New cordes are ſtronge.

In this latter hiſtory are certayne thinges which we oughte to obſerue. The firſt is, that *Samſon* was bound with two cordes, and thoſe new, that the miracle might be the more wonderfull. For newe cordes are more hardly broken, then old. And it is eligantly deſcribed how they brake, namely as flaxe burnt with fire. The cordes might be broken two wayes, eyther becauſe the ſtrength of *Samſons* body was encreaſed, or els becauſe the cordes were weakned by god: and eyther way is aptinough. Farther, when he being naked and vnarmed, was caſt forth vnto his enemies, god miniſtred weapons vnto him of a thing moſt vile: ſo can he vſe all thinges to ſetforth his glory: the lawe bone was made onely to chawe and cutte ſmall meate, but God would vſe it to committe a ſlaughter. So althoughe ſometimes we ſeeme to be vnarmed againſte our enemies, yet are we ſufficiently armed, when god will. Some to make the thinge more probable, do imagine, that that law bone of the aſſe was a great one, becauſe that in Siria are ſo great aſſes that in greatenes they may be compared with our horſes. Which thing I do not diſproue.

The *Philiſtians* ſhouts and reioyce as thoughe a moſte deadlye enemye had fallen into theyr handes: But the ſpirite of the *Lord* came vpon Sampſō, and there was a greate ſlaughter made of them. And the ſonge which he ſang was a geuing of thankes for the victorye, that is, a ſonge of victorye. But ſome doubte, whither the whole ſonge be here written, or onely the beginninge thereof. I thinke here is but the beginning onely: the reſt paraduenture was knowen among the Iewes, and ſoong thorough.

ἐπινίκιον.

And he was ſore a thirſt. *Ioſephus* and Ambroſe thinke ỳ god ſtrake Samſon wō thirſte

thirst, because he attributed the victory vnto himselfe, and not vnto God, I (sayth hee) with the iaw of an asse haue slaine a thousande men. He sayth not, God hath slayne, neyther erecteth he an altare or monumente vnto God, nor maketh anye sacrifice: and therfore is he afflicted with thirste. For god would haue him to vnderstand that he was a mã, & would also haue him to know by whose benefite he had obteined the victory. This say they: but because those thinges which they alledge are not of the holy Scriptures, therefore I do not gene credite vnto them. Moreouer let vs note that in the old Testament, very manye places haue theyr names geuen them of the benefites of God. For they would haue the goodnes of God kept in memory for thẽ ẏ should come after, ẏ they also should hope that by the same meanes they should be holpen, as they see theyr fathers in times past were holpen of God. For which selfe same cause the hebrewes were commaunded to enstructe and teache theyr children of the benefites bestowed on them by god. Wherefore they instructed theyr posterity, not onely by words, but also by such tokens and monumentes, as by some certayne sacramentes. Wherefore the thirste of Samson (as farre as I iudge) was not a punishment for sinne, which he had committed, but a certain caution or prohibition that he should not sinne. He might in deede by reason of ouermuch labour naturally thirste, but god would haue him remember that in so greate fortune he was mortal. He had slayne many: but herin was the daunger, least he also should haue died together with thẽ for thirst. Or it was done, that the power and beneuolence of God towardes his people should be made the more notable, which had not onely deliuered Samson from his enemyes, but also had quenched his thyrst by a wonderfull meanes.

Iosephus. Ambrose. Why Samson was vexed with thirste.

Wherefore Samson turneth himselfe vnto prayers, whiche God maketh him to exercise both by his spirite, and also by this present necessitye. We are not able to thinke how much God delighteth in our submission. Thou, sayth he, Lord God hast geuen me this victory, and wilt thou now forsake me? Hereby we vnderstand that the remembrance of the benefites past, do exceedingly stir vp our prayers, for they encrease fayth, whereby we hope that we may obteyne the like and also greater thinges. Neither is this a thing to be passedouer, that he calleth him selfe the seruãt of God. I am (sayth he) thy seruãt. For I haue not slayn these mẽ at myne owne lust and motion: I haue done thy busines, and I haue executed thy warre. And wilt thou now suffer me to dye for thurst? And by that meanes to fal into the handes of mine enemies? And which is most greuous, into the handes of the vncircumcised? For I vndoubtedlye, whatsoeuer I am, am thine, and I haue set abrode the glory of thyne name. Thou hast promised that I should be a iudge vnto thy people, suffer me not therfore to come into the power of mine enemies, contrary to that promise which thou hast promised me.

¶ The.xvi. Chapter.

1 Then went Samson to Azzah, and he sawe there a harlot, and went in vnto her.

2 And it was told to the Azzathites, Sãson is comhither. And they went about, and layde waite for him all night in the gate of the city and were quiet al the night, saying: Abide til the morning early, and we shal slã him.

3 And Samson slept till midnight, and rose at midnight and toke the dores of the gate of the city, and the two postes, and lift them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and caried them vp to the top of the mountaine, that is before Hebron

There happen sometimes gre nous falles of godly men, & of churches.

It is no rare or vnaccustomed thinge, that excellent men, when they haue accomplished thinges after theyr minde, doe slacke good studies and honest enterprises, as though they had done with labors, & are now in that place ỹ they can not fall. God suffreth them sometimes so to fal, that they shoulde acknowledge thẽ selues, & be called back to repentance. But that is not done by the merite of the sinners, but by the goodnes and mercy of god. So God suffred Dauid to fal, so Salomon contaminated hymselfe with a most greuous wicked crime: so Iudas the sonne of Iacob, being in good estimation among his brethern, yet committed incest with Thamar. Neyther do these things happẽ only vnto singuler mẽ, but also vnto the church, as well the new as the old. In the time of Balcam whẽ ỹ Israelites could not be won by any other meanes, they wer cõquered by harlots. And the church of the Corrinthians, was at the firste so contaminated with whoredomes, that Paule was compelled to shewe by arguments and testimonies of the word of god, that fornicatiõ was sin. Yet did not god straightway depart from those which I haue mencioned, nor from Samson as touching his free gracious giftes, as are strength, gifte of tongues, prophesies, and suche like: bicause they are geuen, not for theire sakes whiche possesse them, but for other. Balcam though he was an euill man, yet had he still the gift of prophesy, yea and he prophesied most excellently of Christ. The Lord also sayth: many shall say vnto me in that day: Haue not we cast out deuils in thy name? And in thy name haue we prophesied: & it shalbe sayd vnto them, verely I say vnto you, I know you not.

God doth not straightway after sinne take away from men hys free gratious giftes.

Howbeit for discipline sake, free gracious giftes are also sometimes taken away: sometimes I saye, not alwayes. And Samson did not straygbteWaye at the first time when he sinned, lose those giftes of God yet afterwarde he losse them.

Whither the giftes which follow iustification are firme.

But seyng these ar not alwaies taken away, what shal we affirm of other gifts, which of necessity follow iustification? Those vndoubtedly ar takẽ away in sins that ar most heinous. For he which hath committed any greuous sinne agaynst himselfe, holdeth not peace of conscience, neyther the zeale to call vpon God, nor hope towardes God. Fayth also for that time, either sleepeth and lieth still, or (as some think) is taken away, although it be afterward restored vnto the elect, and those that are predestinate, when they repent. Suche fals of excellente men are set forth, that we by them should haue an example, that if at any time we fal, we should not dispayre. And hereby we vnderstand how greate the veritye of the holy scriptures is. For they dissemble not errors and vices in the greatest mẽ, & in those specially which they haue taken in hand to prayse.

How great the verity of the holy scriptures is

How the countrey of the Philistians was deuided.

Azza was one of the head cities of ỹ Philistians. For that countrey was deuided into prouinces and Lordshippes: of which in euery one of them there was some one excellent and notable city. Our interpretors haue translated Azza into Gaza: for it is written by this letter Ain, whiche our men turne by g: And so the Ammorhites they call Gomorhites. But why went Samson downe hither? bycause now hauing obteined so manye victories, he contemned his enemies: and peraduenture he sought occasion to inuade them. But in this citye he fell: for he had there to doe with a harlot. This woorde Zonah signifieth in Hebrewe a harlot, of whiche thinge wee haue spoken in an other place. Some thinke that Samson did nothing here offend, but onely turned into a woman that kept a bitling house. For by that word is also signified a woman ỹ kepeth a bitling house, bycause she prepareth meate and other necessarye thinges for gestes. And some thinke that Rahab in the booke of Iosua, whiche receaued the spies, was not an harlot, but onely one that kept a bitling house. But I thinke that Rahab was an harlot. For so is she called in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, which had doone her iniury now being deade, if it called her, beinge a chaste woman, an harlotte.

How women that kept bitling houses are called by the Romain lawes

The Romaine lawes called such women as kepte bitlinge houses stabulariæ, as it is had in the title de furtis stabulariorum. Ambrose sayth that Helena the mother of Cõstãtine ỹ great was a stabularia after this sort, & he calleth her a good stabularia

He

He entred into her. This Hebrew forme of speaking signifieth carnall fellowship, namely that he had to do with her. Other think (as I haue said) that he onely lodged in her house. But ỳ Philistines whē they heard of it, did secretly enuirō the city in the night season, for they would make no noyse for waking of Samson beyng on sleepe, for they durst not set vpon hym in the darke, for that they knew him to be most strong. They taried till it was day, neither doubted they that he could escape, being so on euery side enclosed and besieged. *Liranus* thinketh, that the Philistines drew not Samson out of his lodging, bycause peraduēture in that region it was a law, that men should be safe in their lodgyngs. But I meruayle that Ambrose sayth, that the Philistines besieged the house where Samson was, when as in the Hebrew we manifestly rede that they besieged the City. Samson came and tooke the doores, & caried them away with him. So he despised his enemies, neither was there any that durst withstand hym. *Lyranus.* *Ambrose.*

Neither yet must we thinke, ỳ that was the strength of a man, but of the spirit of God. But we must not therfore affirme that God fauored whoredome: bycause in iudging of thinges, we must not haue a regard to the successe. Dauid also filthily cōmitted aduoutry, and at the same tyme wherin he grieuously sinned, he conquered Rabbah, the City of the Ammonites. Salomon had fellowship with idolatrous women, and yet all thinges in a maner went with hym as he would desire. Wherfore as touchyng actions, we must not iudge of them by ententes. Wherfore in Ecclesiastes it is rightly sayd, ỳ the selfe same thinges happē vnto ỳ euill, that do happen vnto the good, & therfore of thē the loue or hatred of God toward vs is not knowen. Neither by the euentes may we iudge who is godly, or who is vngodly. We must iudge by the worde of God. The things that agree with it are good: the thinges that disagree, are vngodly. But in that God doth not strayghtway take vengeance, he therefore doth it, to call vs backe to repentaunce. Wherfore it is our part to see that we heape not vnto our selues anger, in the day of anger, as Paul sayth vnto the Romaines. Thinges are to be iudged by ỳ worde of God, and not by the successe.

Samson escaped the daunger, & caried away the gates of the City vnto a montayne, that they might be a wonder, and that the Philistines might see how great strength there was in the God of Israel: yea & that the Iewes also might beholde so notable an acte of God. For that montayne was in the middest betwene Gaza & Hebron, whiche the Hebrues inhabited. By that spectacle it came to passe, that the courages of the *Philistines* were daunted, but the Hebrues wer boldned. We may not (as I haue often admonished) thinke of Samson, as of a priuate man, for he was a Magistrate appointed by God, and not by men. For if he had ben a priuate man, his actes could not be allowed: for it is wicked to violate the walles & gates of Cities. Which thing was also prohibited by the Romaine lawes. In the digestes de rerum diuisione in the lawe sanctum, and in the law sacrum, it is had that some thinges are sacred, some thinges religious, and some thinges holy. Thinges sacred, as the alters and temples of the gods. Religious, as the sepulchers of the dead, holy, as those things which are by lawes defended from the iniuryes of men, as gates & walles. In the same title also it is red. Whese thynges are holy, which are neither sacred nor prophane, but confirmed and defended by lawes, that they should not be violated. As if a man should do this thing or that thing, he should suffer this or that. In the same title in the law *Si quis*, the violating of the walles is made death. Wherfore Remus was put to death, bycause he went ouer the walles of his brother: Which selfe same thing is decreed of prisons, as it is written in the title de Effractoribus in the law. 1. And in the title de custodia & Exhibitione in the lawe in eos. Howbeit if the doore were but slenderly shut, and any manne had fled, he was more lightely punished. but yet in suche sorte, that he shoulde be counted for a condemned person, although otherwyse he were innocent. Gates & walls of cities are by the lawes counted as holy. Why Remus was killed of Romulus. Prisons ar not to be violated.

Socrates when he was in prison, & mought haue escaped, he would not, least he In example of Socrates.

should

shoulde seme to haue violated the lawes. It was obiected vnto hym: Thou art wrongfully held in prison. But he aunswered: we must not by iniury put away iniury, bycause to do iniury is alwayes euill. He also tooke an argument of an exãple. For wise men ought not to open this windowe vnto other: Which other would easely imitate, if they should flye out of prisõ. Farther if all mã should by thẽselues remedy iniuryes, & breakes prisons, what manner of publique wealth would there be at the length? Moreouer hereby we should seme to feare death more then is mete. But we must not so be afeard of death, to violate lawes and rightes. Lastly we must not doubt, but that good men fall into the handes of tyrannes by the will of God. Wherefore they ought not by an vniust way to deliuer themselues thereout. Neither ought any man to obiect vnto vs Peter, for he fled not, but was by an angell brought forth by the will and commaundement of God. Let vs rather see what *Paul* and *Silas* did in prysone: they would not flye when they might. It is not lawfull also for bondeseruants to fly from their masters. And vndoubtedly *Paul* sent home agayn Onesimus vnto *Philemon*. What if the bondeseruant feared fornication or murther at his maisters hand? It was lawfull for him to flye vnto sanctuary, or to the image of the prince: there was he holpen by the lawes, and the vniust Lord was compelled to sell his bondseruãt. But a Citizen for as much as he is free, neither is held in prison, bycause by the lawes he may dwell where he will, for him it is lawfull to chaunge his abyding & go whether he please. But that whiche Samson did, must not be followed, neither drawen into an example. For he (as we haue often sayde) was appoynted a Magistrate by God, and was most certayne of his vocation.

It is not lawfull for bounde seruauntes to flye from their maisters.

Free men may chaunge their abydynges for iust causes.

4 And afterwarde he loued a woman by the brooke Sorek, whose name was Delila.

5 And the Lordes of the Philistines came vp vnto her, and said vnto her: Deceaue him and see wherin his great strength lyeth, and by what meanes we may preuayle agaynste hym, that when we haue bound him, we may afflicte him: And we will euery one of vs geue thee a thousand onehundreth peces of Siluer.

6 And Delila sayd to Samson: tell me, I praye thee, wherein thy greate strength lyeth, and wherewith thou mightest be bounde, to doo thee hurte.

7 Samson then aunswered vnto her: If they bynd me with seuen greene roddes that were neuer dryed, then shall I bee weake, and be as an otherman.

8 And the princes of ỳ Philistines brought her seuẽ greene roddes that were not withered, and she bound him therewith.

9 (And she had men lying in wayte with her in the chamber) then she sayd vnto hym: the Philistines be vpon thee, Samson. And he brake the roddes, as a thread of towe is broken, when it feleth fire: so his strength was not knowen.

10 After Delila said vnto Samson: See, thou hast mocked me and tolde me lyes: I praye thee nowe, tell me wherewith thou myghtest bee bounde.

11 Then he aunswered her: If they binde me with new ropes that neuer were occupyed, then shal I be weake and be as another man.

12 Delila therefore tooke newe ropes and bounde hym therewith, and sayde vnto hym: The Philistines be vpon thee, Samson: (and men

men lay in wayte in the chamber) and he brake them from hys armes, as a thread.

13 Afterward Delila sayd to Samson: Hetherto thou hast beguiled me, and tolde me lyes: tell me how thou mightest be bound. And he sayd vnto her: If thou plattedst Seuen lockes of myne hed with the threades of the woufe.

14 And she fastened it with a pinne, and sayd vnto him: The Philistines bee vpon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of his slepe, and went awaye with the pinne of the webbe and the woufe.

15 Agayne she sayd vnto him: how canst thou say, I loue thee, whe thine heart is not with me? thou hast mocked me these three tymes, and hast not tolde me wherin thy great strength lyeth.

16 And because she was importunate vpon hym with her wordes continually, and vexed him, his Soule was payned vnto the death.

17 Therefore he tolde her all his heart, and sayd vnto her: There neuer came rasor vpon myne head: for I am a Nazarite vnto God from my mothers wombe: therfore if I be shauen, my strength will go from me, and I shall be weake, and be like all other men.

18 And when Delila sawe that he had tolde her all his hearte, she sent, and called for the princes of the Philistines, Saying: Come vp once agayne: for he hath shewed me all his heart. Then the princes of the Philistines came vp vnto her, and brought the money in theyr handes.

19 And she made hym slepe vpon her knees, and she called a man, & made him to shaue of the seuen lockes of his head, and she began to vexe hym, and his strength was gone from him.

20 Then she sayd: the Philistines be vpon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of hys sleepe, and sayde: I will go out nowe as at other tymes, and shake my selfe, but he knewe not that the Lord was departed from hym.

By the outrageous loue of Samson vnto women, we easely vnderstand, that the desire of lust is neuer satisfied, so long as we obey it. Samson had played the whoremonger before, & yet not being content with that, he toke vnto him a harlot agayne. Wherfore no man ought to cocker his sinnes, as thoughe he myght afterwarde leaue them at will. Seneca hath rightly admonished Lucillus: That we must not adde to lustes, but rather plucke away from them: otherwise they will grow vnto vnmeasurablenes. We see in this history as in a glasse the peruersines of mannes nature, when God wynketh, and deferreth the punishment, we are made bolde, and the more forwarde he goeth in forgeuyng, so muche the more & more do we go forwarde in sinnyng. Wherfore Paule to the Romaines writeth truly and profitably: woest thou not knowe that the goodnes of God calleth thee to repentaunce, but thou accordyng to thy hardnes and vnrepentaunt hart, heapest vnto thyselfe wrath in the day of wrath. God seemed to spare Samson, but he was neuer a whit the better. Seneca.

But what this woman was, whether she were an Hebrewe or a Philistine, it appeareth not by the History. It is onely written that she dwelled by the riuer or brooke Sorek. R. Leui ben Gerson thinketh that she was a proselite, and yf she had receaued the profession of the law of the Iewes. But he confirmeth not his opinion by any testimony of the scripture. Howbeit if she had ben a proselite, R. Leui ben Gerson.

Samson

Samson had sinned much more grieuously. For he ought rather to haue dissuaded from fornication a woman being a straunger, & peraduenture not thoroughly instructed in religion, then to haue allured her to sinne. For that cause Christ rebuked the Scribes & Pharises, saying: Wo vnto you Scribes and Pharises, because you compas about sea & land, to make one proselite: & then ye make hym the child of hel, twise so much more then ye your selues. And euen the same selfe thing is also now a dayes practised, and that very often: the Papistes labor very much, to conuerte a Iewe to their Christian religion, and then they corrupte him, and make hym woorser then they are themselues. After whiche selfe same manner Monkes leade younge men and maydens to their institutions, whom afterwarde by euill artes they make moste corrupte. But these thynges haue I spoken by the waye.

But howe many of the Philistines came vnto the harlot, it is not written. Some thinke, that there were fiue, because there are so many prouinces in that region. Euery one of them promised to geue her xi. hundreth peces of Siluer, the whole somme therefore was. 5500. peces of Siluer. So the Philistines, when they coulde not conquere Samson by strength, assayed to wynne hym by deceate, and they allure the woman with money to betray hym. By the voluptuousnes of Samson they take occasion, and with large promyses they tyre vp the couetousnes of the woman. But of honesty and vertue, they haue no regarde. And that the nature of stronge men is suche, that by the flatterynges of a woman it maye bee deceaued, we maye vnderstande not onely by this Hystory, but also by many other. But it shalbe sufficient to set before vs Adam for an example: whose nature in that syalle innocency beyng yet perfecte, was yet by a woman brought into deceate. Wherefore we must continually praye vnto God, that he woulde not suffer vs to be led into deceate, for we muste not trust to our owne strength.

Of howe greate force the enticementes of women are.

The woman bryng intised by the Philistines, goeth vnto Samson. Wherefore she is not onely an harlot, but also a betrayer. Such an ende ought they to looke for, and be most assured of, what soeuer they be, that haue felowshyp with harlottes. There are extant examples of many, whiche partely were very euill handled of harlots, and partely betrayed by them to their enemyes to be slayne. For she whiche selleth her selfe, will vndoubtedly muche rather sell her louer. Wherefore Salomon hath wisely admonyshed, that a harlot is no les to bee auoyded, then the mouth of hell.

And Delila sayd: Shewe me wherein thy strength lyeth. These thynges are here set forth simply, but it is very likely, that the woman dyd thus flatter Samson saying vnto hym, that she muche meruayled at hys so greate strength, and that she muche reioyced, that she had gotten her selfe suche a louer. And therefore she exceedyngly desyred to knowe thys, wherein hys so greate strength consisted. Samson mocked her two or three tymes. And firste he sayeth: If I bee bounde with greene roddes. That is, with bowndes made of Osiers and newe twigges, whiche haue not yet bene dryed. The seconde tyme he biddeth her take newe ropes, where with Delila afterwarde bounde hym, namely when he was on sleepe. Thirdly he sayeth that seuen lockes of his head should bee platted with the threades of the woofe, to take away his strength. He putteth a certayne vnto for an vncertayn. He would in deede haue ben constant, & hidden ỳ secret from the woman, but on the other side his weakenes and softenes was so great ỳ he fayned. For after he dissembled once or twise, she was so much the more importunate with him. And thoughe she were mocked, yet she geueth not ouer, neither dispaireth she to obteine ỳ which she sought for. The Hebrew interpreters thinke ỳ these thinges were not done in one day, straight after an other, but at sondry tymes, ỳ the woman as occasion serued might repeate the same request. Lastly it is said ỳ the harlot was greuousome vnto Samson, euen vnto the death.

He

he coulde not suffer to bee reiected of hys louer, it was lyke death vnto hym to be repulsed from hys pleasures and delyghtes. So Samson is taken, bounde, and lead awaye.

Of Whooredome or Fornication.

NOw I thinke it good somewhat to speake of whooredome or fornication. For as in the olde tyme there were very many, so also at this daye there are not a fewe, whiche affirme that it is no sinne. But I will proue by Scriptures, and by most certayne reasons that it is a grieuous sinne.

They whiche extenuate thys wicked crime, doo leane vnto sundrye argumentes. Firste in the Actes of the Apostles the.15. chapter, when in those firste tymes, there arose a dissention amonge the Iewes and the Gretians, it was by common assent decreed, that the Ethnikes shoulde abstayne from bloud, from that whiche was strangled, from thynges offred vnto idoles, and from fornication. Here, say they, that whooredome or fornication is reckened with those thynges whiche of their owne nature are not sinnes. Wherefore it appeareth that of it selfe it is not sinne: for these thynges were then for a tyme decreed of the Apostles, that Christians shoulde lyue peaceably together. For there is no creature of GOD euill, as sayth Paul to Timothe: Farther they saye, GOD woulde not commaunde that whiche of it selfe is sinne. But he bad Hosea the Prophet to take vnto hymselfe an harlot, & to beget children of whooredome or fornication. Wherefore of hys owne nature it seemeth not euill. Farthermore euery sinne is agaynst charity, either agaynst that charity whiche we owe vnto God, or that whiche we owe vnto our neyghbour. But in whooredome or fornication there seemeth nothyng to be committed agaynst God: for his worshyppyng and Religion is not hurt. Neither also agaynst our neyghbour, for there is no violence offred his wife, neither is there any violent oppression. Moreouer Auguſtine in hys booke de bono coniugali writeth, that what meate is vnto the body, that is accompanyng together for procreation. But if a man eate or drinke a litle more then he ought, he is not accused of synne. Wherefore also if a man in accompanieng together doo a litle straye, he is not to be counted guilty of sinne. Lastly, those things which god hath prohibited as sinnes, ar so playn & manifest, that euen by ẏ light of nature euery man may vnderstand ẏ they are sinnes: but whooredome or fornication in mans iudgemẽt is not so iudged, & many thinke ẏ it is no sinne. Mitio in ẏ Comedy in Terẽce saith: Beleue me, it is no wicked acte for a yong mã to cõmit fornication. And in ẏ Church of Corint. there wãted not some which so thought also. Wherfore by these reasõs ẏ filthynes of whoredom is so extenuated, ẏ either it is not coũted for sinne, or els coũted amõg ẏ least sins. *Auguſtine*

We muſt haue a regard not to humane reasons, but vnto the word of god, not what men thinke or iudge, but what ẏ holy ghost speaketh in ẏ holy scriptures. And in ẏ Prophets & in Salomon, there is in euery place detestatiõ of fornicatiõ. But in the law they say there is nothing decreed agaynst it. But for asmuch as they will reason by ẏ law, I will bring testimonies also out of it, wherby it may easely be vnderstand ẏ fornicatiõ is prohibited. In Leuit. in ẏ booke of Nũb. & in Deut. ẏ Iewes are prohibited to adioyne vnto thẽselues straũge womẽ. Agayne in Deut. ẏ.23. chap. it is cõmaũded, ẏ there ſhuld be no harlot nor whore in Iſrael. Let these places be cõpared together. It was not lawful to haue harlots, neither straũgers, neither Iſraelites, therfore they were al forbidde. But some will say: How then had Sãson fellowshyp with an harlot? Some of ẏ Hebrues answere ẏ she was not a harlot, wt whom Samſon had fellowshyp, but one ẏ kept a bitling house. But for asmuch as that is a weake answere, me thinketh we muſt otherwise aunswere vnto it. The publique wealth of the Hebrues was at that tyme corrupted. For they lyued nowe vnder the Philiſtines: neither is it any mervayle if they were inbrewed with any of their vices and corrupte manners. *Fornication is prohibited by testimonyes of the scriptures.*

Wherefore they had some harlottes, but not by their lawes, but by the vse and custome of the Philistines.

Testimonyes of the newe testament.

But in the new Testament whoredome or fornication is apertly & manifestly prohibited. To the Hebrues it is thus written: Aduulterers & fornicators the Lord will iudge: ✠ Lord is not said to iudge & to auenge, except it be for grieuous sinnes. And to ✠ Ephesians, not onely couetous men & idolaters, but also fornicators are excluded from ✠ kyngdome of God. To the Corinthians also, where *Paul* writeth of Excommunication, I doo not speake (sayth he) of all fornicators: but if any be called a brother, and is a fornicator, with such ye shall not so much as eate meate. But he entreateth much more manifestly of all this matter in the same Epistle the. 6. chapter, and ✠ of purpose: for many (as it is sayde) were of an euill opinion, as touching this kynd of wickednes. First, he sayth, meate is ordeyned for the belly and the belly for meate, but God shal destroy both this and that, nowe the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord. For all meate of his own nature is pure: but for the offence of our neyghbour, we ought sometymes to abstayne. But some man myght say: Meate is necessary to lyue by. It is, sayeth *Paul*, in this lyfe, but in the blessed resurrection, GOD shall destroye both the meate and the belly. Wherefore thou muste not so much esteme them, that for their cause thou shouldest offende thy brother. It is not vniuersally commaunded to abstayne from all meate, but from that onely wherby thy weake brother is offended. But as touchyng fornications (sayeth he) whiche ye contemne, the reason is farre otherwyse. Your body is not geuen for fornication, but for the Lorde. And this is not to bee passed ouer, that *Paul* with greate prudence sayeth not, not for procreation, but not for fornication. For the body is geuen also for procreations sake. Men are wont oftentymes to excuse their faultes and to laye them vpon nature. The nature of the body (sayeth he) is to bee geuen vnto the Lord. Wherefore of it is to be taken the rule of life, and not of euill examples.

The nature of relatiues.

This is the nature of relatiues, not onely of suche as in that thyng that they are, are referred vnto other, but also of those whiche are by any meanes referred vnto an other thynge, as the head vnto the body, and agayne the body to the head. For when we see the head, we straightwaye require the body, and agayne when we see the body, we require the head. Suche relatiues (as the Logitians saye) are called secundum dici. The Lorde is the head of the body of the Churche, and it is the body of that head. Wherefore *Paul* both wisely and pithely disputeth, when he sayth: The body is not made to thys end, and to pollute it selfe with lustes, but to bee correspondent vnto the head, and to bee conformable vnto it. And he addeth, GOD whiche hath rayled vp Christe, shall rayse vs vp also by his powre. The firste argument was taken from relatiues. The seconde is drawen of GOD. For if he wyll rayse vp our bodyes, as he hath rayled vp Christe, why doo we then defile them with ignominy? He goeth on and sayeth, doo ye not knowe that your bodyes are the members of Christe? Shall I then take the member of Christe, and make it the member of an harlot? Undoubtedly a fore conclusion whiche he concludeth. Shall I take (sayeth he) the member of Christe? As thoughe he shoulde haue sayde: No without doubt, for this were to teare the body of Christe. And it is a thynge moste cruell to plucke awaye the members from a lyuely body, and to ioyne them vnto a rotten or dead body. But the strength of the reason consisteth herein. Christe can not commit fornication: wherefore if thou wilte commit fornication, thou muste firste be plucked from Christe. Here is shewed that fornication is not onelye a sinne, but also a deadly and moste grieuous synne, whiche plucketh vs awaye from Christe.

Afterwarde he addeth: He whiche coupleth hymselfe vnto an harlot, is made one

one body: For they shalbe two in one flesshe. And: He whiche is ioyned with God is one spirite. This place is most full of consolation: for as much as it declareth that we ar most nigh ioyned vnto Christ, from whom we must nedes be first plucked away, before we be made the members of an harlot. He whiche cleaueth vnto an harlot is made one body: For they shalbe two in one flesshe. The Apostle seemeth at the first sight to abuse the wordes of Genesis. For he transferreth the to whoredome whiche are spoken of matrimony. For these wordes were spoke first of Adam and Eue: because the flesshe of Eue was before in the flesh of Adam, from whom God tooke a ribbe, and made therof a woman, which he agayne adioyned vnto Adam, to be with hym one flesh. But in very deede the Apostle abuseth not this sentence, for as much as whoredome is a certayne corruption of matrimony: for one thing is common to them both, namely, the coniunction of the flesshe. For bodyes are communicated as well here as there. Wherfore Paul had a respect vnto that whiche is common to them both, when as yet thys difference is there betweene them, that in whoredome the coniunction is agaynst the lawe of God, and therfore fornicators must be plucked a sonder, other wise there is lefte no hope of saluation for them. But in matrimony, the coniunction is made by GOD, and therfore it is made an indissoluble knot. Wherefore seyng that the coniunction is in either all one and the selfe same, Paul hath rightly applyed that sentence to whoredome: He whiche cleaueth vnto God, is one spirite. These wordes serue muche vnto this present matter. For if we be with God in spirite, we muste with earnest labor flye from those thinges whiche he hath prohibited. Wherfore aptly the Apostle hath added flye whoredome.

He sayth moreouer: Euery sinne that a mã committeth, is without the body: but he whiche committeth whoredome, sinneth agaynste hys owne body. If the argumentes whiche I haue before brought do not moue you, yet at the least haue a respecte vnto your owne body, whiche ye seeme in committyng of fornication to hate and contemne.

But it maye be demaunded howe other sinnes are without the body, but by fornication we sinne agaynst our owne body. For we doubte not, but that he whiche is very angry, noyeth and augmenteth choler, whereby the body is not a litle hurte. Sickenes also doth very muche weaken the body: wherefore Salomon sayeth: A sad spirite dryeth vp the bones. Dronkennes also and gloteny doo hynder health, and doo in a manner vterly destroye the body: yea and enuious persons seeme also to sinne agaynst theyr owne bodyes: For thou shalt see them dryed, withered, and in a manner kylled with leannes. Howe can it be then, that other sinnes are without the body? Some saye, that fornicators doo sinne agaynst their owne body, because very oftentymes by hauyng fellowshyp with harlots they are infected with the pockes, & with leprosie. But let other say what they will, I rather thinke, ỹ the Apostle had a respect vnto those thynges which went before. For he had sayd, ỹ the fornicator is made one body, with the harlot: & he seemeth to sinne grieuously againste ỹ dignity of his body, which maketh it all one with ỹ most vyle & filthy body of an harlot. For if a kyng or prince should marry a wife of a base and obscure stocke, it would be said that he had contaminated his kinred. I know that there are some which thinke ỹ these wordes are spoken Hiperbolically, because there are found other sinnes also whiche do hurte the body, but this hurteth it most grieuously and most of all. A similitude.

The same *Paul* doth still go on and sayth: do ye not know, ỹ your bodyes are ỹ tẽple of the holy Ghost? And assuredly he which destroyeth the tẽple of God, God will destroy him. As though he should haue sayd: ye haue not your bodies of your selues, but of god. God hath made them his temple, and the holy ghost dwelleth in them. Ye are not your owne: Wherefore ye doo not a litle violate Iustice in contaminatyng an other mannes thyng. Ye are bought with a greate pryce,

wherefore glorify God in your body. These argumentes of Paul are both moste pleasaunt, and also most strōg, which if they satisfy not some, let him loke vpon our Samson. He was no idolatrer, no murtherer, no theefe, and yet is he taken, bound, his eyes put out, and is compelled to grinde in a prison, euen as if he had ben a foure footed beast.

Paul laboureth by many argumētes to proue whoredome is sinne. And no marvayle: because then he wrote vnto the Corinthians whiche at that tyme abounded aboue other in fornicatiōs. Wherof came the Prouerb, Nō quiuis Corinthū ꝟ is It is not for euery mā to go to Corinthus. And in vniuersal al ꝟ Ethnikes were in an ill opiniō touching this vice. For which cause, whē ꝟ Church was yet spring gyng (as Eusebius testifieth in his .3. booke of his hystory the .29. chap.) the Nicolaites did openly & manifestly commit fornication, & layd ꝟ custome of their wicked crime vpō Nicolaus ꝟ deacon: although Clemēs Bishop of Alexādria in Stromatis do excuse Nicolaus: For he sayeth, that he neither thought, nor taught any such thing. But hauing a very fayre woman to his wyfe, and therefore beyng thought to haue ben gelous ouer her, he brought her forth before the people and said: This is my wife. And ꝟ ye might vnderstand ꝟ I am not gelous ouer her, I am cōtēt for my part that any of you take her to wife. Which thing also he mēt, as farre as the law of God would suffer. But they which were afterward called Nicolaites, vnderstandyng his wordes peruersly, supposed ꝟ he thought ꝟ wyues among Christians ought to be cōmon. Of this Sect it is written in the Apocalips: But this thou hast, because thou hast hated ꝟ actes of the Nicolaites, whiche I haue hated. Wherefore it is no meruayle, though Paul tooke so great paynes to teache that whoredome is sinne.

Eusebius.

Clemēs Alexandrinus.

The hystory of Nicolaus the deacon.

Fornicatiō cōtrary to matrimony.

This wicked crime is contrary vnto matrimony. For they whiche haunte wandryng lustes and harlots, are farre from contracting of Matrimony. Wherfore Terence sayth: They which loue, can ill abide to haue a wife geuen thē. For whiche cause Clemens sayth: whoredome leadeth from one matrimony to many, that is from one lawful coniunction, to many vnlawfull & wicked. The Epistle to the Hebrues ioyneth fornicators whith aduoutrers, & testifieth that God will iudge them. And those two vices are so ioyned together, that they are comprehended in the selfe same precept, wherin it sayd: Thou shalt not commit aduoultry.

Clemens.

Fornication is repugnat vnto Christ & the publique wealth.

This pestilence also is repugnāt both vnto Charity & to the publique wealth: vnto charity vndoubtedly, because the fornicators do iniury vnto their children, whiche not beyng lawfully procreated, are scarsely at any tyme brought vp honestly & vertuously. And they hurt ꝟ publique wealth, because they defraud it of good Citizēs. For Mamzer, a bastard I say, & one borne in fornication, is prohibited to be receaued into the Church, not that he is restrayned from the holy cōmunion, or from the misteryes of saluation, but because it is not lawfull for him to gouerne the publique wealth, & to be numbred among Citizens. Some thinke ꝟ this euill may be remedyed, if a man should keepe a concubine at home. So, say they shall the yssue be certayn. It may be peraduenture certayne, but it shall not be legitimate. Seing therfore this wicked crime is both agaynst matrimony, and charity, & also the publique wealth, it cā not be denied but it is a sinne most grieuous. And for as much as it is so, why are fornications now a dayes openly suffred in Cityes? I speake not of the Ethnikes: I speake of Christians, and of those Christiās which wil alone seme & be called the successors of Christ. Whoredome or fornicatiō is most impudently maintayned in their dominion, they not onely willing therunto, but also taking a commodity & tribute therof. That whiche is against ꝟ word of God, against matrimony, against charity, against the publique wealth, is no sinne, or els it is a notable sinne. If it be sinne, why is it not taken away & weded out? But I know what they will bable, they bring forth Augustine, who in his booke de Ordine wryteth thus: Take away harlottes, and all thyngs shalbe filled wō filthy lustes. But let vs consider in what time Augustine

A Christiā magistrate ought not to suffer harlottes.

Augustine

wrote

wrote that booke. Undoubtedly when he was yet Catechumenus, and not sufficiently instructed in religion. And although he had not beene Catechumenus, yet thys his saying agreeth not with the word of God, neyther with Augustine himselfe, who in an other place affirmeth that the good which commeth of euil, as a recompensacion, is not to be admitted. Which thing also *Paule* hath taught to the Romaynes: euen as they were wont to say of vs: Let vs do euil thinges, ỹ therby may come good thinges, whose damnation is iust. We must neuer haue a regard to the end and euent, when we are urged by the commaundemente of god. Sometimes men say vnto vs: Unles thou committe sinne, this euill or that will succede. But we must aunswere, let vs do what god hath commaunded vs, he will haue a care of the successe. Neither is it meete, that one onely sentence of Augustine should be of greater authority, then so many reasõs which we haue brought, and so many most manifest wordes of God.

God commaunded absolutely and by expresse wordes, that there shoulde be no harlot in Israell. But some go about to wrest this place out of our handes, in sayinge that these hebrewe woordes Kadschah and Kedaschim signifieth not whores or harlots, but rather the prestes of Priapus, which were vowed or consecrated to thinges most filthy. I contrarily thinke that Chadschah signifieth an harlot, and Kedaschim, vnnaturall, and effeminate persons. God woulde haue neyther of these suffred among his people. But in that they obiect the holy seruices of Priapus, it is nothing. For it was sufficientlye before decreed touchinge idolatry: and what nede it agayn to be repeated? But that we may the more manifestly vnderstand that Kadschah signifieth a harlot, let vs reade the historye of *Iuda* and Thamar in the booke of Genesis, and there we shall see that *Louah* ỹ *Kadschah* are taken both for one and the selfe same thing. For which cause we must note that there are certayne woordes which maye be taken both in the good and euil parte: of which sort is this word Kadschah among the Hebrewes, which signifieth both holy and also an harlot: euen as among the lattines thys word sacrum that is holye, wherefore Virgill sayth Auri sacra fames that is the holy hunger of gold. This Hebrew word *Kadasch* is to prepare, or to be prepared. Wherof is deriued that word which signifieth an harlot, because such women are redy and setforth vnto all men, or els because they are wont to go trimly decked and paynted. Wherefore Clemens sayth, that the *Lacedemonians* permitted harlots to weare wroughte garmentes, fine apparel, and golde, whiche thinges were not lawfull for matrones to vse.

Certaine woordes are taken both in ỹ good and euill parte.

Virgil.

Clemens.

Now let vs see what followeth in Deut. And the hire of a whore shall not be brought into the sanctuary. Here again ỹ law calleth her Zanah, which before is called *Kadschah*. But thou wilt say: If the law would not haue harlots suffred, what neded it to haue forbidde their oblacions? what neded this law? they which say this, do seme indede to speake wittely, but yet they speake not sufficientlye. For outwarde nacions also sente giftes for ornamentes and vses of the temple. The Eunuch of the quene of Ethiope came to Ierusalem, to offer in the temple. The Macedonians and Romaines gaue yearelye oblations and sacrifices in the temple. Wherfore the law forbidderh, that if any thing be offred by straungers, that is gotten by the gayn of a harlot, the same should not be admitted into the sanctuary. Farther, god had commaunded that there shoulde not be harlots in Israell, but he knew that they would not obserue that law. For when the *Philistians*, Macedonians and Romaines raygned ouer them, they had harlots. Yea ỹ Christe maketh mention of harlottes and publicanes together. Wherefore god both right well first forbid that ther should be no whores among the Hebrewes. And afterward he ordeineth, that if by any chaunce there were any, their gayn should not be admited in to the sanctuarye. Which thing vndoubtedly he commaunded, because of the vilenes and filthinesse of the gaine. In the same place he addeth: The price also of a dogge shall not be brought into the sanctuarye, because that beast is filthy and vncleane.

Suetonius Hostiensis.

Caligula otherwise a filthy monster, commaunded (as Suetonius writeth) that harlotes and baudes should be openly punished. Of this thing Hostiensis writeth ridiculously. Harlots indede (sayth he) ar bound to pay and to offer, but the church can not nor ought not to receaue them. Yet the Glose doth much better decre in the decretals, dist. 90. chap. Oblationis, namely that nothing at al should be offred in the church, that is of the gain of an harlot. But priests and monkes when they feared leaste some of their profite shoulde departe, haue inuented an other reason. For although, saye they, the gaine of harlotes cannot be receaued for an oblacion, yet nothing letteth but that it maye bee receaued for almes. But by what meanes doth the Pope receaue the money of harlots? Not vndoubtedly, as an oblation, because he cānot: not as almes, bicause he is not poore. Wher fore thē must he nedes receaue it as a prynce. The lord would not haue this kind of money in his sanctuary: but the pope will haue it in hys treasury, & hath it: & getteth a wonderfull greate gaine by it. Whose vicar then is the Pope? Gods vicar? God refused such a gayn. What, is he Christs vicar? Christ neuer departed from the will of his father. Then must it consequently follow, that he is Antichrist, when as he doth teacheth and doth those thinges which are expressedlye & of purpose against the word of god and of Christ. But he wil say ꝑ he exacteth this mony as a prince. Let him then be prince. But I wil demaund, whither he be an euil prince or a good? For a good prince it is not lawful to depart from the lawes of God. Let him then be an euill prince, let him also be euen Caligula.

The Pope doth vnlawfully get gaine of harlottes.

Paraduenture he will aunswere, that in respect he is a prince, he doth according to the ciuil lawes, which do not take away harlots out of ꝯ dominiō of the Romaynes, yet rather they disdayne not to decree somethinge touchinge their price or reward. In the Digestes de Condictione ob turpem causam, in the law idem etsi: it is decreed, that there can be no requiring againe, if thou gene anye thing vnto an harlot. And there is a reason added: bycause although a harlot do filthily in that she is a harlot, yet she receaueth not filthily, in that she is a harlot. These wordes are darke, so that they may seme to be a riddle. Farther, in ꝯ digests in the title de donacionibus, in the law affectionis gratia, it is decreed, ꝯ it is lawful to geueas wel vnhonestly as honestly. It is lawful honestly to gene, as vnto parents, kinsefolks friends &c. Vnhonestly, as to harlots. But I would know, by what license that is lawful? Hath god geuen goodes vntō men, to cast them vpon harlots? But here they confesse there is some filthinesse: for although it be lawfull to gene, yet if thou haste promised anye thinge vnto an harlotte, thy obligatyon byndeth thee not, neyther canne the harlotte require thy promes, as it is had in the glose, in the title de donacionibus, in the lawe ea quæ. But there is a doubt, if she receaue not filthily, why is it not lawfull without filthines to require it? They aunswere, that that followeth not: bicause many thinges are taken honestly, which are not required honestly. And to that purpose there is cited the law .1. de variis & extraordinariis cognationibus. Wherfore the Pope will by the ciuill lawes not take awaye harlots, but receaue monye of them, which he seeth can not be suffred by the lawes of god. But here I will a little reason with him. Vndoubtedly he professeth that he is ruler ouer the ciuill lawes, and in very dede he hath altered manye of them, as thoughe he woulde amend them: when as yet he hath taken away the good, and for the most part hath set euill in theyr place. Why hath he not amended these lawes for the sufferinge of harlots, when as they ar against the law of God? Vndoubtedly the true cause why he hath not taken away the lawes of harlottes, is this, bicause it should be to muche hurtefull vnto the Popes treasorye. For at Rome they measure their lawes by profite, and not by honestye.

It is not lawfull to gene vn honestly.

But by what ciuill law do they receaue mony of harlots? They aunswer for

tribute

tribute. But why do they not rather say, for bawdry? Assuredly, if we will speake truely, Popes are not as touching this thing, otherwise then bawdes. Let them diligently marke the ciuil lawes, whereby they now go about to defende themselues, and ouer which they boast that they are rulers, and let them looke what they iudge of bawdry. In the Digestes de ritu nuptiarum, in the law palam it is thus written: He which hath bondewomen for gayne, and filthilye setteth them out, & is partaker of the gaine, the same committeth bawdry. Now I demaunde of these men in what condition they count the harlottes of Rome? For citizens? Nothing lesse. They count them therefore in a manner for bondewomen, and of them they make gaine, wherefore they are in a manner baudes. As much might be sayd concerning vsury. They suffer in their dominions Iewes which ar vsurers, and they take gayne of their vsury, euery yeare a certaine part, at the leaste the twēty part. Wherfore the Pope is not onely a baud, but also an vsurer. And that which I affirme of the Pope, let prophane princes also take heede, leaste the same may be saide of them also, which exercise this kind of gaine of the Iewes. To them vndoubtedlye agreeth that sayinge of Dauid: If thou sawest a theefe thou ranst with him, and thou didst put thy portion with adulterers.

What the lawes decre of bawdry

But they say ỳ these ar tributes. But in ỳ Code in ỳ title de vectigalibus & cōmensis, in the law ex prestatione, and in the lawe allegatis: Tribute is defined to be that which is payd for those things which are brought into the publike wealth from outward nacions. For they ar called in latte vectigalia, that is tributes, of this worde Vehere, which signifieth to cary. And the eight parte of euery thinge was paide in the name of a tribute, wherefore publicanes were called Octauarii of octaua parte, that is the .viii. part which they gathered. But what do harlots I praye you bring into the publike wealth? Vncleanes and filthy lustes, of which thinges the courtiers & sacrificers of the Pope do not gather the eight parte, but the whole. These thinges are called tributes and customes, which are taken of fieldes and landes, but what fields haue harlottes? What lands? None. Wherfore let thē cease to excuse a most filthy thing with an honest title. I know they will say, if harlots were suffred free and at liberty, they would more licentiously sinne. O godly kind of correction. Can harlots be by no other meanes restrained, but so? They shoulde rather decre that they shoulde not be in the citye, that they should haue filthy and darke houses, that they should cast away al the ornamēts of their body, that they should not come abroade openly, and shoulde be dishonested by some markes of filthines, that thereby they might be a mocking stock vnto all men. By this meanes peraduenture they might be reuoked into the right way. But now good God, how are they restrained? They haue moste gorgeous houses, they openly ride in Chariots, apparaled like princes, they ride vpō their fine ambling horses, they haue with them as fellowes, men decked with chaines and disguised, yea and sometimes Cardinals, especially in the night, and a most sumptuous flock of waiting maidens. Will they deny that these things ar true? Let graue and sincere men then, which haue at any time bene at Rome, shew whither the thinge be so or no. If they will not beleue me, I can bringe for witnesses Cardinals and Prelates of Rome.

What tribute is.

Octauarii.

The sumptuousnes of harlots of Rome.

*P*aulus.iii. once declared that he entended some reformation of the Church: & he committed the matter to Cardinals and Bishops, which were counted more pure thē other. And what they iudged, it is extant in the .3. volume of counsels. And they complain ỳ the power of harlots was greater at Rome, then it was any where els. But hath Paulus.iii. amēded this? In the Synod also of Trident ỳ clergy of Rome promised some great reformation. But they did it not, neither went they about any thing at al. Why do they not rather imitate and folow the lawes of Iustinian? He in is Authentikes, in the title de lenonibus, will haue har-

lots to be vterly thrust out of the city, and that if they promised any thing vnto bauds, they should not be bound to pay and accomplish the same. Yea rather, if they haue sworn to be harlots for a time, he absolueth them of their oth. These things these men dissemble, and suffer and maintaine harlots. Which thing yet ought not to be meruailed at. For, forasmuch as they do so diligently retain and encrease spirituall fornication of myndes, that is, superstition and idolatrye, why also should they not mayntaine fornication of the bodye? But seinge they toke away wiues from their sacrificers, it was a harde thinge, yea and impossible to want brothel houses. Iustinianus forowed, bicause he saw brothell houses nighe vnto the Churches of God, but now they dwell in the middest of cities, & not from the houses where holye seruices are ministred: and it nothinge greueth the Pope. But let the Lordes of those houses whiche the harlots dwell in, pleade their cause. But such houses pertaine for the most part vnto Bishops and churches, & they will say, we do not take part of the gain of a harlot, but as it is mete, we receaue rentes for our houses: which is not prohibited by the ciuill lawes. For in the Digestes (de petitione hæreditatis in the law Ancillaram) it is sayd, that brothell houses are occupied in the city rents of honest men. And in ỹ same title in the law possessor, it is ordeined, that if a mã haue vnhonest gaines, he should be compelled to restore thẽ, least an honest interpretacõ should bring profite vnto the possessor with an vnhonest gayne.

But bicause they will maintain it by lawes, why haue they not a respect vnto the interpretacion of those lawes? That is: If this kinde of gaine bee once eracted of harlots, that ought to be restored vnto the hire: otherwise it is not lawfull to require them. Neyther can contrariety of lawes be auoided by any other meanes. For these lawes should not agre with those of Iustinians, which ar had in the Authentikes de lenonibus & scenicis mulieribus. But let them marke I pray you the thinges which are had in the title de ritu nuptiarum, in the law palam, and in the title de iis qui notantur infamia, in the law Athletas, namely that that woman is infamous, whiche hath prostituted herselfe, and he also which is partaker of the gaine. And that vniuersally al bawdes are infamous. Let vs also (which is of much more weight) haue a regard to the wordes of god which cõmaundeth: Be ye holy, bicause I am holy. What do we gather by these woordes That ỹ is not to be suffred among Christiãs, wherby men are made infamous: wherefore take away baudes and harlots, for asmuch as these kinde of persons ar by the testimonie of the ciuil lawes noted infamous. But they wil say: Men fall very oftentimes, and sometimes cõmit those thinges wherby they are made infamous. I graunt that, yet is not this to be borne withall, wherby wil or nill they, they ar made infamous. But thoughe they had a thousand ciuil lawes on their side, yet ought we more to esteme the worde of God. Ierome speakinge of thys thynge, writeth verye well in hys Epitaphe of Fabiola: Ciuill lawes sayth he, are not so diligentlye to be cited. Pampinianus writeth one thing, and Paule an other. And before Ierome, Tertulliane de anima: Brothel houses (sayth he) are erecrable before God.

Ierome.

Tertulliane

But if they shoulde be suffred, saye they, there is some hope of their conuersion. For Christ sayth: Harlots and publicanes shal go before you in the kingedome of god. But let them tel me, whither they can by no other meanes be reuoked into the right way, then to be borne withal? It is true indede that Christ sayd: Harlots and publicanes shall go before you in the kingdome of God. But he vnderstandeth not harlots as long as they be harlots and ar not conuerted. For what cause then is it said that they shal go before the Phareseis & Scribes in the kingdom of God bicause they being conuerted, do acknowledge and bewaile their sinnes: but the Phariseis & Scribes regarded not their wicked actes, but would seme to be more holy. If harlots should be suffred bicause they may be conuerted, then shal ther be no sinne so greuous which ought to be punished: for

How harlots do go before the Scribes and Phareseis in the kingdome of heauen.

for there is none so farre past grace, but there is some hope that he may be reuoked into the right way: and so al lawes shall sleepe.

They adde moreouer: God hath prohibited harlots, as it is had in Deut. which yet were afterward suffred. For Salamon gaue iudgement betwene twoo harlots. First I answer, that it is not certaine that they were harlots, for as muche as this word Zonah signifieth also her that keepeth a bitling house, and one also which getteth her liuing by sundry kinde of gaine. Farther, though they wer harlots, yet is it a friuolous and most weake argument. For wee must not reason from that which is done, to that which ought to be done. God in deede prohibited harlots, but afterward discipline quailed, and many things were cõmitted against the law. But we ought to haue a regard not to that which is done, but to that which God hath cõmaunded to be done: otherwise if we will liue according to examples, there are euil examples inough euery where. For Popes and Cardinals doo not onely suffer harlots, but also keepe them themselues, as thinges most dainty. Neither are they afearde of the Canons which decree that Priestes for whoredomes should be deposed, in the distinction. 82. chap. Presbyter, when as yet the glose saith there: Now adaies no man is deposed for whoredome. The same is had in the second question. 7. chap. Lator. The Apostle excludeth whoremongers from the kingdome of God. But these exclude them not from the Church, neither thinke they, that they ought to be deposed. But that is no maruaile, for as muche as they say that the Bishop may dispense with aduoutries, and other light crimes, as it is had Extra. de Iudiciis in the law At Clerici, they are the wordes of Alexander. 3. wherby it appeareth, that these men count aduoutries for crimes very light. Why ought we then to depende on their examples. Philo a Iew saith, that in the publike welth of the Iewes, harlots could not be suffred. For al when they came to ripe age, ought of necessity eyther to be husbandes or wiues. Widowes in deede ther wer some, but yet wel growen in yeares, and of an approued incontinency. This example should we followe, namely of such an holy publik welth, & not the example of the papisticall court. When I was on a time at Rome, I remembred a wittye saying of Crates. He when he came to Delphos, and sawe in the temple of Apollo a golden ymage of Phrynis a very notable harlot, cryed out: Beholde a token of the wantonnes of the Grecians. So I, considering there suche sumptuous harlots, and so gorgiously appareled, said: Behold a token of the wantonnes of the bishop of Romes Prelates. But let vs leaue them, and go on with the wordes of God, and the reasons brought from thence.

In the tyme of Salomon there wer harlots in Israel.

Aduoutries are counted of the Papistes very light crimes.

Philo.

An Apothegma of Crates.

Basilius (in his first booke vpon the Psalmes, expounding these wordes: And hath not sytten in the chaire of pestilence) writeth very wel. Whoredome (saythe he) staieth not in one man, but inuadeth a whole City. For some one yong man cõmeth vnto an harlot, and taketh vnto himself a fellow, and the same felow also taketh an other fellow. Wherefore euen as fire being kindled in a City, if the winde blow vehemently, staieth not in the burnyng of one house or twoo, but spreadeth far and wyde, and draweth a great destruction with it: so this euyl, being once kindled, spreadeth ouer al the partes of the City. Ambrose also wisely writeth vpon the. 119. Psalme, alledging the wordes of the. vi. chap. of the Prouerbes: who can noorishe burning coales in his bosome, and not bee burnt? who saith he, can thinke that harlots can be noorished in a City, and yong men not be corrupted with whoredome? And so may we aptly turne that sentence of saint Augustine cleane contrarelye: If thou take awaye harlots, thou shalte fyll all thinges with filthy lustes. Not so, but rather contrarily: Noorishe harlots, and thou shalt fyl al thinges with filthy lustes.

Basilius.

A similitude.

Ambrose.

The sentence of Augustine inuerted.

They obiect againe, that the good which commeth of euil, is a recompensation, and they wil haue brothel houses to be suffered, least violence shoulde be offered vnto honest Matrons. I haue answered before, that euil thinges are not to

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be done, that good thinges should ensue. Yea, but (saye they) God himselfe hath ordained that the good which cõmeth of euil, is a recompensation. For because of the hardnes of hart of the Hebrues, that they should not folow greater euils, he graunted them the booke of diuorcement. But these men ought to remẽber, that we must not cal God vnto iudgemẽt, neither is it lawful to require of him a reason of his lawes. Wherfore it is no firme conclusion, God did so, therefore it is lawful for vs to doo the like. We must not looke what God hath done, but what he hath commaunded vs to doo. But as concerning diuorcement, we shal haue occasion in an other place to speake therof. God saw that hatred ofte tymes happeneth betweene man and wife, and daunger of committing murther, which thing rather then it should happen, he graunted the booke of diuorcement. But it is a false argument, God gaue the booke of diuorcement, therfore it is lawful for vs to keepe bothe houses.

It is not lawful al waies to reason by the example of God.

To the reasons of the aduersaries. To the first.

Now resteth to confute the reasons of the aduersaries. First they said, whoredome is in the actes of the Apostles nũbred among those thinges, which of their own nature are not euil, as blood, thinges strangled, and thinges dedicated vnto Idoles. For there is no creature of God euil, which is receaued with thankes geuing. Wherfore fornication is no syn, seing it is reckoned with those things. But this is a weake reason, for these thinges are not reckoned of the Apostles, that in them shoulde be like reason of fault, but because that all those thinges, if they shoulde haue bene vsed, would at ỳ tyme haue distur bed the Churche. The Iewes by the custome of their law, abstained from blood, and that whyche was strangled: and the Ethnikes made nothing of whoredome. Wherefore, that peace should be had among them all, they decreed that they al shoulde abstayne from these thinges, wherby it followeth not, that al these thinges are like sins, but rather this we may inferre, that all these thinges were an occasion of disturbing the Churche.

To the second.

Farther, they obiected that God commaundeth not sinnes, but he commaunded Hosea the Prophet to haue fellowship with an harlot. I aunswer: Euery

What is the proper nature of synne.

synne, is in that respect synne, because it is against the word of God. But if God commaund any thing to be done priuately, which otherwise disagreeth with the word written, the same vndoubtedly is not sinne, because vniuersally it repugneth not with the word of God: for although it disagreeth with the word written, yet it disagreeth not with the word priuately reuealed. It is synne to take away an other mans good. But God, when the Hebrues shoulde depart oute of Egipt, commaunded that they should borowe stuffe and syluer vessels of the Egiptians, and take them away with them, which thing they did without sinne. No man doubteth also but that murther is synne, and yet Abraham, if he had sacrificed his sonne at the commaundement of God, which he was ready to doo, had not synned. So may we say of Hoseas the prophet: If he committed whoredome at the commaundement of God, his whoredome was no synne. I knowe there are some which thinke that Hoseas was not cõmaunded to cõmit whoredome, but to take a harlot to his wife, but that agreeth not: for it followeth, and thou shalt beget of her children of fornication. Children gotten after that maner, namely of a lawful wife, should not haue bene children of fornication. Ierome doth better interprete these thinges Hiperbolically, and saith, that by this

Ierome.

image was expressed the wickednes of the Iewes, which had forsaken god their common husband, and had committed fornication with the Idoles of the Gentiles, and had begotten vnlawfull and bastard children, as touching the worshipping and religion of God.

Furthermore, that is false which they alledge, namely that whoredome is

To the third.

neither against religion, nor charitye. For we haue before declared that it is otherwise, neither is it needful here to repeate that which we haue sayd.

To the fourth.

They bring Augustine also whiche sayth, what meate is vnto the body, that

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is accompanieng together for procreation, but to eate or drinke a litle more then is needeth, is not a grieuous synne: therefore neither is fornication also. A similitude is not take to agree in euery part, but serueth onely for that part for which it is taken. And vndoubtedly, he which eateth or drinketh more then he ought, doth not straightway loose the health of his body, but he which frequenteth incarnal fellowship, and committeth whoredome, may easelye straightwaye beget a childe, vnto whom he doth iniury, because throughe his fault he is borne a Bastard. Farther, there succeedeth euyl education, and so charity is hurt. I myghte say also, euen as euyl and hurtful meate destroyeth the bodye (yea Adam by eating of the prohibited aple corrupted his posteritye) so whoredome killeth the soule. Lastly, that which they alleaged, namely that fornication is therefore no sinne, because it cānot be so iudged by the light of nature, that I say is nothing. For the preceptes of God are knowen to bee iust of nature, but yet of a nature vncorrupt and perfect: when as a corrupt nature doth often times allow sinnes for vertues. For with the Lacedemonians theft was praised, and as Thucydides writeth among the auncient Grecians piracy was counted a vertue. Farthermore it followeth that the preceptes of god may by nature be knowen to be iust and honest, but yet of a nature instructed and formed by the woord of god, other wise as Paul testifieth: The carnal man knoweth not the thinges whiche are of god. But now let vs returne to the history. To the lyke. *Thucydides.*

21 Therefore the Philistines tooke him, and put out his eyes, and brought him downe to Azzah, and bound hym wyth fetters: and he did grinde in the pryson house.

22 And the heare of his head beganne to growe agayne, after that it was shauen.

23 Then the Princes of the Philistines gathered them together to offer a great sacrifice vnto Dagon their God, and to reioyce. For they sayd: Our God hath deliuered Samson our enemye into oure handes.

24 Also when the people sawe him, they praised their God: for they sayd, our God hath deliuered into our handes our enemye, and destroyer of our countrey, whych hath slayne many of vs.

25 And when their hartes were mery, they said: cal Samson, that he maye make vs pastime. So they called Samson out of hys prison house, and he was a laughing stocke vnto them, and they sette hym betwene the pyllers.

26 Then Samson sayde vnto the seruaunt that ledde hym by the hande: leade me that I may touche the pyllers that the house standeth vpon, and that I may leane to them.

27 (Now the house was full of men and women, and there were al the Princes of the Philistines: also vpō the roofe wer about three thousand men and women, that beheld whyle Samson played.)

28 Then Samson called vnto the Lord, and sayde: O God I beseeche thee strengthen me at this tyme onely, that I may be at once auenged of the Philistines for my two eyes.

29 And Samson layde holde on the two myddle pyllers, whereupon the house stoode, and on whiche it was borne vppe: on the one wyth hys ryght hand, and on the other with hys left.

30 Then sayd Samson: Let me lose my lyfe with the Philistines: and he bowed hym wyth al hys myght, and the house fell vpon the Princes,

Princes, and vpon all the people that were therein. So the deade which he slewe at hys death, were mo then they whyche hee hadde slayne in hys lyfe.

31 Then hys brethren, and all the house of hys father came downe and tooke hym, and brought hym vp, and buryed hym betwene Zorah and Esthaol, in the Sepulchre of Manoah hys father: nowe he had iudged Israel twenty yeares.

When Samson was kept in prison, hys heare in the meane time grew to the same length that it was before it was shauen by the harlot. God at the length tooke vengeaunce of the Philistines, when yet he had first begone at hys owne house. For Samson for his synne, came into the power of hys enemyes, and hys eyes being put out, he was compelled to grinde in prison, and was vtterly made a mocking stocke. Howbeit the wicked Philistines in the meane tyme escaped not vnpunished. Thus God vseth to doo, first to punish his owne, before he afflict straungers. Physitions also, when a man hath taken poyson, haue thys as their chiefe care, to driue away the poyson from the hart, from the lyuer, and other principal partes of the body, then they apply medicines vnto the other mēbers of the body. So also the good man of the house first instructeth and chastiseth his chyldren, and afterwarde he instructeth other. Wherfore Paul wryteth of a Bishop: If he cannot wel gouerne his owne family, how shall hee gouerne the church of God? Wherfore it is no maruayle if god chastised Samson first, & afterward grieuously afflicted the Philistines. But in that it is writtē that his heare was growen againe, we must not beleue ỹ hys strength lay in hys heare, for it was a gift of god geuen him freely, but yet God required, that for that gift he should be a Nazarite: vnto which it belonged, to let the heare growe, and not to cut it with a rasor. But if a man had transgressed, he did not therfore straight way cease to be a Nazarite, but ought to let his heare grow, and be clensed, and so begyn againe his institution, which he tooke in hand. Wherefore Samson repented that he had violated his vow, and returned to the rule of a Nazarite, and when his heare was growen, and he restored both vnto god, and to his olde state and strength, being assured of the helpe of god, he tooke vengeaunce of hys enemyes.

The custom of God in punishing.

Similitude.

The vowe of the Nazarites being violated, was renewed.

In the meane time the Philistines ascribe their victory against Samson, vnto their god Dagon. But what this god was, it is not very wel knowen. Howbeit as farre as may be iudged by the Etimology of the woorde, it was some god of the sea. For Dag in hebrew signifieth a fysshe. And that both the Grecians and the Latines worshipped gods of the sea, it is certayne. For they had Neptune, Leucothea, and Triton. Aboue the belly (as they say) it had the forme of a man, & downward it ended in the forme of a fysshe. Suche a god worshipped the Philistines. And vndoubtedly the old Ethnikes synned grieuously therin, in that they wouldе rather serue the creature (as Paul sayth) then the creator, and chaunged the glory of the immortal God, and transferred it, not onely into the similitude fashioned like a mortal man, but also into the images of birdes, fourefooted beastes, and Serpentes or creeping thinges. Neither did they onely worshyp those things, which ar in nature, but also they fained vnto thē selues Monsters, which appeare no where. Such gods in a maner do heretikes worshyp. For they doo set before them selues some shape and head of God, when they confesse that they beleue in God the creator of heauen & earth. But when farther they adde their owne thoughtes and fansies, they make the inferiour part to ende in a fithe. Of this Dagon there is manifest mencion made in the first booke of Samuel. The Philistines extolled their Dagon, because he had deliuered their ennemye into their handes: whiche was nothing els, then to blaspheme the name of the true God.

What Dagon was.

Gods of the sea

What maner of thinges the Gods of heretikes are.

God. For they attributed his woorkes vnto an idole. Neither considered they that Samson was therfore taken, bicause he had sinned against God. Wherfore our synnes are a cause, why God is blasphemed: for when by reason of them we are destitute of the helpe of God, our enemies, whiche get the victorye against vs, doo ascribe the same, both vnto their owne strengthes, and to their superstitions.

Horrible examples of blasphemies.

So happened it in the conquerynge of Constantinople, where the Turkes when they had gotten the city, caried about in derision the image of Christ, clothed with the apparel of the Turkes, throughout al the host, and throughout all the wayes of the City. And not many yeares ago, when the Emperour Charles the first lost a great nauy, and many souldiours at Argery, I remember I hearde some soldiours say, that Christ our sauiour was now become a Pahomitan or Poore, neither considered they that they them selues wer become farre woorse then the Mahomites. So the name of God is mocked for our synnes. Wherefore holy men were wont not without a cause thus to pray, and to implore mercye, that the name of God should not be euil spoken of among the Gentiles. So dealt Moses with God, when he was angry with the people, for making the golden Calfe. The Prophets also sayd: Be mercyful vnto vs Lord for thine own sake, and for thine names sake, least the nacions say, wher is their God: Let vs in the meane time, when we heare or reade these thinges, thus thincke with our selues: Seing God hath for synne so grieuously afflicted Samson, so great a man, sanctified from his mothers wombe, and appointed to deliuer Israel: what shall become of vs if we synne? So Paul to the Corrinthians in his first Epistle, setteth foorth vnto vs the examples of the Israelites to consider, whom God sundry wayes chastised. And to the Romanes he sayth: If he hath not spared the natural braunches, take heede that he spare not thee. Marke the goodnes and seuerity of God: his seuerity on those which haue fallen, and his goodnes in thee, if thou abide in goodnes: otherwise thou also shalt be cut of. Wherefore by these cogitacions we may take fruite by the punishment of other.

How holy men called vpō god in tribulacions

What is the fruit of holy histories.

For this vse are examples set foorth vnto the Churche, that we in readyng them should become better. Paule sayde: what soeuer thinges are before wrytten, are written for our learning, that wee throughe patience and consolacion of the scriptures should haue hope. Wherefore when we reade that holye men were so corrected, we ought to tremble, least we also fall into the lyke anger of God. If we doo not take suche fruite by reading of the holy scriptures, we then reade them in vayne.

The Philistines geue thankes vnto Dagon their God for the victorye. So were they delyuered vp into a reprobate sense, to geue thankes for those thinges, for which they ought most of all to haue bene sory. For how obtayned they Samson: By the artes of an harlot, and by most fylthye deceate. After sacrifices followeth a verye sumptuous banquet. For in those holye seruices of Idoles, was set foorth a certaine communion, that the people in that feast, should reioyce together with a certaine common ioy.

To what ende the Supper of the Lorde was instituted.

So also in the olde Testament the Israelites in their peaceofferinges feasted and reioyced together before the Lord. Neyther is it vnlykely, but that the Fathers also before the law, had suche holy seruices and solemnities. Christ also our Sauiour instituted a Communion and holye Supper, that wee should there celebrate hys name and healthfull death. But in the Sacrifices of Idols, all thynges were ordayned for ryot and pleasure, and they seldome departed from thence without fylthy lustes or murther, as at thys daye doo the Papistes in consecrations of their Churches, after Masse they celebrate a feast, afterward they fall to daunceyng and wanton leapinges: whereby oftentymes they fall together by the eares.

The Philistines assembled together aboue three thousande men, and at the length commaunde that Samson shoulde be brought before them, a man miserable, bounde, and blynde. When they had with so many iniuries not sufficiently fulfylled their hatred, they woulde moreouer make hym a mocking stocke. These thinges were farre more bytter, then if they had put him to death. For as Iosephus writeth in thys place: Death is naturall, and maye after a sorte bee suffered: but for as muche as to bee made a mocking stocke, hath reproche and contumely ioyned with it, that seemeth not possible to be borne wythall. It is a thing very cruell to adde affliction vnto the afflicted. Wherefore, although God seemed to haue smytten Samson, they oughte to haue bene touched wyth some mercye towardes hym, neyther must we be molestious vnto them that are smytten by God, as thoughe we woulde imitate God. Wherefore Amos the Prophet writeth: For three transgressions of Edom, & for the fourth I wyl not be turned. For when the Iewes were dryuen and banished oute of theyr owne countrey, and had escaped to their borders, they handled them moste cruellye. Thys thyng, sayth God by the Prophet, bee wyll not leaue vnpunished. For although the Iewes were for their desertes afflicted of God, yet it was not the duty of neighbours to heape more iniuries vpon the afflicted.

Iosephus.

Dauid in hys hundreth and nyne Psalme curseth hym which shoulde persecute him, whom the Lord hath stricken. Set thou (sayth he) the synner ouer him, and let Sathan stande at hys right hand. When hee is iudged, let hym go oute condemned, and let hys prayers be turned into synne. Let hys dayes bee fewe, and let an other take hys charge. Bycause he remembred not to shewe mercye: but persecuted the afflicted and poore man, and the sorrowful harted to kill him.

A cruel maner towarde those which haue suffred shypwracke

These thynges we reade, and contemne them, and it is horrible to see the maner in certayne regions, for if any that hath suffered shypwracke escape to the shore, theyr goods, if peraduenture they bee cast on lande, are made forfayte. What other thyng is thys, then to adde affliction to the afflicted?

Howe Samson was reconciled vnto God.

Samson beyng brought before them, declareth by the successe, howe deare he was to God. Not that the sufferaunce of the person had purged hys synnes, it is Christ onelye whych purgeth synnes. Not that by pacience or anye other vertue he had deserued the mercye of God: awaye wyth all consideracion of desert. But in person he acknowledged hys synne, hee beleued truelye in Christe, and as it becommeth a godlye man, hee repented, and that so muche the more, howe muche greater the calamitye was, wherewith he was oppressed. Wherefore being endued wyth fayth, whereby he tooke holde of the mercye of God by Christ, he was reconsiled vnto God. And that he had fayth, manifestlye appeareth by that, which he prayed. How (sayth *Paul*) did they cal vpon god, in whom they beleued not? And in the Epistle to the Hebrues, Samson is numbred amõg them, which being excellent in fayth, wrought wonderful thinges.

Samson is proued to haue had fayth.

And he sayd vnto the Ladde: leade me vnto the pyller. As thoughe he had bene wearye, hee made as though hee woulde haue leaned to the pyller. There were there al the princes of the Philistines. They were assembled thether bycause god had appointed to take punishmẽt of them al together. And Samson prayed: Remember me Lord. These prayers at the fyrste syght seeme not verye godly. For he prayeth to haue vengeaunce graunted him of his enemies, bicause they had put out both his eyes. Undoubtedly if he did it of a stomake or choler, we could not iustly defend his prayers. For he should haue bene no more allowed of god, then if he should erpressedly haue sayd: I pray thee Lorde, prosper eyther my theft, or my aduoutry. Augustine sayth that Samson dyd these thinges, not of his owne wyl, but by the impulsion & counsell of the holy ghost. Farther, (as I haue often admonished) wee muste not thynke of Samson as of a priuate man, but as of a Magistrate, whom God hym selfe had appoynted.

In what maner Samson prayed.

Augustine.

And

And in deede as a priuate man, it was not lawfull for him to reuenge his owne iniuries: but as a Magistrate, he both might & ought. If we haue in hand a priuate cause, that saying of Paul ought to be of force: Geue place vnto anger. To me belongeth vengeaunce, & I will render, saith the Lord. But in a publike cause the Magistrate ought by the commaundement and authority of God to auenge iniury: bicause he is gods vicar in earth: and god himselfe, although often times he take vengeaunce of synnes by himselfe, and as it is sayde without meanes, yet for the most part he punisheth by Magistrates. Wherefore those wordes: To me belongeth vengeaunce, and I wyl render, doo not let the seueritye of Magistrates, wherby they punish the guilty. For they are the Ministers of God: and that which they do, God himselfe doth by them.

God communicateth many of hys properties vnto men.

By the same maner of speeche it is sayd vnder the person of God: Equity is mine, iudgement is mine, and power is mine: all which thinges yet he communicateth wyth men, vpon whom bee bestoweth them. Wherefore God commaunded Samson to reuenge the iniuries of eyther, namely of the name of God and his owne: for as muche as the Philistines had put out hys eyes. But for what cause? What, bicause he had committed whoredome? No vndoubtedlye: but bicause he was an Israelite, a deliuerer and reuenger of the people of God. Wherefore Samson auengeth either iniurye, both that whiche the Philistines had done vnto hym selfe, and that which they had done vnto God. When he calleth vpon God, he prayeth hym to prosper hys vocation. And suche prayers are woont to be of most efficaye. For what other thyng dyd the Apostles and other brethren pray for (as it is wrytten in the Actes of the Apostles the fourth chapter) then that God would prosper their vocation and office? Geue vnto thy seruauntes (sayde they) not to regarde their threatninges, graunt them boldlye to speake thy woorde. Streche forth thine hande, that they mays woorke sygnes. If a man will say, the sygnes of the Apostles were profitable and healthful, bycause they deliuered and healed the afflicted. But contrarilye the signe of Samson tended to the slaughter of his enemies. Wherefore there is not in them both one consideration: I answer, that often times it happeneth so, but yet the signes of the Apostles also were sometimes hurtful. For Paul made Elimas the Cunnuter blynde, and sayd: Thou Sonne of the Deuyl, why peruertest thou the right wayes of the Lord? Beholde the hand of the Lord is ouer thee, and thou shalt be blynde, and shalt not see. *Peter* also wyth hys woorde slewe Ananias and Saphira. Yea and Paule deliuered manye vnto Sathan. Wherefore *Samson* prayeth vnto God to make fortunate, and to helpe his ministery.

For what cause the Philistines afflicted Samson.

The sygnes of the Apostles did not alwaies heale.

Similitudes.

Neyther can it be properlye sayde that *Samson* kylled himselfe. He dyed in deede, but he prescribed not vnto hymselfe this ende, namely to dye. But sought vengeaunce of hys enemies, which he vnderstoode woulde by this meanes ensue. The Apostles also dyd thus make reckonyng wyth themselues: If as wee haue begonne we teache vnto the people the kingdome of Christ, vndoubtedly we shall bee kylled: and in that they went on wyth their purpose to teache the Gospell, it cannot be iustly sayd, that they kylled them selues. *Paule* also, when hee shoulde go vnto Ierusalem, and Agabus the Prophet tolde hym, that the Iewes woulde bynde hym at Ierusalem, what dyd hee when hee hearde these thinges? Dyd he forsake hys vocation? No verely. But rather affirmed that hee was ready both to be bounde, and to dye for Christ. So sayth *Samson*: Let my soule dye wyth the Philistians. He dyd not rashely incurre death, but followeth hys vocation. Souldiours when they go on warrefare, if a man peraduenture say vnto them: ye shall be slayne wyth gunnes, or wyth the swoorde, or wyth arrowes. They wyll answere, if they be men of valiaunt courage: we seeke not death but victorye, or we follow the defence of our owne thynges, whereunto we are called.

Samson killed not hymselfe.

Similitudes.

But as touching Samson, God gouerned him by his spirite. Wherefore when he dyed, he slewe more of the Philistines then he did before while he lyued. What fruite therefore had the Philistines by their deceite and treason? They bought to them selues death, and present destruction. And euen as to them that loue god al thinges worke to good, so to the aduersaries and enemies of God, al things are turned to their destruction.

The difference betwene the death of ỹ Philistines and of Samson.

Samson dyeth together with the Philistines, but the ende and maner is far diuers. For they dye in their wanton behauiour, cruelty, and idolatrye, but thys Samson in fayth, and calling vpon the true God. But as touching the matter it selfe, the resurrection were to either of them alyke. Wherefore Salomon admonisheth vs most wisely, that wee muste not measure the godlynes of men by outward thinges, bicause they happen alyke, both to the godlye, and to the vngodly. That Samson dyed in the fayth, hereby it appeareth, bicause euen in the very destruction he called vpon God, and was heard, and bycause God restored vnto him hys old strength. But they which are in the flesh, can not please God: neyther can God be rightly called vpon, vnlesse fayth thyne before. Howe shall they cal vpon hym sayth the Apostle, in whom they haue not beleeued? And bycause he was heard, he prayed by the inspiration of the spirite. For wee knowe not what we shoulde praye. Therefore the spirite doth with vnspeakeable sighinges praye for vs.

A moste profytable admonicion of Salomon

Samson had before fallen, he turneth vnto god, & he heareth hym. So let vs al so, when we haue sometimes sinned, returne vnto God, & faithfully cal vpō him, & we shal be heard. For he is the same god that he was then, ryche vnto al those that cal vpon him: that which he did vnto him, he will do alsi vnto vs. Ambrose vpon this place writeth, that Samson was so heard of God, that he lost his eyes triumphantly, and he did not onely ouercome the Philistines, but also hymself: for he represented the image of Christ, who although while he lyued, exceedingly hurted the diuel, yet when he dyed, he vtterly triumphed ouer hym. The Philistines when they ouercame Samson, got vnto them selues moste certayne destruction: So the Iewes, when they crucified Christ, threwe them selues into euerlasting condemnacion. And, which is to be marueiled at, the Philistines with this so great and so soudaine destruction, were so amased, that they suffered the kinsfolkes of Samson to come, and honorably to bury him. For when the Princes were perished, the courages of the people were daunted, neither durst they attempt any thing against the Hebrewes. This place seemeth here to require a disputacion, whither it be lawful for any man, for any cause, to kyll hymselfe. But bicause we shall haue a place more oppoꝛtune for it, at this present I will ompt it, and wyl in an other place fully write thereof.

Ambrose.

Samson is a figure of Christ.

The xvii. Chapter.

1 There was a man of mount Ephraim, whose name was Michaiehu.

2 And he sayd vnto hys mother: The eleuen hundreth peeces of syluer that were taken fro thee, for the which thou cursedst, and spakest it in myne hearing, behold the syluer is with me, I tooke it. Then his mother sayde: blessed be thou my sonne of the Lorde.

3 And when hee had restored the eleuen hundreth peeces of syluer to hys mother, hys mother sayde: I had dedicated the syluer to the Lord, of myne owne hand for my sonne, to make a grauen and molten image. Now therefore I wyl geue it thee againe.

4 And

4 And when he had restored the mony vnto his mother, his mother toke two hundreth peeces of siluer, and gaue them to the goldsmith, whych made thereof a grauen and molten image, and it was in the house of Michaiehu.

5 And this man Micha had a house of God, & he made an Ephode, and Theraphim, & consecrated the hand of one of his sonnes, and he was his priest.

6 In those dayes there was no kinge in Israell, but euery man did that, which was good in his owne eies.

When thys history happened

First I think good to enquire in this history cõcerning ẏ time wherin these thinges happened. For al men do not aunswere a like vnto this question. The elder Rabbines do thinke, that this was done, when Iosua was olde, and hee not able for age to execute hys office, neyther was there anye other Magistrate substituted in his place. But this is not verye likely, because wee reade that in all his time the Israelites worshipped God rightly and orderlye, and that he in the latter time of his life, renued the couenant of god with the people. Other thinke that they were done after Iosuas death, when Othoniell gouerned. This sentence R. Selomoh defendeth. The sonne of Gerson thinketh that this happened vnder Eglon kinge of Moab, whome Ehud afterward slewe. But this also can not be proued, for in the x. chap. of this boke it is written, that the people cried vnto the Lord when they were oppressed of theyr enemies. And that Iiphtah was stirred vp by the spirite to bear rule. But before God aunsweareth thē very sharpely. For he sayd: I will not helpe you, because you alwayes returne vnto your Idoles, and forsake me. But rather cal vpon your gods let them helpe you. Which words when the people heard, they repented, & put away frō them their idols which they had made. But this idole which is now spokē of, indured to the time of Samuel: Wherfore it cānot seme probable that it was done at that time. The order of the holy scriptures is of most high authority wt me, and therfore I thinke ẏ these things happened after the death of Sāson. Forasmuch as frō that time euen to Heli there wer many yeares passed, wherin ẏ Philistians possessed ẏ land of the Iewes, neither suffred they any magistrate to be ouer thē. Iosephus agreeth with the Rabbines, but he is many times deceued. Wherfore it shalbe best to follow that opinion, which agreeth with the simple order of the holy history.

It is not to be ascribed vnto ẏ time of Iosua.

R. Selomoh.

Leui ben Gerson.

These thinges seme to haue happened after the deathe of Samson.

Iosephus.

Howbeit ther is one thing which semeth to be a let, namely if a man rekē the yeares frō Samsō vnto Saul, he shal find thē to be scarse. 60. or at ẏ most. 70. And whē as by reasō of ẏ filthy whoredom ẏ tribe of Beniamin was almost brought to nothing, and they which remained of it, had no wiues, but those which they got by violence: how could it be, that in so short a time it should so much encrease, ẏ Saule was out of that tribe chosen a king? This argumēt hath a certain shew, but it is not firme nor sound inough if a man more deligentlye examine it. For although there were but a fewe remaynynge of that tribe, yet were they not so few, but they mought very much multiply. For there escaped sixe hundreth mē of warre, who had wiues geuen them partly of the men of Iabes Gilead, and partly by violence. And sixe hundreth men wer able in the space of. 60. or. 70. yeares to beget a great ysshue, and to se theyr childrens children. They could not indede be so many as to be equall with the other tribes, but yet they might encrease to a sufficient number.

In obiection.

But that is farre more harde whyche is obiected concernynge Finhas, namelye that hee remayned on lyue euen to the tyme of the warres of the

In other obiection.

Beniamites. Whiche if it be so, then muste he be at that time 300. yeares of age Therefore some thinke that it is more commodious to drawe backe this historye vnto the beginninge of the Iudges. But I see not what should let, but that god might permit him to liue so longe. For when he had slaine a prince of Israell & a Madianitish woman, when they were committing whoredome, god graunted him not onely to succede his father in the priesthode, but also gaue him very long to liue. But vndoubtedly I chiefely allow the order and course of the historye, from which vnlesse great necessity vrge, I will not depart. And in this sentence I follow the iudgement of Dauid Kimhi, whose authority in expounding of the texte I thinke is not to bee contemned. Yea and all the Hebrewes in a manner agree in this, that Pinhas liued a very long time, and there are some which produce his age euen vnto the time of Elias the Prophete. Vnto whome I doo not agree, because no necessity compelleth me therunto. Howbeit as cõcerning this thinge I will not much striue: But I leaue it free to euery willing mind to follow which opinion he will.

D. Kimhi.

And in this historye first I marke the institution of idolatry, then the consecration of a priest, which was twise doone. For firste Micha instituted his sonne a priest: and then when by chaunce he met with a Leuite, he made him a priest. But wherefore was this doone made? For her vowes sake. For the promise of ỹ mother of Micha was not simple, but w̃ a vow. And a vow (as al deuines affirme) is a holy promise made to God of thinges which are ours. Wherefore it muste nedes be that this woman was a widow, with whome paraduenture her sonne dwelled. For if she had beene a wife, or a maiden vnmaried, or a widowe in the house of her father, shee coulde not haue vowed a firme vowe, as it manifestly appeareth by the booke of Numb. Those persons might not vowe without the consent of their father or husbãd. For the law ordeined that if they wer against it, the vow should then be voide. Hanna did in dede vowe in the firste of Samuell, but we muste beleue that Helkana her husbande confirmed her vowe. This woman sinned, not because shee vowed, but because shee vowed a thinge vngodlye, namely, an idole. For it was at that time lawefull for anye to vowe anye thinge of his owne thinges, for the adorninge of the temple of God, and to amplify his honor. But to institute a new and forbidden worshippinge, it was vtterly vngodly.

What a vowe is.

The sonne had stolen from his mother that money: neyther is it any marualle if he would steale, whych was so redy to idolatry. He which sinneth against the first table, doth easely sinne against the second.

The mother curseth the theefe, whosoeuer he were: neyther doth she so greuously take the matter for the money taken away, as for that she could not performe her detestable vow. And she curseth, as men in a manner vse to do, in aduersities. Yea and God himself also vsed curses in the old testament, in the assembly to the mount Hebal & Garizim. The priest also curiously prayed for barines, diseases, losse of children, and other thinges of like sorte. And in our time, the Pope, by what wicked zeale I know not, in the day of the supper of the Lord deuoteth forth curses vpon all those whiche haue alienated themselues from his institution and sect. This woman cursed the theefe: and no marualle. Because women when they fall in strength, do easely fall to curslinges.

Women do easely fall to curslinges.

The sonne as soone as he heard the curse of his mother, was afeard. For so hath nature ordeined, that children do wonderfully feare the curses of their parents. But this man feared not to violate the lawe of God: which thing happeneth not seldome vnto men, to haue horror of small sinnes, and to neglect them that ar more grieuous. Ther is some fruit sometimes of curses, euen as of excõmu-

munication. Ther ar some sometimes so hard & obdurated ẏ they can be bowed by no other meanes then by curses, although they be corrected by publike and apert reprehẽsion. But whither this sonne knew that his mother had by a vow dedicated that mony vnto the Lord, before he tooke it away, it appeareth not by the wordes of the history.

Neither is this to be passed ouer, in that the mother sayth ẏ she had consecrated it vnto the lord, and he vseth the name of. 4. letters. Wherfore we must consider that there are two kinds of Idolatry. The one is, whereby a straũge God is called vpõ, the other is, whereby the true God indede is worshipped, but not with that worshipping which he himself hath commaunded, but by images or idoles, or by some other meanes inuented of our selues. To the seconde kinde of idolatry perteineth the sinne of this woman. As often as we heare an image that is made, and a straunge God not added, we muste vnderstand that that image was made vnder the shew of the worshipping of the true god: but that religion is far contrary to the institution of sound religiõ. Wherfore when the people (as it is written in Exodus) made themselues a golden calfe, Aaron proclaimed a holye day vnto the Lord, that is to the true god, and not to an idole. For they counted it absurd, to worshippe, either the true god himself without an image, or els an image without the title of the true God. And so muste we thinke that *Ieroboam* did when he consecrated the golden calfes in *Dan* and Bethel. For I doo not beleue that in images he instituted the worshipping of Baal, or Astharoth, or Chamos, but he would vnder them worshipp the Lorde. Into the selfe same error fell the Samaritanes also, who (as *Iosephus* writeth) woulde haue a temple amonge them like that which was at Ierusalem. And the selfe same thing went the Iewes about at Heliopolis, when they wer in exile in Egipt. And it was detestable to worshipp god with oblations and sacrifices in any other place, then in that which he himselfe had chosen to be worshipped in. Wherefore the woman vowed that she would make an idole, which shee deliuered vnto her sonne, that he should institute a newe religion in her house. I wyll (sayth she) that thou haue the syluer, but thou shalt make an idole thereof.

The maner of idolatries. *Τετραγραμμα. τομ.* *Iosephus.*

Why these two wordes grauen and molten are so ioined to gether, the interpretors do doubt. Some of the Hebrewes and some of our writers doo thinke ẏ there were two images, of the which the one was grauen, and the other molten. But this semeth not to be so, bicause these woordes are oftentimes ioyned together in the holy scripture: neyther is it necessary, as often as we findethem, so to vnderstande many images. Other thinke that that image was first molten and then grauen, or wrought. The opinion of other is, that wee shoulde reade grauen and molten distinctiuely, that is, an image which was either grauen or molten. But I very wel allow the opiniõ of *Dauid Kimhi*, who writeth that it was the maner to graue images firste out of marble stone, or some other matter, and afterward to couer them with siluer or copper plates or peces. And so in one and the selfe same image was either: For it was both grauen, & the plates also were moltẽ & extenuated to lay ouer it. For this hebrew word Nasach signifieth to couer. We must vnderstand by this word house of god, a priuate tiple, wherin she would worship the idole. How much the peeces of siluer were, or of what kinde, balew and waight it is not expressed. The Rabbines do thinke that they were siluer syckles. And a syckle (as Iosephus sayth) conteined. 4. drammes of Athenes. And a dramme of Athenes (as *Budeus* gathereth in his booke de Asse) conteyned thre shillings of Towres. A shilling of Towres is the halfe part of halfe a batse. wherfore a dramme was as muche in balew as a shilling of Argentine, that is, three halfe batses. By which meanes a Sickle conteined fiue batses. That is. 4.

Grauen and molten. *D. Kimhi.* *A sickle Iosephus. Budeus*

Viii. shillinges

shillinges. But there was two manner of sickles, one was vsual and prophane, & the other was of the sanctuary. The holy sickle was double so much as the prophane. Wherefore Ezechiel in his 45. chapter sayth, that a prophane sickle contei ned. 20. halfe pence, but the sickle of the sanctuary. 40.

Two sortes of Sickles. *Obuli.*

There is a fable among the Hebrewes, that this woman was Dalila whiche deceaued Samson, as though she had receaued this mony for the rewarde of her prodicion. These thinges are sayde by the Rabbines, but without reason. But I with reason thinke contrarily. For Dalila receaued of euery one of the Lordes of the Philistians. xi. C. peeces of siluer. Wherefore seing there wer fiue of the lords, then must she nedes haue receaued 5500. sickles. But these whereof we nowe entreate were but. 1100. Seing therefore the number agreeth not, the fained tale of the Hebrewes is easely confuted.

The sonne bringeth againe vnto his mother the money which he had taken away. She straight way saith: Blessed art thou in the Lord my sonne. As though she should haue said: Now I reuoke my curses, and turne thē to good and lucky prayers. How superstitious ȳ woman was, appeareth by these words. She commēdeth her sonne, because he had brought the money againe: but she reproueth him not, because he had before stolen it. Straightway she entreateth with him about idolatrye. This mony sayth she, thou shalt not lose, thou shalte haue it indede, but yet in an idole. Neyther made they onely a molten and grauē image, but also an Ephod: by which woorde wee muste by the figure Sinechdoche vnderstande all ornamentes longing vnto a priest. For an Ephod if we speake properly, signifieth a priests garment that commeth ouer his shoulders.

The papistes tunicle.

They made also Theraphim. Touching the signification of this woord, there is greate ambiguitye amonge the expositors. But I vnderstande it to be that idole whyche they had grauen and molten, when all the other thinges were redye which serued for idolatry, they at the lēgth brought that image vnto the temple. And of these Theraphim or images they were wont in the olde time to aske oracles. In Genesis we reade that Rachel the wife of Iacob stale awaye the Theraphim of her father. And in the first of Samuel the. 19. chapter whē Dauid escaped, Michel put in his bed Theraphim. In Amos also the third chapter, it is written: There shalbe neither Ephod nor Theraphim, that is, yee shalbe so bered and led into exile, that ye shal neyther be able to worship god nor idoles. In Ezechiell also it is written: They shall enquire of Theraphim. An in Zachary the. x. chapter: The Theraphims spake lies. Other thinke that Theraphim were certaine instrumentes of Astronomy, whereby houres, degrees, elevations, declinacions, both of the sunne and of other starres are taken. Which opinion Abin Ezra reciteth in the history of Rachell. But I thinke not this sentēce true. For here is entreated of an Idole, in worshipping whereof there neded no astronomicall instruments.

Theraphim

It is saide that Micha filled the hand of his sonne. By which Hebrew phrase is signified that he consecrated him a priest. This forme of speaking seemeth to arise hereof, because Moses when hee consecrated Aaron and his sonnes, did put in their handes sweete cakes, the shoulder, brestle, and other thynges, whyche by them should be offred vnto god.

Now is the idolatry instituted. But how could that be doone in Israell? Because saith the history ther was no king in Israel: but euery man did that which semed right in his owne eies. By these woords is declared that it was a wicked and detestable acte, that the mother and the sonne committed. If ther had bene a lawfull magistrate, who oughte chiefly to haue a regarde to the worshippinge of God, and obseruation of the firste table, this hadde not beene permitted nor suffred vnpunished. Wherefore let it not seeme meruailous if the lawe slepte. For there was no Magistrate whyche shoulde haue beene the keeper thereof.

And

And if at any tyme there be Magistrates whiche haue no care of these things, by cause they execute not their office, it is all one as if there were none. Publique wealthes do oftetymes degenerate, a kingdome into Tyranny, Aristocratia into Oligarchia, & a publique wealth into Anarchia, & an vncertaine of ỳ people, ỳ euery man doth what himselfe listeth. And there is nothing in the societie of me more pernicious, then that euery man should follow his owne will. For our nature is corrupt & vitiated, therfore whosoeuer followeth it onely as a leader, most nedes exceedingly erre. But a law is a true minde, and a firme and sure rule of men in doyng of thinges. Plato in Cratilo elegantly sayth: As we call the mynde νόον, so call we the lawe νόμον, as it were μονόντα νόον, that is an abydyng & stable minde, otherwise the minde of men is wandring. For ỳ whiche seemeth good vnto one, the same seemeth not so vnto an other. Neither doth one and the selfe same mã abide alwayes in one and the selfe same opinion. Wherfore for as much as all thinges are vncertayne, as often as any man doth that whiche seemeth good in his owne eyes, for the most part he strayeth from the true end.

Anarchia whiche is want of a ruler, is destructiõ of publique wealth.

Plato. What νόμος is

7 There was also a yong man out of Bethelehem Iudah, of the familie of Iudah: who was a Leuite, and soiourned there.
8 And the man departed out of the Citie, euẽ out of Bethlehẽ Iudah, to dwell where he could finde a place: and as he iourneied, he came to mount Ephraim to the house of Micha.
9 And Micha sayd vnto hym, whence cõmest thou? And the Leuite answered him, I come from Bethlehẽ Iudah, & go to dwell where I may finde a place.
10 Then Micha sayd vnto hym: Dwell with me, and be vnto me a father & a Priest, & I will geue thee ten peeces of siluer by yeare, & a sute of apparell, & thy meat and drinke. So the Leuite went in.
11 And the Leuite was content to dwell with the man, & the yong man was vnto hym as one of his owne sonnes.
12 And Micha consecrated the hand of the Leuite, and the younge man was his Priest, and dwelled in the house of Micha.
13 Then sayd Micha: Now I knowe that the Lorde will be good vnto me, seyng I haue a Leuite to my Priest.

Here is set forth the consecration of an other Priest. For by chaũce there cõmeth a younge man of the tribe of Leui, whom Micha hyreth to minister in hys holy seruices, and remoueth his sonne from the priesthood. And the Leuite soiorned to find out a place where he might get his liuing, for he desired a state of life. Micha receaueth him to be his priest. By this Hystory is gathered, ỳ idolatrous worshippings, although they be cõtrary to the institution of god, yet they enterprise as much as may be, ỳ they may be like vnto it. For euen as Apes will seeme to be men, although they be not men in deede, so idolatrers, although they worshippe not the true God, yet they will seeme to worship hym. For they labor to retayne some thewe of his worshipping as much as may be. So Micha, that he might seeme to worship the true God rightly, instituted an Ephod, a temple, and a Priesthode. Lastly, bycause he would not much straye from the institution of God, he ordreth a Leuite ouer his holy seruices and ceremonyes.

Idolatrous worshyppyngs do imitate the true worshyppyng of God.

The Leuites wandred hether & thether. For that tribe was dispersed among the other tribes. In whiche thing we must remember the maner of the publique wealth of Israel. The other tribes had landes and possessions, and conteyned themselues in some certayne regions. But the Leuites dwelled dispersedly among them, that they might the easelyer minister vnto them. The Leuites in deede had

The tribe of Leui was dispersed amonge other tribes.

their

their Cities also: but many of them wandred abrode through other tribes. This younge man was of Bethlehem which pertayned vnto the tribe of Iudah.

But it may be demaunded, if he were a Leuite, howe he belonged vnto ꝯ tribe of Iudah? There are some whiche thinke that he had a *Leuite* vnto his father, but his mother was of ꝯ tribe of Iudah. For tribes were oftentymes mingled as concernyng matrimonyes. But *Dauid Kimhi* somewhat doubteth concernyng that thing. For he sayth it is not the maner of the holy Scriptures, for the sonnes to derive his tribe or family of his mother. Other aunswere, that whiche *Kimhi* sayth, is for the most part true, but not alwayes. For if ꝯ mother wer an inheritor, the sonne had his surname of her, and to prove this true, they alledge a place of the .2. booke of Paralip. where Ezron of the tribe of Iudah take to wife ꝯ daughter of Machor of the tribe of Manasseh, & the children which he had by her, were named by the name of their grandfather on the mothers side, & were called the children of Machor. And that was done, bycause the mother was an heire of .30 Cities. So it may be, that this young mans mother was an inheritor of Bethlelem, of the tribe of *Iudah*. But me thinketh these thinges are spoken superfluously, & peradventure not very truly. For it is sayd a young man of the tribe of Leui, of *Bethlehem Iuda*. And in that it is agayne added of *Iuda*, ꝯ ought to be referred vnto Bethlehem, that it might be separated from the other Bethlehem ꝯ lay in the tribe of Zabulon. If we followe this interpretation, then is there no ambiguity. But how dwelled the Leuite in Bethlehem? Not vndoubtedly as a Citezine, but as a straunger, and he wandred abrode to seke his lyuing. Wherfore it is not very likely that his mother was an inheritor, when as he was compelled to seeke his lyuing beggingly.

D. Kimhi.

The Cityes called Bethlehem.

Why the tenthes were not at this tyme geuen vnto the Leuites.

And that the Leuite so wandred abrode being compelled by hunger, was not for lacke of order by the law. For by it ꝯ tenthes were geuē vnto the Leuites to lyue by. But as the tymes were then, they were not geuen vnto thē, partly bycause ꝯ Philistines oppressed the Iewes, in polling thē of their riches, & partly bycause there was no Magistrate, to loke that the people shuld pay their tenthes. And mē are of themselues willingly in a manner so couetous, that vnles they be cōpelled they will not pay thē. Lastly, bycause the Israelites were at ꝯ tyme very prone vnto idolatry, neither did they much regarde ꝯ worshipping or Ministers of the true God: therfore they suffred the *Leuites* to starue. Wherfore it is no mervaile if this young mā were compelled to wander abrode, & to begge his lyuing. Nehemias in his .3. chap. sayth, that when Leuites had not so much geuen them as was sufficient for their liuing, they fled away, neither would they minister in ꝯ tēple.

The *Leuite* came and turned into Micha, not minding to tary there, but to go on in his iorney, but Micha, when he vnderstood that he was a *Leuite*, hired him to be his Priest. The name of the *Leuite* is not in this place spoken of, howbeit by the latter end of the .18. chap. of this booke we learne that he was called Ionathan the sonne of Gerson, the sonne of Menasse.

How much the stipende of the Leuite was.

He promised him ten silueringes a yeare: which sume is (as they say) in a maner as much as fiue crowines of Ryne, & an ordre or sute of apparel, ꝯ is, garmentes for winter, & garments for summer. Hereby we gather, ꝯ although *Micha* wer an idolatrer, yet had he ꝯ ministery in estimation. For he noorisheth his Priest, he geueth him apparel, wages, and other thinges necessary. So did also the Gentiles which knew not god. It semeth to be the law of nature, that they which labor in the holy seruices, should haue both liuing, & honour. He doth not in deede geue him any great stipend, but yet so much as was sufficiēt. *Paul* sayd: Hauing meate and drinke & clothing, with these things let vs be content. Also in the Synode of Antioche (as it is had in the .12. questiō the .3. chap. Episcopus) the stipend for a minister, is appoynted to be so much as is sufficient for the necessity of lyfe. And afterward in the .20. question the .1. chap. Clericus, and it is the seuenth Synode, is decreed the same thyng, where the glose demaundeth: What Church is

The law of nature iudgeth that ꝯ holy ministery is to be had in honour.

The Synode of Antioche.

The seuenth Synode.

to be

to be counted riche, and what Church poore: and it answereth, that that Church is sufficiently riche, whiche can noorishe his ministers with their famely, so that they may be able also to keepe hospitality. But in our time nothing is sufficiét. They heape benefice vpon benefice, neither make they any end of sekyng for riches. What then at the length shalbe sufficient? The glose aunswereth, that ỹ can not be prescribed, for we must haue a respect vnto the place, person, & tyme, & sundry and diuers thinges agree to sundry persons, tymes, and regions. The Synode of Chalcedonia decreed that one man should not haue a title in sundry Churches. But they haue now long since abolished these thyngs.

What Church is riche.

The Synode of Chalcedonia

And that the lawe of nature (as I sayd) willeth that Ministers should be noorished, appeareth also by that whiche Paul writeth to the Conrinth. in his .1. Epistle, when he teacheth that same, he bringeth argumentes euen from nature. No man sayth he, goeth on warfare at his owne charges. Thou shalt not mosel the mouth of the ore whiche treadeth out the corne. Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke? Wherfore ỹ yong man sinneth not in that he taketh a stipend. For that was lawfull both by Gods law and by the lawe of nature. But in that he letteth his ministery to lye vnto an Idole, hee very haynously sinned. For nowe he worshipped not God, but his belly. Suche also were they whiche Paul sayeth, serued not the Lorde Iesus, but their belly. This man nothing cared in what Religion he ministred, so that he myght get a liuyng. For this thing do very many euen now a dayes labour for, yea all the Massemongers for the most part, who nothyng regard, howe vngodly it is to say Masses. Herein is all their care to keepe still their reuenewes and benefices. This *Leuite* sayeth not, God is not so to be worshipped. Such a cup such a couer. An euill Micha, hath gotten an euill Leuite. In his thyng also ỹ Leuite sinned, bycause he was nothyng made afeard by the example of Core, who when he would haue vsurped the office of a Priest, was swallowed downe quicke into the earth. This younge man was not of the famely of Aaron, he was onely a Leuite of the famely of Gerson, as some say. Neither doth Micha enquire of hym from whēce he was, or of what famely, or howe well he was instructed in the lawe of G O D, but he straightwaye consecrateth hym a Priest. But he ought syrlie diligently to haue examined hym: for G O D would not haue vncleane Sacrifices offred hym, and shall we thinke that he abhorred not from corrupte Priestes? This younge *Leuite* thought it a goodly thyng to be exalted to the ministery of a Priest. Thou shalt bee to me a Father and a Priest. He seemeth vndoubtedly with great reuerence to honour the Minister. And in deede the Ministers of G O D are to be counted for fathers. For the holy Ghost vseth their ministery for the regeneration of other. So Paul sayde, he had agayne begotten the Galathians, when as he had before begotten them vnto God. The same Paul writeth vnto the Corinthians: Although ye haue many schoolemasters, yet haue ye not many fathers.

Wherein this Leuite sinned.

Ministers of God are to bee counted for fathers.

Nowe the Lorde will doo good vnto me. Nowe G O D (sayeth he) wyll increase my thynges: for there were many whiche would come vnto those holy seruices, and be partaker of all the oblations and Sacrifices, and so the miserable man thinketh that gayne is godlynes. And in deede *Paul* sayeth to Timothe, that piety is a great gayne with sufficiency, but he addeth: That they whiche will be riche, doo fall into temptacions and snares of the deuill, and many whiche desire to be riche, haue fallen into shipwracke from the fayth, and haue wrapped themselues into great sorowes. All these thinges happened vnto Micha: for he both strayed from the fayth, and was most greuously afflicted with vnlooked for calamityes. For the Danites, as we shall heare, inuaded hys house, and ouerthrewe it with all his felicity. They led awaye the *Leuite* with the idole. And yet he in the meane tyme flattereth hymselfe and sayth: The Lord will blesse me.

The

¶The.xviii.Chapter.

1 IN those dayes there was no kyng in Israell. And at the same tyme ỳ tribe of Dan sought thẽ an inheritaũce to dwell in: for vnto that tyme their inheritaũce had not fallen vnto them among the tribes of Israel.

2 Therfore the childrẽ of Dan sent of their family fyue men out of their coastes, valiaunt men, out of Zora and Eshtaol to bewy the land and diligently to searche it out, & they sayd vnto them: Go searche out the land. Then they came to mount Ephraim to the house of Micha and lodged there.

3 And when they were nyghe the house of Micha, they knewe the voyce of the younge man the Leuite, and they turned in there, and sayd vnto hym: who brought thee hyther? what makest thou here? and what hast thou to doo here?

4 And he aunswered them. Thus and thus doth Micha vnto me, and hath hyred me to be his Priest,

5 And they sayd vnto him: Aske counsell I praye thee of God, that we may know, whither he will prosper the way wherby we walke.

6 And the Priest sayd vnto them: Go in peace. Your waye wherby ye walke, is before the Lord.

In that it is sayd there was no kyng in Israell, is signified that it is not to bee meruayled, that Religion, and the Publique wealth was then troubled. There was no Magistrate, which shuld iustly haue punished these sinnes. By this place is vnderstand ỳ the Danites wer left destitute of their brethrẽ, when they should get their possession, whiche thinge vndoubtedly should not haue bene done: for they ought euery tribe, one to haue helped an other, in getting their inheritaũce. For so had *Moses* & *Iosuah* prescribed them before, but the Israelites forgettyng theyr brethren, studyed euery man by himselfe for his owne commodity and profite. Hereof sprang Idolatry, and the takyng away of other mens goods, bycause there was neither kynge nor Magistrate, to restrayne these euilles. Hereby we maye knowe howe muche a Magistrate is to be made of: Who if he bee good, then keepeth in be good order both the publique wealth & the worshyppyng of god. For he is the keeper as wel of the first table, as also the latter. Neither hath he a care onely for the bodyes of his Citezins, but also for their soules. And howe ill soeuer the Magistrate be, yet to defende the common society of men, he many wayes profiteth ỳ publique wealth. But now al things were decayed, bycause ỳ publique wealth was destitute both of a king, & also of a Magistrate. They were not depriued of this good thyng by the institution of God, but by theyr owne sinne, whereby they were deliuered into the power of the Philistines.

The Danites were left destitute of their brethren.

The vtility of a Magistrate.

An obiectiõ touching the primitiue Churche.

But thou wilt say: did not Christian men so in the primitiue Churche? For they had not their Magistrates, but were most cruelly vexed of tyrannes. That is true in deede, but in the meane tyme they had very excellent Ministers of the Churche, and therewith all most aboundaunt and greate benefites of the holy ghost. And when the Apostles wrought wonderfull miracles, there seemed to be the les want of a Christian Magistrate. *Paul* by a great power of the holy Ghost made blind Elimas the sorcerer. Peter slewe Ananias and Saphira. They deliuered vnto Sathã such as were past correction. Howbeit in the meane tyme increased many heresies, bycause there was no Magistrate to keepe them downe, euen as now in *Israel*, when they wanted their princes, Idolatry crept in. Afterward wer

Heresies increase vnles ỳ Magistrate represse them.

geuen

geuen vnto the Church both Chriſtian princes & Magiſtrates, and therewithall there ceaſed ſuch giftes of the holy Ghoſt, becauſe they ſeemed not ſo neceſſary, when Chriſtian Schooles, Chriſtian Philitions, and Chriſtian Iudges happened vnto the Churche.

Of the head of the Churche.

This place ỹ Papiſtes obiect vnto vs, & thinke ỹ it maketh very much to eſtabliſh their tyrãny. Se (ſay they) hereof ſpring ſo many ſectes & hereſies amõg you, becauſe ye haue not an Eccleſiaſtical Magiſtrate, & for ỹ ye haue fallen frõ the onely head of ỹ Church. Wherfore that the ſtate of ỹ Churche may be the quieter, there muſt be one head therof in earth. But we neither will, nor may ſuffer this: becauſe it is manifeſtly repugnant vnto the worde of God. We acknowledge one head of the Church that is Chriſt, from whom we fele that both lyfe & ſpirite floweth and ſpreddeth abrode into all the reſt of the body. In obiection of the Papiſtes.

But they ſay there muſt alſo be an other head of the Church. For Chriſt (ſay they) is the head as touching the ſoule and iuſtification. But there muſt be an other head alſo, concernyng the retayning of outward rites and ceremonies, for ỹ weedyng out of hereſies, & to ioyne Churches together. To this we ſay, ỹ it is ſufficient ỹ euery Church haue his miniſter or Biſhop, who may diſpenſe the worde of God and the Sacramentes, & retayne diſcipline as much as may be. But that there ſhould be ſome one man to gouerne all the reſt, neither is it neceſſary, neither ought it to be ſuffred: becauſe (as I haue ſayd) the head is from whence lyfe and ſpirite is deriued into all the body. And ſuch a head is Chriſt onely. And we muſt marke the inſtitution of GOD, who would haue many Miniſters in the Churche. For ſo is it written vnto the Epheſians, Chriſt hath aſcended into heauen, and hath led captiuity captiue, and geuen gyftes vnto men. And that we ſhould vnderſtande howe he hath geuen them, it is added: Some he hath geuen Apoſtles, ſome he hath geuen Prophetes, ſome Euangeliſtes, ſome Paſtors and teachers, for the renewyng of the ſaintes into the worke of adminiſtration, for ỹ edification of the body of Chriſt, wherfore to builde the body of Chriſt, God will haue many and ſundry gyftes of the ſpirite and Miniſteryes retayned in the Churche. Let theſe men euery one execute his office, let them conferre together, if there happen any controuerſy, and if neede be, let them aſſemble together to Synodes. But that euery controuerſy ſhould be referred vnto the Biſhoppe of Rome, and that all men ſhoulde obey the Pope onely, it is intollerable, and vtterly Tyrannicall. God would haue in the Churche not one Miniſter onely, but many.

Neither doo the Popes contayn themſelues, to exerciſe power onely in outwarde thinges, but alſo they chaunge the inſtitutions of God, and rules of religion: Which thyng we haue now had experiẽce of to ỹ great hurt of the Church. It is a very good ſaying whiche ỹ Apoſtle hath vnto the Romanes in the. 12. chap. Euen as in one body we haue many mẽbers, but all mẽbers haue not one & the ſelfe ſame office: ſo we being many are one body in Chriſt, & euery one the members of others, hauing ſundry gyftes accordyng vnto the grace geuẽ vnto vs. And the ſame thinges in a maner are written in the. 1. to ỹ Cor. the. 13. chap. Wherfore we muſt not thinke that if we acknowledge not the Pope for head, that for that cauſe the Churche is troubled: yea rather hereof ſpringeth the contention and confuſion in the Churche, becauſe many, for that they will haue the Pope to be head, do moſt manifeſtly ſtand agaynſt the truth. Popes do alſo chaũge the inſtitutions of God.

Neither is it true that they ſay, how that the Church can not conſiſte, except all men obey the Pope onely. For the Church was long tyme and that in much better ſtate, before the Pope obteyned his tyrannycall power. Then (ſay they) ye will haue no Magiſtrate in the Churche. We will haue gouerners in it, but not one onely: we will haue Ariſtocratia kept in it, as Chriſt hath inſtituted. They on The Churche was long tyme and that happy without a earthly head.

the cõtrary syde obiect that there ought to be but one onely, bycause in this place it is written that all thynges were troubled in Israel, bycause they had not a kyng. But we must consider, that the Scripture nowe speaketh so by anticipation: for as much as yet there was no kyngdome instituted in Israel. Wherfore a kyng is in this place to be vnderstand for a lawfull Magistrate.

In obiection of the Papistes: Thou art Peter, &c.

But leauyng this place, they say that Christ sayde vnto Peter: Thou art Peter, and vpõ this rocke will I builde my Church. I will geue vnto thee the kayes of the kyngdome of heauen, &c. These thinges (as they will haue them) haue a respect vnto one onely, and ought to be vnderstand of one whiche should be the head. But was not this selfe same thyng sayd vnto others also? Vndoubtedly in Iohn Christ sayd vnto them all: Receaue the holy Ghost, whose sinnes ye forgeue, shalbe forgeuen. Wherfore Peter dyd not alone receaue the kayes of the kyngdome of heauen. But they say that it was sayd vnto Peter onely: Fede my Lambes. Yea but this he spake vnto them all, when he sayd: Go into the whole worlde, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. But where as they boast that this saying belõgeth vnto Peter alone: Vpon this rocke I will build my Church, it shall not be so lone graũted them. For Christ is the foundation of the Church, as the Apostle hath taught. And there are some of the fathers, whithe do interprete that Christ referred these wordes, not to Peter hymselfe, but to the confession whiche he had made of Christ. But graunt that Peter was in some sorte after Christ the foundation of the Churche: the same thyng also may we say of the other Apostles, forasmuch as in the Apocalipse are rede. 12. foundations of the celestial Ierusalem. But of this matter we haue spoken more aboundantly before, and shall haue better occasion hereafter to speake therof: onely these thynges I thought good to bryng, that it should not be thought, that the Papistes had gotten the victory when they obtrude this place to the vnlearned.

Christe is the foundation of the Churche.

How there are 12. foundations of the Church.

They sent spyes. The cause was, bycause they had not landes ynough to dwell in, and to tyll. But howe could this be, when as all the land of Chanaan was destributed by Iosua? I aunswere, that it was in deede geuen vnto euery tribe accordyng to sundry portions, but yet were not the Danites come to their full and whole possession. Yea, we gather by the Storye of Samson, that the Danites dwelled yet in tentes, where the spirite of the Lord began to come vpon Samson. Farther we must remember, that they at the begynnyng were content with tributes, which they exacted of those, whose landes they should haue possessed. But they were made vnto them as thornes and briers. For when as they had not driuen them out, but dwelled together with them, they quickely learned Idolatry of them. Wherfore we rede in this boke that the Danites were compelled to dwell in the hilly places, when they could not discend and possesse the playne. But nowe those hilly places seemed very narrowe, for they increased in number, and therfore they neded more roome to dwell in.

The promise of GOD was not weaker the the enemyes of the Hebrues.

If thou shalt say: was the power of the enemyes of greater force then the promise of God? No vndoubtedly. For it was not the enemyes that excluded them out, but they hyndred themselues, for that they followed Idolatry. Wherfore GOD punished them, and longe tyme draue them backe from the possession of their portion. That thyng therfore whiche happened, is to be ascribed vnto their impiety, and not to the strengthes of their enemyes. And to the promise of God was ioyned a condition, namely if they should abyde in the lawe of God. Their wickednes was the cause, that God did not straight way performe his promises.

They sende spyes to spye out for them some commodious place in the playne. They send out fyue spyes. Mikstlothim: which is fro they coastes, & they ar signified to be in extremities: which may taken two wayes, namely ỹ these spyes were either of ỹ basest sort, or of ỹ bigbest. For either of these in their order ar extreme. They wer in deede valiant and warlike men, but peraduenture obscure, wherby they

they might be the more vnknowē of their enemyes. For they ꝑ are noble are more eaſely knowen. Cōtrarily other thinke ꝑ it is declared, that they were moſt honeſt & moſt noble: becauſe ſpyes ought to be wiſe men, & ſuch as haue good ſkil in warlike affaires. Homere writeth that Vliſſes was commaūded to be a ſpye, and that he in the apparel of a beggar went thorough Troy. *Moſes* alſo ſent Ioſua & Chaleb which were very excellēt men, to ſearche out the land of Chanaan. But whether they were of ꝑ baſeſt ſorte or of the hyghest, it helpeth not much vnto ꝑ matter. And paraduenture this opinion is more ſimple, namely that they were ſent from the vtter partes of the places wherin the Danites dwelled. *Homere.*

They came to the houſe of Micha. By a by way as it is thought, & not ꝑ right way as their iorney lay. For it is very likely, that there was in ꝑ place an Inne, wherunto men out of every quarter reſorted vnto the idole. So we ſee it happeneth in the Papacy, for in places where ſuperſtitious Pilgrimages are had, there are many Innes builded, as at Humbert, and at *Maria Lauretana*.

The ſpyes laboured with ꝑ yong mā the Leuite after they knew his miniſtery, to aſke an oracle for thē. And he anſwereth them in the name of Iehouah, whē they aſked him by this word Elohim. Thoſe men were wiſe & witty. For when they heard the yong mā ſpeake, they perceaued he was a *Leuite*. And although all the Iſraelites ſpake Hebrew, yet were there ſundry formes of ſpeech amōg thoſe tribes. Wherfore we haue before heard, ꝑ the Ephraites wer knowen by the pronunciatiō of this word Siboleth. They might therfore peraduenture note ꝑ the yong man ſpake in ꝑ ſpeech of the tribe of Iuda, for aſmuch as he was of Bethlehem, & peraduenture they heard him intreatyng of things deuine: wherfore when they perceaued ꝑ he was a *Leuite*, whiche executed holy ſeruices there, ſtraightwaye they enquired of him an anſwer of ꝑ ſucceſſe of their iorney. They nothing regarded how rightly he did it, but ſtrayghtway ſayd: Aſke of god. So at this day ſouldiers whē they go on warfare, they come to their Maſſe Prieſts, & deſire them to ſay a Maſſe for thē either of George, or of Sebaſtiā, neither haue they any regarde whether ꝑ Maſſe be good or euill. This is to deale wt̄ god after our blind reaſon. At ꝑ firſt burnt it may ſeeme ꝑ the ſpyes did not euil. For it is a point of piety to aſke coūſel of god, whē we ſhal do any thing. But we ought to take hede, ꝑ what ſoeuer is taken in hande, ꝑ ſame be ioyned wt̄ right reaſō & ſound iudgement of ꝑ minde. For our actiōs muſt flow frō the heart, which as it is affected, ſo are they to be iudged either good or euil. Wherfore although god require of vs actiōs, yet he much more requireth the hart. We muſt not ſeparate ꝑ action & hart or purpoſe a ſunder: let them abyde ioyned together as the Lord requireth them.

Howe they knew the Leuite by hys ſpeeche.

Good looketh alſo vpon the heart, and not vpon the actions onely.

If thou demaūde of a Philoſopher how the action is good, & whether it alone maketh the mā good, he will deny it, & wil ſay that the action muſt be directed by ryght reaſon, whiche if it be awaye, then is the action corrupt. Wherfore the goodnes of euery action dependeth of reaſon of the minde, and of iudgemētes. If theſe be euill, thē muſt ꝑ action alſo nedes be corrupt. Looke what ꝑ roote is in a tree: ꝑ ſame is reaſon in a moral actiō, & in religious workes & ſuch workes as ar truly Chriſtiā ſayth: it is as it were the ſoule of good workes, as without which nothing cā be acceptable vnto god. But faith leaneth to no other thyng thē to ꝑ word of God. Wherfore for aſmuch as theſe mē cōmaund to aſke counſel of God contrary to the wordes of God, they do exceadingly diſpleaſe God: they were more led by their own commodity, then by true piety. So many at this day ſay: What euil is it to come to Maſſe: and there, with a godly mynd to pray vnto god? The Maſſe hath a great ſhew of piety: but we muſt remember that it cā not be good, for as muche as it is appertly repugnant to fayth, and to the wordes of God. Let euery manne take heede he bee not deceaued with the outwarde ſhewe of piety: and let hym diligently conſider, that outwarde woorkes make not a man good, but rather contrarily good workes muſt proceede out of a good man.

The goodnes of an action dependeth of the minde or iudgement of ꝑ doer.

Fayth is the ſoule of good workes.

But now come I to examine, & conſider ꝑ which is here intreated as touching

The commaundement for asking counsel of God is moral.

the asking counsell of God, & I finde that it is cõmaunded, ẏ in things of great difficulty ẏ mynde of the Lord is to be enquired of. This cõmaundemẽt thoughe it were geuen vnto the Iewes, yet is pertayneth to the moral kinde of preceptes. Wherfore it byndeth vs also. But vnto the Iewes were adioyned certayne outward ceremonyes, from which we are by Christ deliuered. They were bound to come to the Priest, to the Ephod, and to the place of the arke of the couenant, or to the Prophet: those things are now taken away. And yet ought we also, when we take in hand to do any thyng, to aske counsell of the Lord, but remouyng away these additions, which were necessary in ẏ publique wealth of ẏ Israelites.

We ought to aske counsell of the holy scriptures when we appoint to doo any thyng.

But where shall we in this tyme aske coũsel of the Lord: In the holy scriptures, as we haue before taught. Wherfore euery Christian ought to haue them ready at hãd, & to do all things by their guiding. Whatsoeuer we shall do, let vs first looke in them, whether it be iust or vniust. This is to aske counsell of the Lord, which thing if we do not, we shalbe alway in doubt cõcerning our thigs. Wherfore Paul hath rightly admonished: Euery thing that is not of faith is sinne. Neither are we ignorant but ẏ fayth cõmeth of hearing, & hearing by ẏ word of god. Wherfore whether we take in hand a iourney, or do or go about any thyng els, we must not wauer or doubt in mynde, but must be assured that our worke pleaseth God. Which thing when we know we, we must referre the euent therof vnto God. Let it suffice vs to haue knowen that. Remember this saying of the Poete:

Horace. If the world should breake and fall, let the ruine thereof pearse the fearefull.

The estate of the Hebrues & ours is diuerse

But why the Hebrues were so careful for ẏ successe of their matters, we haue in an other place declared. Their state was not all one wt ours. They wer much careful for their publique wealth, bicause God had promised them ẏ it should endure euẽ vnto Christs tyme. Neither was true religiõ in any other place publikly receaued. Wherefore they were very carefull for the successe of their expeditions, namely that ẏ publique wealth wherin onely was appointed sound religiõ, should not take hurt. Wherfore god also very oftentimes gaue them oracles for their euentes. But our state is farre otherwise. Sound religion is not at this day boũd to one publique wealth onely, For ẏ inheritance of Christ is dispersed thoroughe out ẏ world, neither shall it endure so lõg, as one onely publique wealth stãdeth. But rather if one publique wealth fal by reason of sinnes, an other shall rise. If there arise persecutions for the Gospell sake (which oftẽtymes happeneth) it is lawfull to departe to an other place, whiche thyng was not so free for the Iewes, for they had not a tẽple of god, & his outward worshipping in any other, then at Ierusalẽ. Superstition & ydolatry possessed all other natiõs. Farther, this was an other cause, for ẏ the Iewes for their religions sake wer hated of all natiõs: wherfore they had the more neede to be by oracles admonished of ẏ euẽt of their things. Wherfore for asmuch as such difficultyes are farre frõ vs, it is sufficiẽt to seke out by ẏ holy scriptures, whether those things, which we do & medle with, do please god. And to ẏ study ioyned with faith, let prayers be added, ẏ that which we our selues ar not able to do, god himself may bring to passe. And thẽ at ẏ legth let vs diligẽtly & valiãtly attẽpte the thing which we haue taken in hãd. So far (as I think) the precept for asking counsell of ẏ Lord pertayneth vnto vs.

Why the Leuite aunswered in the name of Iehouah.

And in this Hystorye let vs consider (as I haue before sayde) that the Leuite aunswereth in the name of Iehouah, that is, of the Lord, bycause he would signifie, that he knewe well ynough, that the Idole was nothyng. I (sayeth he) aunswere in the name of the Lorde. This sentence, which R. Selemoh followeth, seemeth plausible. But to me it seemeth not so. For I thinke that the younge man dyd it to get authoritye to his Religion. For whiche cause he is the more grieuously to be accused, for that he contaminated the name of G O D, in applyeng it vnto an Idole. He aunswereth: your waye is in the sight of the Lorde, that is, God himselfe will go out before you, and direct your iorney, all thinges shall go well and prosperous with you, when as God is with you, and directeth

you.

ye. And so did it succede in very deede. For they luckely spyed out all thynges, & euent came to pas as they desired. Wherfore it may well here be demaunded why God so prospered these euill workes.

Before I aunswere to thys question, this I thinke good to put in by the waye, that we ought not to take it for a sure token that our doynges do please GOD, bycause sometymes they haue a prosperous successe: otherwyse if we should measure thynges by the euent and successe, we should allowe the wicked and most euill doers, for as much as fortunate and prosperous thinges doo happen vnto them. We should also praise deuines, sorcerers southsayers and consurers, bicause they haue sometimes foretolde thinges that are true. It is sometymes permitted vnto the deuill to deuine by them.

Our workes do not therfore please God bycause they haue good successe.

Let suche foretellynges be referred vnto the. 13. chapter of Deuteronomye, where it is thus written: If a Prophet ryse vp among you, or a dreamer of dreames, and shall geue thee a signe or wonder, and that whiche he hath foretolde thee come to passe: Thou shalt not harke vnto his voyce. If he entise thee to Idolatry, let hym be killed (sayth he) neither let hym be spared. Afterward is added a reason, why God dealeth after this maner, which thyng was at the begynnyng demaunded: bycause (sayth he) the Lord proueth you, whether ye loue him or not. And therwith agreeth Paul in his. 2. Epistle to the Thes. the. 2. chap. wher he entreateth of Antechrist: his comming (saith he) shalbe by the working of Sathan, with power, signes, & lying wonders, & with all deceatefulnes in those whiche perish, bycause they receaued not the loue of the truth, to that end they might be saued. And therfore God shall send vnto them the efficacy of illusion, y they should beleue lyes, y all they should be iudged whiche haue not beleued the truth. Wherfore although we do see signes, yet must we not straight waye geue fayth vnto those by whom they are wrought, but must diligently examine, whether they attempt to teache any thyng contrary to the worde of God.

The Lord proueth his by the miracles of the vngodly.

In the Papistical Pasles & marchandise of reliques, were ostentymes wrought great miracles, & yet ought we not to beleue such superstitions, & to fall frō Christ & the true worshipping of god. God suffreth this kind of miracles to be wrought that ingrate men, & those which haue forgotten their God, should be deceaued, & be taken as it were by these nettes, & that the godly should become the more light & better. Neither ar these thinges spoke to despise al miracles. For they which are done in a true cause & for sound doctrine, are certaine praises of god, & trumpets of y truth. But cōtrarily, they which vnder the pretēce of miracles do with drawe men from the worshipping of GOD, we ought to counte them cursed, thoughe they worke neuer so great miracles.

How miracles profite for saluation.

7 Then the fyue men went and came to Lais, and sawe the people whiche were in it, dwelling carelesly, after the manner of the Sydonians, quiet and sure. And for that there was no mā in the land whiche made them ashamed in any thyng, nor whiche by the inheritance receaued the kingdome, and for that they were farre from the Sidonians, neither had they any busines with other men.

8 So they came agayne vnto their brethren in Zora and Esthoall, and their brethren sayd: What haue ye done?

9 And they sayd: Arise, that we may go vp vnto them. For we haue sene the lande, and beholde it is very good: and do ye sit still? Be not slouthfull to go to enter and possesse the land.

10 When ye shall enter, ye shal enter into a careles people, farther, the countrey is large in roome: for god hath geuen it into your hāds, a place whiche wanteth nothing that groweth in the earth.

11 Thē there departed thēce of the family of ỹ Danites, frō Zorah frō Eshtaol, sixe hundreth mē appoynted wt instrumētes of warr.
12 And they went vp, & pitched in Kiriah-iearim in Judah: Wherfore they called that place, Mahaneh-dan vnto this day: and it is behind Kiriah-iearim.
13 And they went thence vnto mount Ephraim, and came to the house of Michah.
14 Then answered the fiue men, that went to spye out the countrey of Laish, and sayd vnto their brethren: Knowe ye not, that there are in these houses an Ephod, and Theraphim, and a grauen and molten Image. Now therfore consider what ye haue to do.
15 And they turned thetherward and came to the house of the yong man the Leuite, whiche was in the house of Michah, and saluted hym peaceably.
16 And the sixe hundreth men appoynted with their weapons of warre, whiche were of the children of Dan, stoode by the enteryng of the gate.
17 Then the fiue men that went to spye out the lande, went in thether and tooke the grauen Image and the Ephod, and the Theraphim, and the molten Image: and the Priest stoode in the entrynge of the gate with the sixe hundreth men, that were appoynted with weapons of warre.
18 And the other went into Michahs house and fet the grauen Image the Ephod, and the Theraphim, & the molten Image. Then sayd the Priest vnto them: What do ye?
19 And they answered him, holde thy peace: laye thyne hande vpon thy mouth, and come with vs to be our father and Priest. Whether is it better thou shouldest be a Priest vnto the house of one mā, or ỹ thou shouldest be a Priest vnto a tribe & to a familye in Israel?
20 And the Priestes hearte was glad, and he tooke the Ephod and the Theraphim, and the grauen Image, and went in the middest of the people.
21 And they turned and departed, and put the children and the cattell, and the substaunce before them.

The City of Lais is in the booke of Iosuah called Lesem. And they saw the people dwelling in security. This worde people is in this place ioyned with an adiectiue of the feminine gender. It is therfore the figure Enallage, because one gender is put for an other. They dwelled careles after the manner of the Zidonians.

The Zidoniās wer most strōg men.

The Zidonians feared not the Hebrues, because they were none of those seuen nations, whiche were deliuered to be possessed of them. Farther the Zidonians were men most mighty and of them came many Colonii, which were people dispersed, to seeke new seates and specially at Carthage. Wherefore Virgil calleth Dido a Sidonian, because she came frō thence. But why this City of Lais was in such security, there may be other causes geuen. First it had no moleſtious neyghbours, wherby there should haue ben any danger at hand towarde thē: farther there no was tyran, which vsurped vnto him self the dominion of ỹ City. Wherfore forasmuch as they were not hedred neither by any Tyranne, nor of enemies, they liued securely. These causes are gathered out of the texte, & also mencioned of ỹ Hebrues. But I thinke moreouer, that ỹ City had not seuere Magistrates,

Virgil.

Why the City of Lais was secure.

which

which should haue kept the people in doing their duties, which thing ingēdreth most great daunger vnto Cities. Neither is ther any vice in a maner more hurt full, then the securitie of the flesh. Wherefore God wyll haue his to be vigilant and attentiue: because when all thinges seme to vs to bee safe and quiet, then is daunger most of al at hand. Whilest the Sodomites liued most pleasantlye and most securely, they were or they were ware burnt with fire from heauen: and in the time of Noe, when men made banquets daily, maried, and tooke wiues, they wer a wonderful flood oppressed. Wherefore it is rightly sayd: when they shal say, peace, peace, and all thinges are safe, sodaine destruction shall come. It is added, that they were farre from the Sidonians, for because by that meanes they mought the easelier be conquered. Peraduenture they had made some league wyth the Sidonians: but confederates which dwel farre a sunder, cannot but with difficultye geue succor and be at hand, when nede requireth: which thing diuorces euery where doo teache vs. It is also added, that they had no busynes or trafficke wyth other men: which is therefore spoken, because cities are sometimes holpen, not by reason of a league, but because of communicating of busynes, namelye, because they cannot be destroyed, without the misery of manye men. These thinges the spies diligently marked: wherfore it appeareth that they wer wise & subtil me.

Securitie of the flesh is a thing pernicious.

A league made with a people far distant, is litle profitable.

Come, arise, the land is large and wyde, neither is there any thing wanting in it. They doo in few woordes finish their exhortacion appointed. Then are we stirred vp to take in hand any thing, when it is easy & profitable. These two thinges are the principall pointes of this exhortacion. They declare vnto their people, that that land is good and fertile, as wherein wanteth nothing that serueth for plentifulnes and aboundance. In placing our selues these thinges onely ar wont to be considered. And the reasons thereof they conclude by securitie. Then they adde spurres to pricke them, when they say: God hath geuen it into your hands, which thing peraduenture they adde, because of the Leuite, which answered the, that their iourney was in the sight of the Lord: or because that portion of the land when it was deuided, fel to the tribe of Dan.

What are the chiefe poyntes of this exhortacion.

There went out fyue hundreth men. It is not described after what maner, or with what furniture they went forth, onely it is said that they were armed. But by those thinges which follow, we vnderstande that they had their cattell, children and wiues in their companye. And they pitched in Kiriath iearim. It seemeth that it was a iourney of three dayes: for they pitched twise before they came thither: vnles peraduenture they went a by way, and not ye right way. Kiriath iearim is a Citye of woods or forestes. Whereby is geuen a reason why that place was called the tentes of Dan. And it lay on the backside of the citye of Kiriath iearim. They came to the house of Micha, and ther they pitched againe.

The fyue men answered. The verbe of answering in the Hebrue phrase signifieth as much as to begyn to talke, or to begyn to speake. They made mention of the Ephod and grauen image, whilest that they perswaded the fellow to theft or rather sacrilege. Their counsell was that it was expedient, to haue wyth them those holy thinges.

With the Hebrues to answer is to beginne to speake.

They came to the house of the young man. It is an exposition of that which was before sayde, how that they came vnto the house of Micha, namelye where the young man the Leuite ministred. They saluted him peaceably, and peraduenture they began to aske counsel of him, of the successe and euent of their expedition. The fiue hundreth men stoode before the doore, and helde the Leuite aboute the gate, whilest the fiue men spoiled the temple. For entring into it, they tooke away al with them. Afterwarde they intreate the yong man to go wyth them. And he, for that he had no other guide but his belly, easely assented vnto them. With this argument of the Danites the Papists oftentimes assayle vs: ye teach by corners in one or two cities or prouinces. Why do ye not rather come to the catholike churche with vs are riches, honors, and benefices. Ye are fooles: ye nei-

In objection of the Papistes.

ther prouide wel for your selues, nor yet for others.

By this kinde of perswasion the hart of this Sacrificer was won, who was not ready to cry out. And being perswaded, to the ende he might be the more in safety, he went in the myddest of the armed men, least peraduenture Micha, requiring his thinges againe, should haue pulled him backe againe to his house or rather he went so with his Idole, that he might somwhat resemble the Arke of couenaunt. For we reade in the booke of Numb. that as often as they went forth, and remoued their host, the Arke of the couenant was caried about by the Leuites, in the middest of the host, so that the one part of the host should go before, and the other part should follow behinde. After this maner the Leuite wold set forth his Idole vnto the Souldiours.

How great the blindnes of idolatrers is. *Augustine.*

But this is to be marualled at, that men were so blynde and mad, to make them their Gods, which wer subiect to theft and to sacrilege. Augustine in his. 2 Tome, and. 21. Treatise elegantly derideth such defenders of cities and houses. Which haue eyes and see not, feete and handes and can not moue themselues. Such saith he, were the gouernours and keepers of the Capitolium: who seyng they could not defend themselues, how much lesse were they able to defend a cyty? Neither let any say: They were not Gods that were taken awaye out of the temple of Micha, but onely two images of Gods. But Augustine sayth: If they can not defende their owne images, what hope is there that they can defende Cities or houses? But this thing is so much ridiculous, that euen the Ethnicke Poetes deride it. For Virgil hath soong of his Enea: He caried Troy with hym into Italy, & their Gods being ouercome. Undoubtedly miserable Gods, which could be ouercome of men, and be caryed into an other place. Some will obiect: That the Arke of the Lord was also taken once, and led away after a forte captiue of the Philistians. I graut that: But how was it caried away? To be kept as a prisoner? No vndoubtedly. For when it was put in the temple of the Philistians, it threw Dagon their god to the ground. Farther, it strake the Philistians with so grieuous plagues and woundes, that at the last they were compelled to send it home againe with honour. And it was taken, not because God can either be ouercome, or taken, but that the Hebrewes should bee admonished of their synnes, who without repentaunce or fayth, dyd put al their confidence in an outwarde thyng.

Virgil.

They placed their children, cattel, and substance before. Because they suspected that Micha would with armed soldiours pursue them, to see if he could recouer the thinges which they had taken away. Wherefore they would chiefly prouide for their children, cattel, and substance. This woord Supplex which we turne substance, is called in Hebrue Kechodah, either because it signifieth a burthen or a packe, or els a thing whereof men make their boast.

22 When they wer farre of from the house of Micha, the men that were in the houses neare to Michahs house, gathered together, and pursued after the children of Dan.

23 And cryed vnto the children of Dan: who turned their faces, & sayd vnto Michah, what ayleth thee, that thou makest an outcry?

24 And he sayde: ye haue taken away my Gods, whyche I made, and the Priest, and go your wayes: and what haue I more? Howe then say ye vnto me, what ayleth thee?

25 And the children of Dan sayd vnto hym: Let not thy voyce bee heard among vs, least peraduenture men of a bytter mynde runne vpon thee, and thou loose thy lyfe, wyth the liues of thine household.

26 So the children of Dan went their wayes, and when Michah saw that they were to strong for hym, hee turned and went backe vnto

vnto hys house.

27 And they tooke the thynges whyche Micha had made, and the Priest which he had, and came vnto Laish, vnto a quiet people, and wythout mystrust, and smote them wyth the edge of the swoꝛd, and burnt the City wyth fyre.

28 And there was none to helpe, bycause Laish was farre from Zidon, and they had no busynes wyth other men: also it was in the valley that lyeth by Beth-rehob. After, they buylte the Citye, and dweit therein.

29 And called the name of the City, Dan, after the name of Dan their Father, whych was boꝛne vnto Israel: how be it the name of the City was Laish at the beginning.

30 Then the chyldꝛen of Dan set them vp the grauen image: and Ionathan the sonne of Gershom, the sonne of Manasseth and hys sonnes were the Priestes in the Tribe of the Danites, vntyll the day of the captiuitye of the land.

31 So they set vp the grauen image, whych Micha had made, all the whyle the house of God was in Shiloh.

In that it is said that they which dwelled nigh the house of Micha were gathered together, is declared that the number of the houses had increased, & that by reason of peregrinacions, ther was in that place a village builded.

VVere gathered together. In Hebꝛue it is Noecu, by which verbe is signified, that they were raysed vp by an outcrye. Foꝛ so are men gathered together when they heare an outcry on euery syde.

The Danites made him afearde, and threatned that men of a bytter mynde would inuade him, whom they so cal, either bicause they were angry (foꝛ choler is of his nature bitter) oꝛ els bicause they were desperate, as they in a maner are which seeke new dwelling places, and depart from home, bicause they can not there abide commodiously. It is agayne repeated that they of Lais wer far from Zidon: which declareth that they were in league with them.

But in that it is wꝛitten that Ionathan and his sonnes were Pꝛiestes there, euen to the day of the captiuity of the lande, wee must not (as farre as I iudge) vnderstand it of the captiuity which the Hebꝛues suffred, either by the Asirians oꝛ by the Chaldeians: but of that whiche happened, when they were plagued by the Philistians: when also the Arke of the Testament was taken away. I know also that there are some of the Hebꝛues which fable that this Ionathan was the neuew of Moses by his sonne Gerson, and that his Graundfather is here called Menasseh, putting betwene this letter Nun, foꝛ to honour Moses with all. As though the holy scriptures doo not oftentimes make mencion of moste wycked chilꝛen boꝛne of excellent Parentes. But this is to be marked, that that is not very firme, neither can it be certaine, in that it was beforꝛe said, that this Leuite was a Gersonite, bycause Gerson was the sonne of Leui, and not of Menasseh. Wherefoꝛe it must nedes be vncertayne of what famely of the Leuites this man was. But now let vs diligently weigh such things as are in this chapter, woꝛthy of peculiar noting.

Let vs chiefly consider how hurtful it is to want a Pagistrate. Foꝛ although he sometimes there happen an euyl oꝛ to fauourable a Pagistrate, yet if the thing be wel weighed, there commeth from him moꝛe good vnto the publike wealth, then there would come euyl, if there were in it no Pagistrate at al. The Sunne and Moone, although they haue sometimes aspectes not very fauoꝛable, whereby now and then ensue pestilences, dearth of coꝛne, ouerflowing of waters, oꝛ

An euil Pagistrate also wanteth not some vtilitye.

exceding

exceeding beates, yet come there from them many more and greater commodities then these are. What prince was there at any time more cruel or more wicked then was Nero? And yet vnder him many good lawes flourished. He was in deede a most cruel tiranne, a man most impure and vile, and yet whilest he raigned, there was in Prouinces some regard had of iustice and lawes. In the acts of the Apostles, when *Paule* had almost bene slayne of the multitude, he was saued by the comming of the Tribune, and when he was commaunded to be beaten with rods, he escaped, bicause he said that he was a Citizen of Rome. Lastly he should haue bene deliuered vnto the Iewes, whiche thing was not done for that he had appealed vnto Cesar: wherfore there remained yet the authoritye of lawes. For when he had appealed, hee was hearde, and sent to Rome, neyther was he geuen ouer to the fury of the Iewes. Wherfore it is manifest, that God when it semeth good vnto him, punisheth and chastiseth people, in geuing them euill Magistrates: who although they be grieuous & molestious, yet doo they many wates profit the publike wealth. But when al power is taken away, and the people liue without a head, there althinges are vtterly confused and troubled. Wherfore the Apostle writing vnto Timothe doth not without a cause, will that prayers should be poured out for Princes, of whom Nero was at that time the chiefe and head. And he addeth a cause, namely that we may lyue a quiet and peaceable lyfe, with al pietye and modesty, that is, that we maye worship God godlily, and liue temperatly among men.

God punisheth the people two maner of wates

Micha being bereft of the Danite Soldiours, and turned out of al his goods, complained that he had iniury done him, neither considered hee that he was punished for his impiety. He had made an Idole against the law: he had instituted impious sacred seruices: he had hired a priest which was not of the family of Aaron, he rashly and arogantly promised vnto himselfe that al thinges should go luckely with him, saying: God wil be good vnto me. What got he at the length? In one moment he lost al. So God persecuteth the wicked. The Danites in thys wicked act were the ministers of God, although they did vniustly and grieuously synne. For they were not ordinarye Magistrates, neither was it lawfull for them by the lawe to breake into an other mans house, and to take awaye from thence whatsoeuer pleased them. This also is to bee added, for that they dyd it with an euil minde, namely to set foorth idolatrye. And we must beware, that the thinges which we doo, be not onely iust, but also that they bee iustlye done, which thing also the Ethnikes acknowledged. Augustine (in his .r. Tome, and bi. Sermon, which intreateth of taking away of images) writeth very well. Although it be wel done, that images should be taken away, yet it pertaineth not vnto priuate men, for as muche as they haue no power ouer them. That (sayth he) pertaineth to rash riotous persons, to endaunger themselues, yea euen vnto the death, to take away any thing that pertaineth not vnto them. He bringeth a place out of *Deut.* the. vii. chapter, when the Lorde shal geue the land into thy power, thou shalt destroy their Idoles, aultars, & Images. Thou shalt in deede breake the Idoles. But when: when the Lord hath geuen the lande into thy power: in the meane time thou hast no right in them. Many Ethnikes haue idoles in their houses, grounds, and gardens, ye haue no power in anye other mans house or ground. Let vs first (sayth he) take away Idoles out of their hartes, let vs perswade them, that it is detestable and sacrilege to worship an idole. Then let them of their own accord take away idoles. &c.

The Danites were the ministers of God al thoughe they knew it not.

Augustine.

It pertayneth not to priuate men to put down ymages.

But to returne to our matter. These *Danites* were both theeues and sacrilegers, and two wayes grieuously synned, although vnawares they executed the affaires of God. First, in that they being priuate men, did violently inuade an other mans good, secondlye, bicause that with an euill minde, and for idolatries sake they were moued to commit that horrible act. It seemeth that they enuied that Micha should haue an idole, and not hated the Idole. They sawe that the

The Danites synned twoo wayes.

young

yong man had answered truly touching the event of thinges: wherefore they would apply that oracle vnto them selues, and thereby make their tribe noble. They would not go vnto Siloh, and there aske counsell of the Lorde, but haue a God at home in their own house. In our time also there are many, which set vp stollen Reliques and Images to be worshipped. And it is a common saying, that the Venicians by Marchauntes tooke away the body of S. Marke from the of Alexandria, and transferred it vnto themselues. Which self thing is also boasted of in other places. In which thing this is first to be reproued, because other mens goods are by theft taken away, farther, bycause superstition is brought in and increased.

It is sayde that the body of S. Marke was taken awaye by theft.

Moreouer, we see that this Priest was a bondslaue, vtterly addicted to his belly, who when he saw greater hope of gaine, got him straightway thether, & was made a Priest in the City of the Danites. So do the Papistes at this day, they cõmunally chaunge Bishoprickes, Abbayes, and benefices. But in what maner? They transferre them selues from barren liuinges, to suche as are more ryche. Micha is sorye, and in a maner discouraged, and desperate, and saith, that nowe that his God is taken away, there is nothing els remayning vnto him. So are they woont to afflict them selues, which doo put the whole summe and effecte of religion in outward and idolatrous thinges: whiche thinges if they be taken away from them, they haue nothing els beside. They doo far otherwyse behaue themselues which doo follow God with a true faith. For whatsoeuer thing happeneth vnto them, they know that he cannot be taken awaye from them. The people at this day seeme in many places to be very like vnto this Micha. They worship the Masse, that is their Idole, and in it they put al their hope and confidence. This the Pope wel perceiueth, and therfore as often as he is angry with any Cities or Prouinces, he forbiddeth them the Masse. And the poore mysers being impacient of so grieuous a punishment, make peace with him, and receiue his conditions.

Interdictions of the Pope.

The Danites receaued vnto themselues the superstition and worshipping of Micha. So also the Papists haue transferred into their Masse straunge ceremonies, and in a maner infinite from the Iewes and the Ethnikes. And they saye that they haue put away superstition from it, where as rather they haue in many parties increased it. They haue taken of the Iewes water, oyle, fensing, salt, garmentes, lightes, and many other thinges, which in the time of the law were not idolatrous, for as much as they stayed vpon the worde of God. But nowe they are vnpure and superstitious, for that they haue not the word of God. But that which they haue receaued of the Ethnikes, as the worshipping of sygnes, inuocation of Saintes, worshipping of Images and Reliques, prayers for the dead, and other thinges of this sort, these I say were at the beginning superstitious and idolatrous, and now also are among those men, so that they are nowe in no better condition, then they were before.

The Danites possessed the City of Lais. Of the possession, destruction, and ouerthrow of this City, ther is mencion made in the booke of Iosua, the xix. chap: wherfore there ariseth a great doubt, how this history can be referred ther, whe as it was done so long time after warde. This is the cause, why some thoughte that these thinges happened in the latter time of Iosua, which thing as we haue before sayd, is not very likely. For as long as Iosua gouerned, there was no idolatry among the Israelites, neither can it be sayde that there was no Ruler among the Iewes whyles hee was liuing. Neither is it credible that the people would at that time suffer the Idole of Micha. For when the Rubenites and Gadites, after many victories, had returned to their own possession beyond Iordan, and erected an aultar on the banke of Iordan, the other tribes dyd for that cause perpare warre against them. But firste they sent messengers, and demaunded, what they ment by y their aultar. They answered, that they had not erected an

aultar

aultar, to the ende that holy seruices shoulde bee done thereon, but onelye they would haue it to be for a monument, that they shoulde not bee counted straungers from their brethren, but be thought to pertaine to the same people, and the same God. Wherefore if at that time the Israelites so hated Idolatry, that they would for that cause haue made warre agaynst the Rubenites and Gadites, it is not credible ỹ they would haue suffered the impiety of Micha. How then could this history be mencioned of in that booke? One of these twoo thinges we must answer, either that there were two cities both of one name pertaining vnto the Danites, which they by force conquered, so that of the one is mencion made in the booke of Iosua, and of the other in this history. But this seemeth to be but a fayned tale. For those thinges which are written in the booke of Iosua, do seme altogether to pertaine to this place. Farther, al the Hebrue Interpreters doo agree that it was the same city. Let vs therefore rather say, that when, as in the booke of Iosua there is described the distribution of the land, and that it cõmeth vnto this city, that which was done long time after, is there added by an interpretacion, to expound after what sort the Danites shoulde in succesſe of tyme obtaine that city. And that particle was added, not of any meane man, but either of Samuel or els of Ezra, or of some other Prophet. And this is not to corrupt, or to confound the scriptures, but to put in something that is not from the purpose, whereby the whole matter may be the better vnderstand, so that it be done by the holy ghost. And I could bring forth a great many examples, whyche are found to be spoken in the scriptures, by the figure προλήψις, or anticipacion. But those thinges ought to be sufficient, which are red in ỹ beginning of this booke.

How this history is touched in the booke of Iosua.

Of Security.

BVt bicause there is mencion made of security, I wyl speake somwhat largely of it in this place, how it ought to be praysed or dispraysed. Security semeth to be a contempt of Gods iustice, whereby synnes are punished. If we speake of that, that can neuer be but vicious. But there is founde an other also, which vndoubtedly is to be alowed, and is laudable.

Hope is a meane betwene security & desperacio

But to make the thing more plaine, let vs consider three thinges, Security, Hope, and Desperacion. Hope is euer the meane, whiche ought alwaies to bee commended. Security is erreſe, but Desperacion is want. For as in puttyng away the mercy of God, we are made desperate, so in contemning his iustice we become secure. Wherefore we maye conclude that Security is a certaine immoderate hope.

Wherof security springeth.

And it springeth hereof, either bicause we attribute to muche to our owne strength and wisdome, as though by our selues we thinke that wee are able to obtaine any thing: or els though we thinke that it lieth in the mercy of God, yet we suppose that he for our wordes ought to accomplish it. So do they which promise themselues remission of synnes, or eternal felicity, although they do no repentaunce, but lyue vnpurely and wickedlye. Or els it springeth hereof, for that we doo not beleue that there is in God any execution of iustice. And thys Security wherof we entreate, is not onely contrary vnto Desperacion, but also vnto the feare of God. For Desperacion springeth of to much feare of the iustice of God against synnes: but Security thinketh of nothing at all of that iustice. Wherefore Bernardus hath rightly sayd: Euen as the feare of God is the begynning of wysdome, so is security the ground of al impietye, and the begynning of foolishnes. For the feare of the Lord (as the scriptures testifye of it) pertayneth chefely vnto piety and religion. Wherefore in the Actes the .x. chap. Cornelius is called a man religious, and fearing God. Wherfore iustly hath security impiety ioyned with it: as it springeth of an euil beginning, so also bringeth it forth euil & naughty fruites, as sluggishnes, wilfulnes, & slothfulnes. Therefore they which trust vnto themselues, neither seke for helpe at gods hand, nor yet for ayd of men.

The feare of God is contrarye to desperacion.

Bernhardus.

Theis

These people of Lais lyued securely, although they were ioyned in no league or fellowshyp with their next neighbours. They were also infected with Negligence, which is nothing els, then a priuation of that endeuour which we ought to apply for the gouerning of thinges. By it the wyll is weakened, and the chearefulnes of the body is diminished. This kinde of security hath alwaies a daunger ioyned with it. For those thinges are not driuen away which maye be hurtfull. For how can that be done, when as they are secure or careles, thinking rightly neyther of their owne strengthes, nor yet of the mercy of God, yea they are vtterly vnknowen vnto them selues? For if they knewe them selues, they woulde not lyue so securely. Augustine vpon the foure score and nyneteene Psalme writeth: Where as is most security, there is most daunger. And he addeth, that a shyppe when it is brought into the hauen, then it yeeldeth it is in safety. But by the same waye that the shyppe entreth in, the wynde also entreth in, and ofttymes rolleth it, and breaketh it vpon a rocke. Where then can there be securitye? Adam fell in Paradise, Iudas in the fellowshyp of Christ, Cain in the household of Noe, many in the Lawe, and many also in the Gospell. Where then shall wee lyue securely? Vndoubtedly no where. Therefore Ecclesiasticus doth right wel admonish vs: Sonne stand in the feare of the Lord, and prepare thy soule to temptation. The Israelites sawe the Egiptians drowned in the redsea, Was it then meete for them to lyue in security? No surelye. Yea within a whyle after they were tempted in the wyldernes. Christ was baptised of Iohn: yet he therefore made seure? No. For he was strayght way tempted of the Deuill. Wherefore we ought then to be most of all carefull, when we are receaued into the fauour of God, for then the Deuel doth most of all watche for our destruction, and seeketh to make vs to fall. And therefore there is no place for security.

Augustine.

What Negligence is.

But are we so made of God, that we can in no place be secure? Not so vndoubtedly. For there is another good and laudable Securitye, whyche (as Augustine sayth) consisteth in the promises of God, and is taken holde of by fayth. Thys engendreth not lusklshnes or sluggishnes, but chearefulnes and diligence. Of it Dauid hath very well sounded in his foure score and eleuen Psalme: He which dwelleth in the helpe of the most highest, shall abide in the protection of the God of heauen. Where as is written in the latine Adiutorio, that is, in the helpe, the helpe woorde signifieth a couert or secrete place, whiche no man taketh hold of, but he which hath faith in the promises of God. By that buckler we are defended, with that shadowe we are couered agaynst all hurt: this is the Security of faith, and of the Spirite, which cleaueth vnto the woorde of God. And therefore it cannot be but commended. But the other Securitye is of the flesh, and therefore it is execrable and detestable. Against it are set foorth most manyfest commaundementes of Christ, namely that we should alwayes pray, knock, seeke, and watch: for the day of the Lorde wyll come lyke a theefe. If the good man of the house knewe what yure the theefe woulde come, he would vndoubtedlye watche, neither would he suffer his house to be inuaded. We oughte alwayes to praye and watche, bycause although the spirite be ready, yet the flesh is weake. Paul admonisheth vs to put on the armour of God, that wee maye resyst in the euyll day. Stande (sayth hee) with your loynes gyrded with the gyrdle of truth, putting on thee the brestplate of righteousnes, and hauing shooes on your feete, to be readye to the Gospell of peace, aboue all thinges taking vnto you the shielde of fayth, whereby ye may quenche all fyry dartes of that euyll one, and take vnto you the salet of health, and the swoorde of the spirite, which is the woorde of God. So doth Peter also arme vs against security, in his fyrste Epistle, the fyft chapter: The Deuil (sayth he) your enemye goeth about lyke a roaryng Lyon, seeking whom he may deuour: resist him being perfect in fayth.

What Securitye is good and laudable.

Securitye of the flesh.

But bycause I haue sayd that Securitie is contrarye vnto feare, I wyll not that any man should thinke that all maner of feare is to be prayed. Bycause there is also an euyll feare. And that spryngeth of an euyll iudgement of good and euyll thynges. As if a man shoulde thyncke that the aduersities of thys worlde, and the crosses whych the elect suffer, are both altogether euyll, and vtterlye to be feared. Agaynst theese thynges we must syng together wyth Dauid: I wyll not feare what man doth vnto me. There is also an other feare of the vngodly to be reproued, which feare an euyll conscience engendreth. For they whych lyue fylthely and wyckedly, are alwayes afrayd, that the heauenly vengeaunce hangeth ouer them. Suche feares Plutarche in his booke of Felicitye calleth sores of the mynde. There are (sayth hee) sores as well in the mynde, as in the body. And he addeth a tryumme similitude. As they whych in a feuer either colde or whot, bycause inwardlye they are colde or whot, are more grieuously sycke, then if there were heate or colde applyed outwardly to theyr bodyes: so they which are vexed in the mynde, are much more tormented, then they which are afflicted in the bodye. After the same maner we may saye, that they alwayes tremble and are afrayde, whose consciences are troubled. Wherefore Dauid sayd: They haue trembled for feare, where as no feare was. So Cain, and so Iudas also were wonderfully afrayde. Seneca vnto Lucilius, in hys bundreth and syxe Epistle sayth, that no place shall make a wycked man quiet. For thus he alwayes thinketh: Though I be not yet taken now, yet I maye at the length bee taken. And that I haue not hitherto bene taken, it came rather of fortune, then of confidence. They also doo exceedingly feare, whych are them selues horrible and fearefull vnto other. For he must needes feare many, whom manye feare.

There is a certain feare whych is euyll.

Plutarch.

Sores of the mynde.

Seneca.

Agaynst suche feares Seneca hath inuented remedies, namely that we should lyue iustly, and commit nothing that is wycked. But by thys meanes, who can at any tyme be secure? For who is he which synneth not? But we muche better rest our selues in the sayth of Christ, and put all our confidence and securitye in his mercy onely. After thys maner Paul teacheth vs: Beeing iustified (sayth hee) by faith, we haue peace with God. This medicine is of force against all diseases. Also Carefulnes, which seemeth to be contrary vnto Securitie, is not alwayes to be prayse: bycause in it are two vices to be taken heede of. The first is, that being moued with it, we seeke not by iuste meanes to remedye an euyll that commeth vnlooked for, as the Iewes dyd when they sayde: If we suffer thys man to lyue, the Romanes wyll come, and ouerthrowe our place and Nacion. Wherefore they decreed to destroy hym.

Remedyes against euill feare

Carefulnes is not alwayes laudable.

Farthermore we must beware, that we be not so moued for temporall thinges, to cast awaye our hope and confidence of the goodnes and prouidence of God. Wherefore the true Securitie is that whych is restrayned by fayth, and consisteth of the promises of God. Paule dyd put vs in mynde of thys, when hee wrote vnto the Romanes: If God haue geuen hys sonne for vs, how shall not he geue vs all thynges wyth hym? Who shall lay any faultes agaynst the elect of God? It is God whyche iustifieth, who then shall condemne? It is Christe whych dyed, yea and whych rose agayne, who sytteth also at the right hande of God, and maketh intercession for vs. Who shall seperate vs from the loue of God? Shall affliction? shall trouble? shall persecution? shall hunger? shall nakednes? shall daunger? shall the swoorde? I am perswaded, that neyther death, nor lyfe, nor Aungels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor thynges present, nor thynges to come, nor heyght, nor depth, nor anye other creature, can seperate vs from the loue of God, whych is in Christ Iesus our Lorde. Now it sufficiently appeareth (as I thynke) what maner of Securitie is allowed, and what maner is condemned.

What is the true and laudable Securitie.

The

¶ The xix. Chapter.

1 ALso in those dayes, when there was no king in Israel, a certayne Leuite dwelt as a straunger on the syde of mount Ephraim, and toke a wyfe a Concubine, out of Bethlehem Juda.

2 And hys Concubine playde the whoore there, & went away from him vnto her fathers house to Bethelehem Juda, & ther continued a few dayes, namely foure monethes.

3 And her husband arose & went after her, to speake vnto her hart, and to bring her againe: he had also his seruant with him, & a couple of Asses, and she brought him in into her fathers house, & when the yong womans father saw him, he reioyced of his comming.

4 And hys father in law, the yong womans father retayned hym: and he abode wyth hym three dayes. So they dyd eate and drynke, and lodged there.

5 And when the fourth daye came, they arose earelye in the morning, and he prepared to depart: then the yong womans father said vnto hys sonne in law: comfort thyne hart wyth a morsel of bread, and then go your way.

6 So they sat downe, and dyd eate and drinke both of them together. And the yong womans father sayd vnto the man: be content, I pray thee, and tary al night, and let thyne hart be mery.

7 And when the man rose vp to departe, hys father in lawe was earnest, therefore he returned and lodged there.

8 And he arose vp early the fyft day to depart, and the young womans father sayd: Comfort thine hart, I pray thee: and they taried vntil after mydday, and they both dyd eate.

9 Afterward when the man arose to depart wyth hys Concubine and hys seruaunt, hys father in law, the yong womans father sayde vnto hym: Behold now, the day drayweth toward euen. I pray you tary al nyght: Behold the sũne goeth to rest: Lodge here that thine hart may be mery, and to morrow get you earlye vpon your waye, and go to thy tent.

10 But the man woulde not tarye, but arose and departed, and came ouer agaynst Jebus, (whyche is Jerusalem) and hys two Asses laden, and hys Concubine, were with hym.

By reason of sundry calamities and plagues where with the Philistians afflicted the people of their grieuous synnes, the Israelites had nowe no lawfull magistrates: wherby came to passe that many wycked actes were cõmitted, the woorshipping of God violated, and ciuill warres arose, which must nedes happen, where synnes remayne vnpunished. And that whych mought haue bene restrayned by the punishment of one or two, brought the destruction of manye thousandes, both of the Israelites, and also of the Beniamites. We shal see in this hystory (whych the holye ghost referreth to the ende of thys booke) fyue a moste haynous wycked acte of the Beniamites. Secondlye vengeaunce taken of that Tribe by the other Tribes, wherby the Beniamites were in a maner cleane destroyed. And lastly we shal heare the wonderful instauration of that Tribe.

The occasion of this warre was thus. A certaine man being a Leuite, had a wyfe, who committed adultery, and leating the sharpenes of her housband, fled to her Parentes. Not long tyme after, her husbande went to seeke her, fyndeth her, and is reconciled vnto her. The woman as shee returned home together wyth her husband, was with most filthy wickednesse defiled of the Gabaonites, whereby she miserably perished, & so suffred punishment for her first aduoutry. For God punisheth synnes by synnes. Neither suffered he aduoutry being not punished by the Magistrates, to go vnpunished.

As touching the historye, it is no marueilous or straunge thing, that the Leuite dwelt as a straunger. For although that Tribe had certaine Cities and suburbes appointed it; yet very many of the Leuites went to the townes and villages of the other Tribes, to certifie them as touching doctrine & counsels: whereof I haue alredie before sufficiently spoken.

This man dwelt as a straunger on the syde of mount *Ephraim*. The Hebrewe woord signifieth syde, a hyll or thigh. And by translacion it signifieth a region or coast. And this is a very elegant Metaphore, where there is mention made of a mountaine. He dwelled therefore on the side of mount Ephraim.

He tooke a wyfe a Concubine. By this place is manifestlye gathered, that the Concubines of the Fathers were wiues. For the Iewes were not bound to the lawes of the Romanes, when as both at this tyme they were not made, and also they pertayned not to that nacion. Albeit I therefore speake because the Romanes had Concubines, which were not wiues. But the Hebrewes sometimes called their wyues Concubines, because they were not of the same honour and dignitie that their wyues were, which had authority in the house. Yea the Father sometimes maryed his sonne wyues, as Abraham maryed Agar, Iacob Bilham and Zilpa, Peradventure in contracting of those matrimonies there wanted tables, or some outward ceremonies, wherwith they vsed to adorne the principal matrimonies. Neither yet was that a let, but that these were matrimonies. Of this thing I haue spoken largely before. Wherefore I will at this tyme cease to go any further therein.

But in that the Leuite had a wyfe, whiche was of the tribe of Iuda, it is not to be marueiled at: because vnles maryages were inheritours, they mought mary in other tribes, which thing was not permitted to those that had inheritãce, to the ende that possessions should not be confounded. Further, forasmuche as the tribes of *Iuda* and *Leui* excelled the other in dignitye, they were the rather coopled together in matrimony. For the principality seemed wel to agree wyth the Priesthood. It is called Bethlehem of *Iuda*, to put a difference from the other Bethlehem, as we haue before declared.

She committed aduoutry by hym. We might also say against him. For ther is great iniury done vnto the man, when the wife playeth the whoore. And this preposition *Ad* signifieth either. But the plainer sense is by him. As thoughe it should haue bene said that she committed aduoutry, when she was yet together with her husband, and had not departed from him.

She fled to her father. Being so afeard of her husbande that shee durst not come in his sight, she got her to her fathers house. Aduoutry is committed, which is a grieuous crime, and yet is not punished by the punishment of the lawe, for that there was no Magistrate to execute iudgementes. And thoughe in all persons aduoutry is a grieuous wicked act, yet in the wyfe of a *Leuite* or Priest it is farre more grieuous, for as muche as the holye ministerye ought to bee well spoken of. Wherefore if the daughter of a Priest had played the harlot in her Fathers house, she was not stoned as other were, but burnt with fyre, as it is expressedly written in Deuteronomy. But why this aduoltresse was not slaine, the cause (as it is before sayde) was, for that there was no Magistrate in Israel.

The wyfe of a Minister if she be an adultres, synneth more grieuously then other.

And

And this adulteresse might think to herself, she had escaped punishment, as many other man, but she could not escape the hand of God. For god shall iudge adulterers and whoremongers, as the Epistle to the Hebrewes teacheth, which thing he doth sometimes by magistrates and sometimes when they cease, by himself. The woman was with her parents .4. monthes, in which space of time, her husband being either moued with mercy, or wearied with solitarines, went to seke his wife, and to speake to her harte. By this Hebrewe phrase is signified that he would comfort her being in misery and affliction, or geue her some profitable counsell, peraduenture that she should repent her of the crime which she had committed, promising her that if she would do so, he would receaue her into fauor agayne.

This adulterous woman escaped not the punishmente of God.

Two manner of wayes of punishinge the guilty.

He ioined a couple of Asses. That he might haue one to carry his wife, and the other to lade with thinges necessary for his iorney. The wife as soone as she sawe him, brought him into her fathers house. By whiche acte shee declared that shee was not vtterlye alienated from her husbande. The father of the maiden, that is his father in lawe, mette him and ioyfully embraced him. Whereby we gather, that the old man also wished a reconcilement betweene them.

He abode there three dayes. He abode there in deede fiue dayes: but three dayes willingly, the other two dayes he was in a maner compelled by his father in law. And they did eate and drinke. These thinges declare that they were reconciled, and that the matrimony was renewed betweene them. But when he would haue departed, the father in law sayd

Thou shalt strengthen thy hart with a morsell of bread. And by this worde bread he vnderstode all kinde of meate. The old man would not so sone let the go, because he desired to haue fauor and loue confirmed betweene them, to thend they should not afterward be easily seperated, the one from the other. This was his purpose. Behold the day is weakened. He vseth a Metaphore, and signifieth the passage of the Sunne to the west, & that there was a litle of the day remaining. So also men when they come to age, ar weakned in the body. The Leuit would tary no longer: which turned to his greate hurt.

Let vs by the way note in this place, that for him which hath made a iorney it is vnprofitable to tary long at banquettinges. For commonly they ar oppressed with night, before they can come to their lodginges.

Now it semeth that I should entreate of aduulteries, wherby I might declare the nature and greuousnes of that sinne, and setforth the punishmentes of that crime, which ar appointed both by the ciuil lawes & by the ecclesiastical, but these shalbe spoken of when wee are come vnto the history of Dauid, who committed most filthy aduultery with Bethsaba. Now I haue determined to entreate onelye of the reconciliation of the husband and the wife, after the committing of aduultery, and I will touch the whole matter briefly.

Of the reconciliation of the husband & the wife after that aduultery hath ben committed.

The ciuill lawes abhorre from reconciliation after aduultery.

The ciuil lawes are vtterly against the reconciliation of the husband and the wife, after the one hath committed aduultery. For in the Code ad.l. Iuliam de adulteris in the law. Castitati nostrorum temporum it is ordeined, that if a man maried againe a wife condemned of aduultery, he incurreth the crime of being a bawde. And in the same title in the law Crime, it is had, that he which retaineth still in matrimonye a wife that hath played the aduulteresse, can not accuse her of aduultry. Although afterward by a new law it was otherwise prouided for. Neither was it a light thinge to be condemned as a bawde: but it was euen as grie-

uons as if a man had ben condemned of adultry. For and if a man retayn her that is condemned of adultry, he may himself without an accuser be condemned of adultry. And if a man marie agayn her whom he hath once repudiated, he cannot accuse her of the adultry before committed. But if she again commit adultry, he may. Because in marieng her again he seemeth to haue allowed her acte. And if any woman be condemned of adultry, no man can take her to wife. Wherefore the ciuil lawes do abhor from reconciliacion after adultry, so that it be convict and condemned. For if it be onely his suspicion, it is lawful for the husband to retayne and accuse her whome hee suspecteth. Who if hee afterwards see that he was ledde by a vayne suspicion to accuse her, hee may cease from that which he hath begonne, so that he first obteine a release of the Iudge.

Ierome vpon the. 19. chapter of *Mathew* may appeare to agree with the ciuil lawes. For he writeth: she which hath deuided her self into deadly two, ought not to be retained, least her husbande be made subiect vnto the curse. For as it is written in the. 18. chapter of the Prouerbes he which retaineth an adulteresse, is vngodly and a foole. In dede so haue the. 70. interpreters turned it, but the verity of the Hebrewe hath it not. The same Ierome saith: If there happen any sin, it breaketh not matrimony. But if ther happen adultery, then the wife is not lawfull. Austin the. 32. question the first, ar rehearsed the words of Chrisostome. If a manne haue to doe with an adulterous wife, let him do penaunce. And the same Chrisostome vpon the. 26. chap. of Mathew: Euen as he is vniuste which accuseth an innocent, so is he a foole which retayneth an adulteresse. The same thing is had in the decretals de Adult. in the chap. Si vir sciens. And it was decreed at the counsell of Orleaunce. The husbande which retaineth an adulteresse is partaker of the crime. And if a woman repudiated, marye an other, her lawe husband being dead, she can not return vnto the first. For now she is vncleane vnto him, as it is written in the. 24. of Deut.

But now omitting these thinges, let vs see the reasons which serue for reconciliation. God himselfe which is onely good, wouns as the husbandes of the church, and that not onely in our time, but also in the times of the fathers. And the church, especially the old church, oftentimes turned aside to idolatry, and committed whoredome with the Gods of the Gentiles, as euery where appeareth in this booke, and also in the history of the kinges, and in the prophetes. Nedertheles yet Ieremy called it back againe in the name of God to return to her husband. Which selfe thinge Hoseah the prophet also did, & that with many wordes. And if god be redy to receaue his wife beynge an adulteresse, man ought also to returne into fauor agayne with his wife, especially if she repent, and beginne a new life. For as many as are christian men, professe the imitation of God. Ther is also an example of Dauid, who toke agayne his wife Michol, although her father had placed her to an other man. *Iustinian* also in his Authentikes, when he commaundeth that an adulteresse should be beaten & be shut vp in a monastery, yet he geueth libertye to the husbandes to take her againe, and that, within the space of two yeares, & so he most manifestly alloweth reconciliation. *Iustinian*

Augustine in his. 2 boke to Pollencius is very much in this, y they should be reconciled. For many in his time would not receaue their wiues which had committed adultery, as such, as which were now polluted & contaminated. Wherefore he wrote: dost thou thinke her polluted, whom baptisme and repentaunce hath purged. Whom God hath cleansed, y he ought not to leaue to thee polluted. And if she be now receiued vnto the mayes of the church, & admitted into y kingdome of heauen, by what right canst thou put her from thee. These thinges are had also in 32. question. 1. If she haue fallen, thou must know it came of humayne nature, & mercy must be shewed her, if she repent. For we would the same to be done vnto vs. And extreme right, is extreme wrong. In the decretals de adulteriis & stupris, in the chap. Si vir sciens, it is had out of the counsel of Orleaunce. *Augustine*

An

An adultreſſe if ſhe repent, ought to be receaued. The gloſe in that place demaũdeth, by what right or dewty ſhe ought to be receaued. It anſwereth: Not by the lawe of neceſſitye, for if ỹ man will not, he cannot be compelled to receaue her, wherfore he ought by the law of honeſty to take her agayne. But I woulde demaund whither it ought not alſo to be done by ỹ dewty of pietye by the ſtregth of the commaundement of God, for as much as Paule to the Philip. ſaith, do thoſe thinges, whatſoeuer ar honeſt and iuſt: Therfore it is alſo don by neceſſity of the commaundement. But the gloſer in that place intreated of the outward iudgemente, wherein no man can be compelled to receaue an adultereſſe. But in the Cannon law cited it is aſked: Not very often. For if ſhe fal often into adultry, ſhe ought not to be receiued. The Gloſe in the ſame place obiected vnto it ſelf, ſaith, why whẽ he was demaũded, how oft we ſhuld forgeue our brother whẽ he offendeth againſt vs, anſwered not onely ſeuẽ times, but ſeuenty ſeuẽ times. To this he ſayth, that the wordes of the Canõ are to be underſtãd, that when ỹ adultereſſe ſo oftentimes falleth, the church ſhall not entreate for her reconciliacion, partelye bycauſe there ſhoulde be opened a wyndowe to wyckednes, and partly bycauſe ſhe might thinke that penaunce is but fayned and deſſembled. There is alſo added an other aunſwere, that that is ſpoken for a terrour, leaſt men ſhould more freely and carelelly commit ſinne. Hereby is gathered that the church oughte to entreate for the reconciliation of the repentant, that they may be reconciled. Wherfore an adultreſſe, either ſhe weth ſignes of repentaunce, or els ſhe weth not. If ſhe ſhew ſignes, the church oughte to entreate for her, that there may be a reconciliation made. But if ſhe ſhewe none, the church ſhall not entreate for her: otherwiſe it ſhould ſeme to maintain ſinnes.

When the church ought to entreate for thoſe that fall.

Now muſt we aunſwere vnto the argumẽts which ſemed to be againſt reconciliation. As touching the ciuill lawes they are to be corrected by the worde of God. Ierome and Chriſoſtome do ſpeake of ſuch an adultreſſe whiche repenteth not, which ſelfe ſame thing is manifeſtly vnderſtand by the counſel of Orleance. For that it is there ſaid: He whiche retaineth an adultreſſe, is partaker of the crime: but if ſhe repent, let her be receaued. But why the lawe of Moſes ſuffred not, that a wife repudiated ſhould not after the death of her latter huſbande returne vnto her firſt, the cauſe may eaſely be aſſigned. For if he had permitted ỹ, then diuorcements would eaſely haue bene had, in hope ſomtimes to recouer again theyr wife. God would that ſhe that was repudiated, ſhoulde returne no more, to the ende that ſhee ſhoulde not eaſelye bee repudiated. There might alſo bee conſpiracies made againſte the latter huſbande, whereby the wyfe myght, when hee were diſpatched awaye, returne agayne vnto her firſte huſbande. Wherefore the lawe of God was moſte iuſte, whiche pertayned not vnto aduoutrous women, which by the commaũdement of God ought to be ſtoned. By theſe thinges now it is manifeſt that it is lawfull for the huſband to return into fauor with his wife being an adultereſſe, ſo that ſhe repent: who yet ought to accuſe his wife of adultry, if it be a publike crime, or if ſhe perſeuer in her wickednes, or els if ſhe bring forth any children by adultry, leaſt the lawful heires ſhould be defrauded: for vnleſſe ſhe be accuſed, the huſbande cannot depriue the ſon borne in adultry, but that he ſhall inherite. Farther, let the church entreate and worke with him, that he would receaue againe the woman being repentãt. Wherfore our Leuite ought not to be reproued, becauſe he receaued again into fauor his wife being an adultreſſe, ſo that ſhe repented her of her adultery. But now will I return to the interpretation.

Anſwers vnto the reaſons on the contrary part. The counſell of Orleance. The cauſe why the law of Moſes prohibited the returne of a wyfe repudiated vnto her firſt huſbande.

11 When they were nere to Iebus, the day was ſore ſpent and the ſeruant ſaid vnto his maſter: come, I pray thee, and let vs turn into this city of the Iebuſites, and lodge al night there.

12 And his maiſter aunſwered him: we will not turne into the city of ſtraungers that are not of the children of Iſrael, but we will go

forth to Gibeah.

13 And he said vnto his seruant: Come, and let vs draw nere to one of these places, that we may lodge in Gibeah or in Ramah.

14 So they went forwarde vpon their waye, and the sunne went downe vpon them nere to Gibeah, which is in Beniamin.

15 Then they turned thither to goe in and lodge in Gibeah: and when he came, he sate him downe in a strete of the city: for there was no man that tooke them into his house to lodging.

16 And behold, there came an old man from his workes out of the field at euen, and the man was of mounte Ephraim: but dwelte in Gibeah, and the men of the place were the children of Iemini.

17 And when he had lift vp his eyes, he saw a wayfaringe man in the stretes of the city: then this old man sayd, whether goest thou, and whence comest thou?

18 And he answered him, we came from Beth-lehem Iudah, vn to the side of mounte Ephraim: from thence am I: and I went to Beth-lehem Iudah, and go now to the house of the Lorde: and no man receiueth me into his house.

19 Although we haue straw and prouender for our Asses, and also breade and wyne for me and thine handmayd, and for the boy that is with thy seruant: we lacke nothing.

20 And the old man said: peace be with thee: al thy penury be vpon me: only abide not in the strete al night.

How it is sayd that Ierusalē was at this time a city of straungers.

Ierusalem was therfore called *Iebus*, because the *Iebusites* in the old time inhabited it. The seruant counselled his master to take lodgynge before the Sunne should set. But he would not. We will not turne in (sayth he) neither to this city nor to that, neither to any other city of straungers which ar Gentiles. But it may seme meruailous how *Ierusalem* is called straunge from the Israelites, when as in the beginning of this booke there is mencion made, ℣ the Hebrewes toke it & named it *Ierusalem*. They which sayd that this history is to be referred vnto the first times of the Iudges, namely that it was done before Othoniell beganne to iudge, from the death I say of *Iosua*, to the gouerment of Othoniell, seeme to be ledde by this argument. In that space of time they say these thinges happened. These mens coniecture hath in dede som shew of truth. But it is not very firm. For wee muste knowe that the Iewes often times behaued themselues ill in fallinge from the worshippinge of the true God. Wherefore he left them destitute of his ayde, wherof they being berued, they were again ouercome of those, whome before they had ouercome, whereby it came to passe that the *Iebusites* recouered agayne their city and dwelled in it. Wherefore those thinges which are written in the beginninge of this booke, are not agaynst those which are nowe declared. For the *Iebusites* hauing recouered their city, inhabited it as they did before, and it was called after the old name.

The wise counsell of the seruant.

The seruant did gene his master wise counsell, if a man should loke vpon ℣ the euent. For it is daungerous to trauayle by night especially for a man that is a straunger and vnarmed, as this Leuite was, which had with him onely his wife and his seruant. Neyther is this any new or vnaccustomed thinge that seruantes ar sometimes wiser the their masters, although it oftetimes happeneth, that counsel hath authority of the gener: as we vnderstand happened here, wher counsel although it were profitable, is despised, peraduenture because it came fr a seruāt. *Aristotle* in his Politikes saith, they which excel in mind & counsel ought

Aristotle.

to

to beare rule and they which are strong of body must obey. But that cōmeth not alwayes to passe: yea rather it oftentymes happeneth that maisters which are not of the wisest, but yet strong in body, haue seruaunts far wiser then themselues, although they be not very strong in body. Further we must not deny, but ỹ prouidence and counsels whiche are the giftes of God are not bounde vnto the conditions or estates of Lordshyp and seruitude, nor also to the temperatures of bodyes. God geueth them, to them whom he thinketh good, & that most freely, sometymes to seruauntes, and sometymes to Lordes, sometymes to poore men, and sometymes to riche men. GOD ministred vnto a man hoyng a seruaunt good counsell: whiche yet the Leuite would not folow to his great hurt. For if he had turned into the City of the Iebusites, peraduenture he had not fallen into that calamity whiche followed.

The gyftes of God are not bound vnto the estates or condicions of men.

These thinges are spoken concernyng the counsell of the seruiaunt if we consider ỹ vtility therof: but yet a thing is not to be iudged by ỹ euent. Neither is the Leuite in this place rashely to be accused: bycause it seemeth that he had a shewe of honesty & piety. For he thought, that if it were possible, he should not go vnto the vngodly & Idolatrers, such as were the Iebusites, and he had a great deale better opinion of the Hebrues, then of straungers. Yea and the seruaunt, for ỹ he so earnestly desired to turne into ỹ Iebusites, may be accused either of sluggishnes, for that he being weary of the iourney, would take no paynes to go any further: or els he may be accused of vnaduisednes, bycause he considered not with himselfe ỹ the Iebusites were enemyes vnto ỹ Hebrues: or els of an vngodly mind, for that he litle passed to turne vnto Idolatrers. Wherfore it seemeth that the Leuite did rightly and wisely, if we looke vpon the ordinary way and law of piety, and not vpon the end. But all thynges happened contrarily. For in Gibaa (as we shall heare,) his wife was by violence oppressed, and so died: and ciuile warre stirred vp, wherin many thousandes of men died. Wherfore we ought alwayes to suspect our counsels as touching the ende, but yet not as touchyng iustice, not that we should feare, least god should cast vs away, but least for our sinnes there might happē some miserable end. Wherfore whē we haue determined to do any thing, we must with most feruent prayers pray vnto God to turne to good the counsell whiche we haue taken, and to direct our purpose. For vnles he build the house, they labour in vayne which build it. And except he prosper our enterprises, all thynges are in vayne taken in hand. And yet in the meane tyme we must vse a very great diligence. But nowe we rede not ỹ the Leuite called vpon God, when as yet he was in some daunger. Iacob when he should iorney into Mesopotamia called vpon God with a great fayth.

The Leuite is excused.

What we ought in counsell to counte doubtful, and what certayn.

What is to be doone after we haue taken counsell.

The counsell or purpose of the Leuite was to turne into Cities which the Hebrues inhabited, especially either vnto Gibaa or vnto Rama. These Cityes were not farre from Ierusalem. He entred into Gibaa, where no man had hym to his house. That City longed to the tribe of Beniamin. It may seeme that he would rather haue gone to Rama, but (as it is written) the sunne went downe vpon him nyghe vnto Gibaa, wherfore he entred into a City of men vncurteous. For whē the man being a straunger rode in the streetes in the night tyme, no man receaued him into his house. But where as barbarous inhospitality reigneth, there also are more grieuous wicked vices wont not to be wantyng. But why no mā receaued him into his house, the cause was, for that in a great number of euil Citezins, there were very few good men, & if there were any, the same were afrayed to receaue him into their house, least for his sake some euill should happen vnto them. For they knewe the wantōnes and the filthy lustes of those men. And so whilest the straunger was despised, the law of God was in that City had in contempt. For it commaunded, that gentlenes should be shewed vnto straungers, yea and God called himselfe the tutor and reuenger of straungers, neither could

Why no man had the Leuite to his house.

those

those Citeziens seeme any longer to be the people of God, seyng they had cast away hys lawe.

A praise of hospitality.

And even as to contemne straungers is a most grieuous vice: so is hospitality a vertue most excellent. Wherfore in the Epistle to the Hebrues it is written: Forget not liberality and hospitality. Although (not to dissemble) in Greeke it be somewhat otherwise written φιλοξενίας καὶ κοινωνίας. But φιλοξενία is the generall worde of hospitality. Then it followeth: For with such sacrifices God is wel pleased. Out of which place the Papistes go about to defende merites, as though he which sheweth himselfe liberall towardes the poore, shall deserue something at Gods hand. But in the Greke is rede εὐαρεστεῖται, which signifieth not, shalbe wonne by deserte, but receaueth with a glad and chearefull minde: which is to be referred vnto God, and not to those which shew liberality vnto the poore. The sense therfore is this, that god doth reioyse in such sacrifices, & doth accept them with a glad mynde, yea and Christ himselfe also shall say in the last iudgement: I was a straunger and ye lodged me, for he that receaueth a straunger, receaueth Christ in him. So Abraham & Lot when they thought that they had had straungers in their house, receaued the same of God & aungels. The Gabaonites being voyde of this vertue, contemned the Leuite beyng a straunger walkyng in the streete. But there was in that City a certayne other straunger, which was borne in mount Ephraim, who being moued with mercy, receaued the Leuite into hys house. And so in Gaba a straunger was better then the Citezins. This man peraduenture was a husband man, and in the euenyng returned out of the field frō his rusticall worke. The Leuite telleth him that he hath prouender for his Asses, and also that he wanted not bread and wine, that he might the sadelier and willinglier be receaued. As though he should haue sayd, we shall not be burdenous vnto any man, for we haue all things that are necessary for our liuyng.

Peace be with thee: Thy pouerty be vpon me. Care not (sayth he) I will furnishe that which wanteth. Nothing passe what thou hast with thee, or what thou hast not. The humanity of this man was great, wherbe appeareth so muche the more excellent, bycause he dwelled among the inhumane and cruel Gabaonites. He was borne & brought vp in an other place, where the feare of God was more regarded, then among the Gabaonites. yet he seemeth not herein to be praysed, for that he dwelt so longe among vngodly and wicked men. For we ought not to esteme any thyng so much, that for the cause therof we should haue a will to dwell among idolatrous & wicked men. Wherfore if any grieuous chaunce happen in that society vnto men which are otherwise good, they can not complayne that the same happeneth vnto them vndeserued. Lot sped yll bycause he dwelt among the Sodomites. He saw the countrey fertyll and plentifull, & hauing great plēty of heardes and flockes, he would abide there. But with that he escaped not vnpunished. For once he was led awaye prisoner, and except Abraham had deliuered him with an armye which he had assembled, he should al his lyfe tyme haue serued in most hard bondage. Afterward when those Cityes were burnt, he scarsely escaped frō burning. Which benefite he may ascribe rather vnto Abraham, then vnto himself: for if he had perished together with them, he should haue had no cause to haue cōplained of God. Euill fellowship alwayes for the most part, either hurteth or els engendreth daunger.

We must flye the fellowshyp of wicked men.

How vnprofitable euill fellowshyp is.

The Gabaonites beyng of the tribe of Beniamin, are called also the children of Iemini, bycause that famely was noble in that tribe. Wherfore this famely possessed ꝑ City, although Dauid Kimhi expounded the sonnes of Iemini, for stroge and mighty men, for Iemini in Hebrew signifieth the right hand. Wherfore the children of Iemini (as he thinketh) are they, which haue lawe and regut in the right hand, and therfore do not what is lawful, but what they can. I do not deny but that the Gabaonites were such, but I rather allowe the first exposition as the truer and more simple. For it is manifest that it was a famely in Beniamin,

D. Kimhi.

of

of whiche came Saul also.

Mesapha signifieth in Hebrew whatsoeuer meate is geuē vnto cattell, beastes straw and chaffe, that is Tares, Otes, and Barley. The old man had compassiō of the straunger, either peraduenture because he was his countreyman, or els at the least for that he himselfe also dwelt there as a straunger. For common miseryes do oftentymes ioyne men together. Wherefore in Virgil Dido sayth: I not *Virgil.*
beyng ignorannt of euil, do learne to succor the miserable. After the same maner the Lord sayth in ỳ law: afflict not straūgers, because ye were sometymes straūgers your selues in Egypt. But the Gabaonites had vtterly forgotten their olde estate. But ỳ old mā, because in time past he had ben a straūger, or rather because he was euen then also a straūger, was moued with mercy. Yea & God doth somtymes some what afflict those that are his, that they should learne to haue cōpassion ouer other. For they whiche alwayes florishe in wealth and riches, are not greatly moued with the miseryes of other men. And Paul to the Hebrues sayth, that Christ was made lyke vnto his brethren in all thynges, that he myght haue compassion of other.

The Leuite maketh mention that he would go vnto the house of God, that is in Siloh where the arke of the Lord was. And Siloh was in mount Ephraim. He would therfore go thether, peraduenture to gene thākes vnto god, because hauing borne his wife agayn he had luckily finished his business. Other thinke that the yong man added these things of the arke and house of God, to the end the old mā should be the more gentle vnto him, when he should vnderstand that he was no common man, but a Leuite, which would go vnto the holy tabernacle of God.

21 So he brought hym into his house, & gaue fodder vnto ỳ Asses: Afterward they washed their feete, and did eate and drinke.

22 And as they were making their hartes merye: Behold, the men of the City, wicked men, be set the house round about, and smote at the doore, and spake to this old man the master of the house, saying: Bryng forth the manne that came into thyne house, that we maye knowe hym.

23 And this man the master of the house went out, and sayde vnto them: Nay my brethren do not so wickedly, I praye you: seyng that this man is come into mine house, do not this villanie.

24 Behold, here is my daughter, a virgine, and his concubine: thē will I bryng out nowe, and humble them, and do with them what seemeth you good: but to this man do not this detestable acte.

25 But the men would not harken to hym: therfore the man tooke hys concubine and brought her out vnto them: and they knewe her, and abused her all the nighe vntyl the morning: and when the day began to spryng, they let her go.

26 So the woman came in the dawning of the day, and fell downe at the dore of the mās house, where her Lord was, till the light day.

27 And her Lorde arose in the morning, and opened the doores of the house, and went out to go his waye, and behold, the woman his concubine was dead at the doore of the house, and her handes laye vpon the threshold.

28 And he sayde vnto her, vp and let vs go: but she answered not. Then he tooke her vp vpon the Asse, and the man rose vp, and went vnto his place.

29 And when he was come to his house, he tooke a knife, and layde hande

hand on his concubine, and deuided her in peces with her bones into twelue partes, and sent her throughout all the quarters of Israel. 30 And all that sawe it (sayd:) There was no suche thyng doone or sene since the tyme that the children of Israell came vp from the lande of Egypte vnto this daye: consider the matter, consulte, and geue sentence.

Where as it is sayd, And he gaue his Asses foder. In Hebrew it is written Vaiabol whiche signifieth, he mingled, for this verbe Balal signifieth to mingle. For in those regions they vse to mingle chopped straw with barley, & so to geue them vnto their cattell. And washed their fete. In those places ỳ are extreme hot, when men haue done their iorney, they vse to washe their feete, & to wipe away the dust, which office was sometymes shewed vnto Christ our sauiour, and he again executed the same vnto his Apostles. Paul also required this of good widowes, namely to washe the feete of the saintes.

The maner of washing of fete very muche vsed in Syria.

Bring out the man that we may know him. By these wordes is described a thing most filthy & an horrible act. There was neuer heard of the like boldnes & filthy lust as was this of the Gabaonites. Therfore they are called the children of Belial, that is, without an yoke, bycause they had shaken of good maners, the lawe of God and of nature, neither would they abyde to beare any yoke. Hereby also appeareth their exceding cruelty, for they did not onely despise a straunger, but also would reprochefully haue doone him great iniury.

But ỳ good old man the host of ỳ Leuite, had not onely receiued him into hys house, but also afterward defended him with ỳ danger & iniury of his house. He goeth forth vnto thē, exhorteth thē not to cōmit any such thing. First bycause the thing was filthy & horrible: farther, bycause ỳ mā had entred into his house, & he coūted it his part, by right of hospitality to defend him frō al iniury. Last, whē he perceaued ỳ their lust was inportunate & vnbridled, he offred vnto thē his own daughter & the wife of ỳ Leuite, rather thē they should do him so great a reproche. Howbeit they as contēners both of god & men did nothing care for these things. The right of hospitality was of no force with thē, which the old mā obiected vnto thē. Undoubtedly faith is to be kept with an enemy, how much more with a guest or stræger. Wherfore in the digestes, de nautis & cauponis in ỳ latin., there is a double actiō allowed against the host, if any thing be take away out of ỳ lodging frō the guest, how much more if there be violence done against his body? Among the elders ỳ religiō of straungers was great, bycause it seemed a right acceptable vnto god to defend & saue harmeles ỳ straūger. Wherfore Iupiter, as he was called Stator & Pheretrius, so also was he named Hospitalis, as it were a keper and defender of straungers. But Busiris like a cruell & bloudy Tyrant slewe his guestes. But his cruelty escaped not vnpunished, for Hercules slew him with his club.

Of the fayth of Hospitality.

Iupiter Hospitalis.

Busyris a cruell host.

The Gabaonites wont al yeare rāged about in the night tyme, beate the doores, threaten to breake it open, & to slay them ỳ resist, when as otherwise euery mā ought to be safe in his owne house. Which thing was also decreed afterward by the Romane lawes, as it is had in the title de in ius vocando, in the digestes in the lawe plerique: No man ought to haue hys house inuaded. For the priuate house of euery man seemeth to be a certayne holy sanctuary to his possessor. But with the Gabaonites there was nothyng safe or holy: so much had lacke of a gouernor brought to passe.

Euery manne ought to bee safe in his own house.

The olde man when he dissuaded them from their wicked crime, called them brethren, to see if by pleasant and gentle speech he could haue allured thē. For if he should haue dealt more sharpely, he should more behemently haue kyndled them. And yet in callyng them brethren he lyed not, for as they came of the tribe of Beniamin, and he descended of Ephraim, they were begotten all of one father, namely,

The vngodly are sometymes called brethrē.

namely of Iacob. Lot also in the like cause called the Sodomites brethren. It was vndoubtedly wysedome in moste daungerous corrections, to vse moste gentle wordes. Yea and Augustine when he wrote to the Madaurenses, whiche otherwise were Idolatrers, called them brethren. Wherfore it is to be lamented and meruayled at, that the Ministers of the Churches of the Lutherians doo so abhorre from our men, that they will not in any case call them brethren, as though they denyed the sonne of GOD, and preached not his Gospell. But our Churches nothing regarde their importunity, but of Christian charity counte them for brethren, whether they will or no: and although they differ from them in the matter of the Sacrament, yet haue they not broken the bande of brotherly charity towardes them. But whether of vs doo behaue our selues more sincerely and faythfully in the fielde of the Lord: Christ in the last day, & also in tyme hereafter shall declare. Augustine.

But here commeth a question whether this olde man did well, in offryng his daughter and the wife of the Leuite vnto the Gabaonites, to the ende they should not violate his guest. To this all men aunswere not after one manner. Some say that he considered the greatenes and horriblenes of the wicked crime, and preferred the lesser euill before the greater, and would not breake his fayth geuē vnto his guest. And by these reasons they thinke to excuse hym. And after the same manner they iudge of Lot. And amonge other Chrisostome exceedyngly prayseth Lot in that thyng: whiche selfe thyng doth Ambrose also in hys booke of Abraham the Patriarche, bycause he lefte esteemed the contumely of hys house, then so great a wicked acte. But Augustine in his questions vpon Genesis, considereth these things, both more diligently & also more depely, and denyeth that to recompēse one faulte by another, is not in any case to be suffred. By his sentēce it was not lawfull for hym to permitte hys daughter to the lust of the Sodomites, to the ende they should not sinne more grieuously. Neither is it lawfull for vs to committe the lyghter crime, to auoyde a more grieuous. For the Apostle hath openly taught: That euyll thynges are not to be doone, that good should ensue. Wherfore when the matter commeth to sinne, although it seeme light, yet we must vtterly abstayne from it. And if it should seeme that some greuouser sinne would followe, if we should refuse to sinne, that care is to be committed vnto GOD, but we vnder that pretence ought not to committe any sinne. This was Augustines opinion, whiche I exceedingly well allowe. And not to goe from our purpose, whiche we haue in hande, although this olde man ought fayth vnto hys guest, yet ought he fayth and defence also vnto his daughter, and vnto the wife of the Leuite. Neither was it lawfull for him to performe more fayth vnto hys guest, then the woorde of GOD would suffer. Wherfore he could not iustly humble vnto them his daughter, or the wife of his guest. For the father hath not the daughter so in hys power, that he maye put her forth to other men to be abused. Neither ought the daughter to obey in any thyng that is sinne, thoughe the father wolt and commaunde her. Chrisostome. Ambrose. Augustine. Compensation of sinnes is not to be admitted.

But they say: The lesser euill is to be preferred before the greater. I knowe that vsuage hath so to say. But it must ryghtly be vnderstand, namely that it take place in outwarde afflictions and griefes of the body, and of the lyfe. Bycause in such discommodityes, as often as we must take deliberation what we ought to preferre, the lesser hurt is to be preferred before the greater: bycause it hath the nature and reason of goodnes. But in sinne there is no consideration of goodnes. And vndoubtedly what soeuer is synne, the same muste strayght waye be reiected, let follow what will. But Augustine, excuseth after a sorte Lot and hys olde manne, bycause they fell with a heauy and troubled mynde. It oftentymes happeneth vnto wyse men, with a troubled mynde to doo those thynges, whiche afterwarde when they come to themselues, they allowe not. How the lesser euill is to be preferred before the greater.

But this excuse doth not vtterly absolue these menne from sinne, although it somewhat release them. But if a manne will say, Paul preferred the lesser sinne before the greater, when he sayde, he woulde be accursed of Christ for hys brethrē, rather then they should perisshe in that blyndnes and stubbernnes, wherein they were holden. He whiche obiecteth this vnto vs, must knowe that he doth not rightly vnderstand that place of Paul. For the Apostle desired to redeme the saluation of the Iewes with his daunger, not vndoubtedly with sinne, but with hys losse or hurte, namely to be accursed of Christe, not certaynely to be made an Apostata, or to cease to beleue in Christ, but onely not to haue the fruition of the eternall and blessed lyfe. Augustine also hath many thynges against thys compensation of sinnes. And amonge other thinges: What (sayeth he) if a man require, either of a mayden fornication, or of a maryed woman adultery, and threateneth to kill hymselfe, vnles he obteyne hys request, ought the pure and chaste women to fulfill his desire? No vndoubtedly. Neither thoughe he afterwarde slay hymselfe, shall the chast women be counted guilty of his death. They ought in deede to be sorye for hym, to deplore his acte, but not to thinke they haue done euill, bycause they graunted hym not vnlawfull thynges. The same Augustine vpon the.146. Psalme writeth: If a man deny dewe beneuolence vnto his wife bycause he would lyue chastly, and the wyfe in the meane tyme fall into adultery, he sinneth, neither can his entent be allowed. For sinne is not to be admitted in the wyfe, for the exercising of continency. God (sayeth he) doth not recompense suche a hurte with suche a gayne. Wherfore the sentence of Leo the first, in the dist. 46. chapter. Non suo) is to be allowed, wherein he sayth, that it is vncomely that any should bestow they r faultes vpon other mens to mmodities. Augustine in hys booke De mendacio to Consentius sayeth: For the health of our neyghbours, we must doo whatsoeuer may be doone. And if it come to that point, that we can not helpe them without sinne, there remayneth nothyng els for vs to doo. And he addeth that no manne must be brought into heauen by a lye. The same Augustine in an other place sayeth: If poore menne see a cruell and bitter riche manne, and woulde steale any thynge from hym, eyther to helpe themselues, or other poore menne, they doo not diminishe sinne, but encrease it. And Gregory Bysshoppe of Rome in hys Epistle to Siagrius: To committe the lesse sinne, to the end to auoyde the greater, is to offer Sacrifices vnto GOD of a wicked acte, as it is written in the.21. of the Prouerbes. But in that Chrisostome and Ambrose doo for thys cause prayse Lot, they are thus to bee vnderstande, namely that they allowed hys charity and fayth towardes straungers, and had a respecte vnto the horribleues of the sinne whiche the Citezins were ready to committe, not that they allowed their abandonyng of they r women. And thus muche as touchyng thys matter.

Augustine.

Augustine.

Leo

Augustine.

Gregory

To Chrisostome and Ambrose.

How much the horrible synne of the Sodomites is to be detested.

Augustine.

But in that the olde manne calleth it a villany and a detestable thyng, whiche they went about to committe, he sayeth most truely. For seede was geuen vnto manne for procreations sake. But these pestiferous menne abuse the gifte geuen them of GOD, they resiste hys law, and agaynste nature chaunge menne, in that after a sorte they turne the male into the female. Augustine to Pollentius: Adultery (sayeth he) is more grieuous then whoredome, and incest more heynous then adultery, but that whiche is done agaynste nature, is of all most wicked and detestable. And he addeth: In thynges whiche GOD hath graunted, it is more tollerable immoderatly to transgresse, then lyghtly to sinne in those thynges whiche by no meanes are graunted. And in hys.3. booke of Confessions he sayeth, that the fellowshyp of humane kynde is violated with GOD, bycause nature whiche we haue of GOD, is polluted. This was the crye of the Sodomites and the Gomorhites which ascended into heauē, and the grieuousnes of their

of their wickednes is moste manifest by their distruction. For they were distroyed with fire and brimestone from heauen, punishementes vndoubtedly agreable vnto so greate a heynous crime: by the fire was noted their burnyng filthy luste, and by brymestone theyr stynkyng and vnpure wicked crime. Chriso- *Chrisostome.*
stome writeth: Bycause they followed not fertility, but barennes, therfore God made that so ill, baren, and infertyle whiche before was most fertile. But he demaundeth: Why are not they whiche are in the same faulte in these dayes punished also after the same manner? He aunswereth, whome that punishement moueth not, for them abydeth the vnquencheable fyre. And they are not so punished in this lyfe, bycause suche menne for the moste parte are conuersaunt amonge good menne: and GOD promised Abraham, that he was ready to forgeue Sodome, if there moughte haue bene founde there but onely tenne good menne. Wherefore for as muche as Cityes at this daye are not altogether so corrupte, as Sodome was then, therefore GOD dealeth more remissedly with them. It also oftentymes happeneth, that although these men are moste wicked, yet they had good predecessors. And GOD (as he hath testified) tarieth, and differreth the punishement vnto the thyrde and fourth generation. Farther, we muste marke that thys vice wheresoeuer it ranged, it is not alone. With it are ioyned cruelty, inhumanity, pryde, robbery, and oppressing of the poore. And when it shall come to this point, that menne cruelly withdrawe their dewtyes from their neyghbours, GOD doth then on the other side withdrawe hys helpe and grace. Wherefore they beyng left vnto themselues, that is, vnto their owne corrupte and viciate strengthes, doo degenerate into beastes. The lawe of GOD in Exodus and Deuteronomy made thys sinne death. And Paul to the Romanes sheweth that thys is the punishement of Idolatrers. And in an other place he numbreth abusers of nature with them, whom he excludeth from the kyngdome of GOD. Amonge the olde Grecians thys wicked crime was punished with death, and that by the lawe of Laius, whereof Bessarion maketh mention agaynste Trapezuntius. Tertullian de Monogamia writeth that among the Romanes there was a lawe called *Lex* Scantinia, whiche was of the same shapenes. For he would signify that the Bysshoppe of Vthinensis was contaminated with thys kynde of wickednes: He feared not (sayeth he) the lawe called Lex Scantinia. In the Code ad l. Iuliam de Adulteriis & stupris in the lawe Cum vir nubit. Constantius Augustus, commaundeth the lawes to arise, and the lawes to be armed with the auengyng swoorde, that such as are infamed by this crime, should be subiect to most cruell punishementes. Iustinian also in his Authentikes in the title vt no *Luxurientur contra naturam*, maketh thys crime death, and addeth that for such a detestable crime, Cityes are ouerthrowen, and plagued with pestilences, hunger, and earthquakes. He mought also haue added ciuile warres, whiche (as this Hystory testifyeth) doo followe, and those moste cruell. Extra de excessibus prelatorum in the chapter Clerici, it is ordeyned, that they whiche are taken in thys crime, shoulde be put out of theyr place and dignity. And the lay men also should be excommunicated.

Why god doth in these dayes deferre the punishement of Sodomites.

The Sodomitical sinne is to bee punished with death.

Bessarion.
Tertulian.
Lex Scatinia.

But it is to be knowen that euen GOD bendeth hymselfe to vengeaunce, and sendeth fury and madnes vpon suche persons, where the Magistrate neglecteth his dewty, and suffreth wicked menne to go vnpunished. Therefore in Genesis it is written that the aungelles smote the Sodomites with blyndnes, so that they could not finde the house.

We muste also note that the Gabaonites came in a manner all of them vpon a heape vnto the doore, that it myght appeare that they all conspired into thys so detestable a crime.

But there ariseth a doubt, whether sinne may by any meanes be excused for

Sinne is not excused therefore because it is publique.

this cause, because it was common, and almost all men were infected with it: No vndoubtedly, yea rather it was so muche the more wicked and heynous, as it was committed of many, and that without punishement. For they dyd not onely conceaue and committe wickednes, but also publishe and set it forth openly, and without shame ranne together to accomplishe it. Wherefore it is rightly written, that the sinnes of the Sodomites cried and ascended vp into heauen. Esay also writeth: They haue published abrode their sinne like Sodoma. And where we see that done, we muste thinke that it is a certayne token, that that publique wealth shall in shorte tyme perishe. For menne when they are touched with some shamefastnes, although they sinne, yet remayneth there some hope of amendement and repentaunce. But when in a manner they openly professe wicked actes, and write bokes of them, and will haue their wicked crimes to be publique, there is nothyng elles to be looked for, but the vengeaunce of God. With this wicked vice the Prelates and Papisticall Sacrificers in these dayes are chiefely infected, and also the Antechristes of Rome, vnto whom matrimony is very odious.

Let vs also consider the goodnes of God, whiche stirreth vp this olde man, to admonishe, and reproue them, and to bryng them agayne into the ryght waye. They were menne polluted and contaminated and vtterly vnworthy of so great a benefite. But there are neuer men so euill, but that GOD doth by some meanes admonishe them of their synnes. The olde man dyd his dewty: but they contemne and deride him.

He brought foorth hys concubine. Who? Not the olde manne, but the *Leuite*, who deliuered his wife, for feare leaste he should hymselfe haue fallen into their power. But why did not the olde manne deliuer his daughter also? Paraduenture, because those Citezins cared not for her beawty, who yet counted the wife of the *Leuite* to be very fayre and beautifull. They so afflicted her all the nyght, that in the mornyng she dyed. Their wicked crime turned at the length into murther. In this place the hande and vengeaunce of GOD sheweth forth it selfe. This woman hauyng before committed adultery, and not for it iustly punished, at the length dyeth euen in adultery, and suffreth the lawe of the lyke.

The adulteresse as she sinned so is she punished.

But whether she repented at laste or no, there is nothyng written of that matter. We onely see the outwarde thynges, it is GOD whiche searcheth the heartes. But if she dyd repent, and that with fayth, then escaped she eternall punishementes. Yet GOD will haue discipline established in publique wealthes, and the malefactors punished, who if they repent, then are they fatherly chastisynges, and not punishementes. Neither is it lawfull for the Magistrate to neglecte his office, although they repent: for if they doo cease to punishe, God (as it is before sayd) will by hymselfe reuenge. Wherefore that whiche is written to the Hebrues: Whoremongers and adulterers GOD will iudge, may be vnderstand two manner of wayes, because God sometymes punisheth by himselfe, and sometymes by the Magistrate.

The Leuite layd his concubine beyng dead vpon the Asse, went home and deuided her body into twelue partes, whereof he sent into euery tribe a parte. But it may be demaũded, how he sent twelue parts into euery tribe, when as they were 13. number. Some thinke it was, because he sent nothing vnto the tribe of *Leui*, for that ỹ *Leuites* dwelled dispersedly among ỹ other tribes. Other suppose that he would send nothing vnto the tribe of *Beniamin*, because he thought that they would be no equall reuengers, for as muche as the Gabaonites pertayned vnto them. But this sentence seemeth not probable, because it was the sinne onely of one City, & therefore it pertayned not vnto the whole tribe: vnles peraduenture we will say, that he supposed that the *Beniamites* were of such mindes, that they

How the Leuite distributed the pieces.

would

lers ouer beastes but ouer men, & that thē selues also are men, who yet ought to be far better & more excellēt thē those whom they gouern, otherwise they ar not apt to gouern thē. For we make not a shepe a head ouer shepe, but the chiefe wether & then the shepeheard. And euē as a shepeheard excelleth ỳ sheepe, so ought they to whome the office of a magistrate is committed, to excell the people. But now must we consither by whome Magistrates are ordeined. That sometimes is done by the cōsent of ỳ Senate, sometimes by ỳ voices of ỳ people, or by ỳ will of the souldiers, or els by succeciō of inheritāce. But these ar but instrumēts. But ỳ proper cause of Magistrates is god him selfe: which may be by many reasōs proued. First there is by god a certain light kindled in ỳ harts of mē, whereby they vnderstand ỳ they can not line together without a guide, & there hēce spronge ỳ office of a magistrate. The lawe of god also commaundeth to obey Magistrates. And before the lawe geuen by Moses (as it is written in Gen.) god ordeined ỳ by which shedeth mans blood his blood, also should be shed, not vndoubtedly rashly & by euery mā (for that were very absurd) wherefore we may gather by thase wordes, that ỳ magistrate was not obscurely instituted by god, whiche should punish manquellers. Paule also writeth, that all powers whatsoeuer they be ar ordeined of god. And Christ answered vnto Pilate: Thou shouldest haue no power against me, except it had beene geuen thee frō aboue. By these testimonies and reasons it followeth that god is the true & proper cause of Magistrates.

By whome magistrates are ordeined.

God is first ordeiner of magistrates.

But here some cauell, & saye that if all magistrates are of God, then must all thinges be rightly gouerned: but in gouerning publike welthes many thinges as we se, are done viciously & peruersly. Vndoubtedly vnder Nero, Domician, Commodus, Caracalla, & Heliogabalus good lawes were contēned, good men killed, & discipline of ỳ city was vtterly corrupted. But if Magistrates were of god, such thinges coulde neuer haue happened. This reason neither can nor ought any thing to moue vs: bicause the office is to be seperated from the person: & vndoubtedly it is possible, that he which hath the office may be a wicked & naughty mā, when as yet neuertheleße the power is good & very profitable. For there is nothing so good, but that men by theyr malice may vse it ill. Therefore it is no merualle if there haue bene kinges & Emperors, which sometimes haue abused ỳ power geuen thē, which yet they were not so able to corrupt, but that mē receiued by it many good thinges & cōmodities, as I haue before shewed. By the testimony of Daniell it is most manifest that Magistrates ar of God. For he (saith he) geueth & transferreth kingdōs as it pleaseth him. Farther we se that ỳ Monarche hath sometimes bene in ỳ East, sometimes in ỳ South, afterwarde in the West, & sometimes in ỳ North: & also that there hath sometimes bene good princes, and sometimes euill: sometimes haue reigned noble men, & sometimes obscure men. And we vnderstād that it oftentimes happeneth that riches or power profite not to get or kepe a kingdō: and to thinke that these things are done by chaunce without the prouidence of God, it is mast absurd.

The office is to be seperated from the person.

Some Astronomer will peraduenture say that these chaunges or mutacions are impoted by ỳ starres: but Daniell the minister of ỳ truth, saith that it is God which chaungeth times. For euē as he hath in ỳ year appointed courses of times, so hath he an it pleaseth him sometimes ordeined & sometimes take away princes. He did cast down Saul, & he also promoted Dauid. And he foretold that he would so doe: least it should seme to haue happened rashely or by chaunce. Yea and kingdomes & publike wealthes may be called certayne workhe houses or shops of the will of god. For that is done in them, which god himself hath decreed to be done, although princes oftētimes vnderstād it not. God called ỳ Medes and ỳ Assirians to afflict ỳ Israelits, & them (when it semed good vnto him) he repulsed & toke away. He rayled vp the Persians agaynste the Chaldeans, and the Grecians agaynste the Persians, and lastelye the Romaines againste all other nations. Who denided the kingdome of the Hebrewes into Iuda and Israell: Vndoubtedly God. Ahias the Silonite did foretell that it shoulde so come to passe, and sayde

The chaunges of the wicked are not to be ascribed vnto the starres.

that the worde was come forth from the Lorde, that it shoulde so be. Who ouerthrewe Achab? Who caused Iehu to be annointed, but onely God? But there are certayne Tirannes which destroye publike welthes. I graunt that. But our wicked actes deserue it. For there are oftentimes so grieuous wicked actes and so many, that they cannot be corrected by the ordinary magistrate, and by a gentle and quiet gouernaunce of thinges, and therfore god doth then prouide tirannes to afflict the people, and yet for the most part he tempereth and lengtheth his punishment in rayslnge vp good and godly princes. After the fall of Nero he set vp Vespacian: after Domician, he sent Nerua and Troian: after Commodus, Pertinax and Seuerus: after Heliogabalus, Alexander. But they which say: The wicked actes of Tirannes are not of God, yet do they range and spreade abroade in kingdomes and Empires, therfore Empires and kingdomes ar not of god: they (I saye) make a false Sylogisme a secundum quid ad simpliciter that is, from that which appeareth to that which is indede, neither doth this rightly follow: Certayne thinges in a magistrate are not of God: therfore the magistrate is not of God. Or rather they reason il from accidences: for vices and wicked acts chance to publike powers, but are not knit vnto them (per se) that is of theselues, or by theyr nature.

What dyaweth Tirannes to pub. welthes.

God lendeth good Princes after tirannes.

The godly may vse Ethnike magistrates.

But some man will doubt: If the Magistrate be an Ethnike & also a tiran, whether it be lawfull for a godly man to vse his helpe and ayde? What els? Paul appealeth vnto Cesar a most wicked tiran. But it may seme that he did against his own preceptes. For in his firste Epistle to the Corrin. he reprehended those Christians whiche pleaded causes at the iudgementes places of the Ethnikes. He likewise reproued the Corinthians, bycause there were Christians amonge them, which might in the church haue decided theyr causes. Neyther was it conuenient that Christians should contend with christians at the iudgementes places of the vngodly. But Paul whē he appealed vnto Cesar, had not to do wt christians, but with ỹ Iewes, & president of Rome. Wherfore forasmuch as he had not a faithfull magistrate, neither could it otherwise be done, & his life also was soughte, he did not il in implorynge the layth and ayd of the comon magistrate, although he were an Ethnike. For euē as we vse the Sun & Mone, so also is it lawfull to vse the publike and ordinary magistrate, what maner of man so euer he be.

The church vsed an Ethnike Magistrate.

The Christian church did the same thing, whē there were yet no Christiā Emperors. For Paulus Samosatenus was condēned as an heretike, & being a bishop he was displaced. But bicause he would not render vp the house which longed to ỹ bishop, there was requist made vnto Aurelianus ỹ Emperor, & ayd obteined at his hands to cōpel him to deliuer his house vnto ỹ new bishop. Who can say ỹ the church herein sinned, bicause it vsed ỹ publike magistrate, though he were an infidel? But let vs returne thither frō whence we digressed, and constantly beleue that the magistrate is of god, although oftentimes (our sins deseruing the same) many things vnder him are done wickedly & vniustly, howbeit Hoseah the Prophet seemeth yet to be against vs whē he saith: they haue raigned, but not by me. But we must know that Hoseah entreateth of tirans, which neither regarded lawes, neither noryshed ỹ good, nor take away ỹ euil frō among ỹ people, & therfore they raigned not by god, but by theyr own lust: they regarded theyr own affections & not the law of god. Further they ouerpast kingdomes, being stirred vp by theyr own wicked desires, & moued by their own ambitiō, not as they which felt ỹ calling of god vnto the kingdome, neither take they vpon them the power wt a will to obey god, but to fulfill theyr own ambitiō. This was not to reign by god. But ỹ they were not exalted to the kingdome by ỹ will of god, it is contrary in a maner to ỹ whole scripture. For god calleth Nebucad-Nezar his seruāt, by cause he would vse his ministery to afflict ỹ Israelites, whē as yet it might haue bene said ỹ he reigned not by god, forasmuch as he fought against ỹ Iewes by his own lust & coueitous desire of his mind, & not of a zeale to fulfil the will of god. Wher-

Where it is said that they reigned not by god.

woulde not know and take vengeance of the offences of theyr owne brethern. Neither was he deceaued in his opinio. For it happened euen very deede. Other say that he sent two partes to the tribe of Manasses, because the Manassites dwelled part beyond Iordane, and part on this side: therefore they say that in this hys distribution were omitted two tribes, Beniamin and Leui, for the causes before alledged. The entent of the Leuite was, that no tribe should excuse the offences by ignorance. What was the entent of the Leuite.

He was compelled so to do, because ther was then no magistrate in Israel, neyther any certayn place of iudgement where he might plead his cause: wherefore he stirreth vp al ỹ people to take away euill amõg thẽ. And it seemeth that he more profited by this meanes, then he should haue done if he had vsed letters or speech. For those things do very much moue, which are set forth before ỹ eies. And yet in so doing he sought not reuengemẽt, either by a wicked or by an vnlawful meanes, forasmuch as he did not tumultuously call souldiers togither, neyther raised vp seditions, or inuaded the city, which did him the iniurye. He brought his cause before them, to whom it pertained to knowe it: he complained not to Ammonites or Iebusites, but to his owne people. Wherefore he ordreth his accusation well and lawfully: neyther by accusing doth he violate the law, yea rather he is an help vnto it, as on the contrary side, they which hold their peace and vtter not wicked acts, are againste the lawes. For euẽ as of our selues we ought not to wish any mans death, so must we not suffer the lawes to be openly and vilanously violated with out punishmẽt. Wherefore let the bishops in the old time looke howe godly they did, when they made intercession vnto magistrates for wicked men, and for such as wer appointed to dy. If thou wilt say ther straight way followed most ciuil warre, whiche thing seemeth may be imputed vnto the Leuite. But it is not so, it ought rather to be ascribed vnto the Beniamits, which would not punyshe so greate a wicked dede. By accusinge the law is not violated, but holpen. This ciuil war is not to be imputed vnto the Leuite.

In this history Iosephus somewhat varieth from the holy scriptures. For he denieth that this woman was an adultresse, and that she therefore departed from her husband, for she was (sayeth he) very beautifull, and when her husbande loued her exceedingly, and complained that she loued not him again, she as one not able to abide his braulinges, fled vnto her parents. But the holy scriptures do manifestly teache, ỹ she had played the harlot. In which sentence al the interpreters agree togither. Farther he denieth that the Gabaonites thoughte this, namely to abuse the Leuit, he sayth that they being allured by the beawty of the wife, desired onely to haue to do with her. But ỹ also is plainly against the holy scriptures, wherin it is by expresse wordes written: Bring forth the man, that we may know him. Farther he denieth that the Leuite deliuered his wife vnto them, but the Gabaonites (saith he) toke her by violence. At the last also he adderh this (which I thinke also is very likely) that the Leuite when he sent the peces of the body, did sende messengers also to declare what was done: other wise he should not much haue profited, if he had sent but the peces onely. Iosephus.

These euils did therefore happen, because there was no magistrate or prince to iudge the Israelites. The same thinge also happeneth when there is a magistrat or prince, which doth not his office. And because the ecclesiastical men haue at this day shaken of the yoke of the politicall magistrate, there is therefore no magistrate amonge them. Whereby the Christian publike weith suffereth great discommodities. In the papisticall church there is no magistrate

Of a Magistrate.

THis place admonisheth me to entreat of a magistrate, whome I iudge may thus be described, namely to be a person elected by the institution of God, to kepe the lawes as touching outward discipline, in punishing trãsgressors with punishment of the body, and to norish and defend the good. There are two kindes

But this excuse doth not vtterly absolue these menne from sinne, although it somewhat release them. But if a manne will say, Paul preferred the lesser sinne before the greater, when he sayde, he wouldbe accursed of Christ for hys brethrē, rather then they should persiste in that blyndnes and stubbernnes, wherein they were holden. He whiche obiecteth this vnto vs, must knowe that he doth not rightly vnderstand that place of Paul. For the Apostle desired to redeme the saluation of the Iewes with his daunger, not vndoubtedly with sinne, but with hys losse or hurte, namely to be accursed of Christe, not certaynely to be made an Apostata, or to cease to beleue in Christ, but onely not to haue the fruition of the eternall and blessed lyfe. Augustine also hath many thynges against thys compensation of sinnes. And amonge other thinges: What (sayeth he) if a man require, either of a mayden fornication, or of a maryed woman aduultery, and threateneth to kill hymselfe, vnles he obteyne hys request, ought the pure and chaste women to fulfill his desire? No vndoubtedly. Neither thoughe he afterwarde slay hymselfe, shall the chaste women be counted guilty of his death. They ought in deede to be sory for hym, to deplore his acte, but not to thinke they haue done euill, because they graunted hym not vnlawfull thynges. The same Augustine vpon the .146. Psalme writeth: If a man deny deiue benemolence vnto his wife because he would lyue chastly, and the wyfe in the meane tyme fall into aduultery, he sinneth, neither can his entent be allowed. For sinne is not to be admitted in the wyfe, for the exercising of continency. God (sayeth he) doth not recompense suche a hurte with suche a gayne. Wherfore the sentence of Leo the first, in the viii. 46. chapter. Non suo) is to be allowed, wherein he sayth, that it is vncomely that any should bestow they' faultes vpon other mens commodities. Augustine in hys booke De mendacio to Consentius sayeth: For the health of our neyghbours, we must doo whatsoeuer may be doone. And if it come to that point, that we can not helpe them without sinne, there remayneth nothyng els for vs to doo. And he addeth that no manne must be brought into heauen by a lye. The same Augustine in an other place sayeth: If poore menne see a cruell and bitter riche manne, and would steale any thynge from hym, eyther to helpe themselues, or other poore menne, they doo not diminishe sinne, but encrease it. And Gregory Bysshoppe of Rome in hys Epistle to Siagrius: To committe the lesse sinne, to the end to auoyde the greater, is to offer sacrifices vnto GOD of a wicked acte, as it is written in the .21. of the Prouerbes. But in that Chrisostome and Ambrose doo for thys cause prayse Lot, they are thus to bee vnderstande, namely that they allowed hys charity and sayth towardes straungers, and had a respecte vnto the horriblenes of the sinne whiche the Citezins were ready to committe, not that they allowed their abandonyng of they' women. And thus muche as touchyng thys matter.

Augustine.

Augustine.

Leo

Augustine.

Gregory

To Chrisostome and Ambrose.

How much the horrible synne of the Sodomites is to be detested.

Augustine.

But in that the olde manne calleth it a villany and a detestable thyng, whiche they went about to committe, he sayeth most truely. For seede was geuen vnto manne for procreations sake. But these pestiferous menne abuse the gifte geuen them of GOD, they resiste hys law, and agaynste nature chaunge menne, in that after a sorte they turne the male into the female. Augustine to Pollentius: Aduultery (sayeth he) is more grieuous then whoredome, and incest more heynous then aduultery, but that whiche is done agaynste nature, is of all most wicked and detestable. And he addeth: In thynges whiche GOD hath graunted, it is more tollerable immoderatly to transgresse, then lyghtly to sinne in those thynges whiche by no meanes are graunted. And in hys .3. booke of Confessions he sayeth, that the fellowshyp of humane kynde is violated with GOD, because nature whiche we haue of GOD, is polluted. This was the crye of the Sodomites and the Gomorhites which ascended into heauē, and the grieuousnes of their

of their wickednes is moste manifest by their distruction. For they were distroyed with fire and brimestone from heauen, punishementes vndoubtedly agreable vnto so greate a heynous crime: by the fire was noted their burnyng filthy luste, and by brymestone theyr stynkyng and vnpure wicked crime. Chriso- *Chrisostome.*
stome writeth: Bycause they followed not fertility, but barennes, therfore God made that so ill, baren, and infertyle whiche before was most fertile. But he demaundeth: Why are not they whiche are in the same faulte in these dayes punished also after the same manner? He aunswereth, whome that punishement moneth not, for them abydeth the vnquencheable fyre. And they are not so punished in this lyfe, bycause suche menne for the moste parte are conuersaunt amonge good menne: and GOD promised Abraham, that he was ready to forgeue Sodome, if there moughte haue bene founde there but onely tenne good menne. Wherefore for as muche as Cityes at this daye are not altogether so corrupte, as Sodome was then, therefore GOD dealeth more remissedly with them. It also oftentymes happeneth, that although these men are moste wicked, yet they had good predeceffors. And GOD (as he hath testified) tarieth, and differreth the punishement vnto the thyrde and fourth generation. Farther, we muste marke that thys vice whereseoeuer it rangeth, it is not alone. With it are ioyned cruelty, inhumanity, pryde, robbery, and oppressing of the poore. And when it shall come to this point, that menne cruelly withdrawe their dewtyes from their neyghbours, GOD doth then on the other side withdrawe hys helpe and grace. Wherefore they beyng left vnto themselues, that is, vnto their owne corrupte and vitiate strengthes, doo degenerate into beastes. The lawe of GOD in Exodus and Deuteronomy made thys sinne death. And Paul to the Romanes sheweth that thys is the punishement of Idolatrers. And in an other place he numbreth abusers of nature with them, whom he excludeth from the kyngdome of GOD. Amonge the olde Grecians thys wicked crime was punished with death, and that by the lawe of Laius, whereof Bessarion maketh mention agaynste Trapezuntius. Tertullian de Monogamia writeth that among the Romanes there was a lawe called Lex Scantinia, whiche was of the same shapenes. For he would signify that the Bysshoppe of Vthinensis was contaminated with thys kynde of wickednes: He feared not (sayeth he) the lawe called Lex Scantinia. In the Code ad l. Iuliam de Adulteriis & stupris in the lawe Cum vir nubit. Constantius Augustus, cõmaundeth the lawes to arise, and the lawes to be armed with the auengyng swoorde, that such as are infamed by this crime, should be subiect to moste cruell punishementes. Iustinian also in his Authentikes in the title vt no *Luxurientur contra naturam*, maketh thys crime death, and addeth that for such a detestable crime, Cityes are ouerthrowen, and plagued with pestilẽces, hunger, and earthquakes. He moughte also haue added ciuile warres, whiche (as this Hystory testifyeth) doo followe, and those moste cruell. Extra de excessibus prelatorum in the chapter Clerici, it is ordeyned, that they whiche are taken in thys crime, shoulde be put out of theyr place and dignity. And the laymen also should be excommunicated.

Why god doth in theie dayes deferre the punishement of Sodomites.

The Sodomitical sinne is to bee punished with death.

Bessarion.
Tertulian.
Lex Scãtinia.

But it is to be knowen that euen GOD bendeth hymselfe to vengeaunce, and sendeth fury and madnes vpon suche persons, where the Magistrate neglecteth his dewty, and suffreth wicked menne to go vnpunished. Therefore in Genesis it is written that the aungelles smote the Sodomites with blyndnes, so that they could not finde the house.

We muste also note that the Gabaonites came in a manner all of them vpon a heape vnto the doore, that it myght appeare that they all conspired into thys so detestable a crime.

But there ariseth a doubt, whether sinne may by any meanes be excused for

this cause, bycause it was common, and almost all men were infected with it: No vndoubtedly, yea rather it was so muche the more wicked and heynous, as it was committed of many, and that without punishement. For they dyd not onely conceaue and committe wickednes, but also publishe and set it forth openly, and without shame ranne together to accomplishe it. Wherefore it is rightly written, that the sinnes of the Sodomites cried and ascended vp into heauen. Esay also writeth: They haue published abrode their sinne like Sodoma. And where we see that done, we muste thinke that it is a certayne token, that that publique wealth shall in shorte tyme perishe. For menne when they are touched with some shamefastnes, although they sinne, yet remayneth there some hope of amendement and repentaunce. But when in a manner they openly professe wicked actes, and write bokes of them, and will haue theyr wicked crimes to be publique, there is nothyng elles to be looked for, but the vengeaunce of God. With thys wicked vyce the Prelates and Papisticall sacrificers in these dayes are chiefely infected, and also the Antechristes of Rome, vnto whom matrimony is very odious.

Sinne is not excused therefore bycause it is publique.

Let vs also consider the goodnes of God, whiche stirreth vp this olde man, to admonishe, and reproue them, and to bryng them agayne into the ryght waye. They were menne polluted and contaminated and vtterly vnworthy of so great a benefite. But there are neuer men so euill, but that GOD doth by some meanes admonishe them of their synnes. The olde man dyd his dewty: but they contemne and deride him.

He brought foorth hys concubine. Who? Not the olde manne, but the *Leuite*, who deliuered his wife, for feare leaste he should hymselfe haue fallen into their power. But why did not the olde manne delyuer his daughter also? Paraduenture, bycause those Citezins cared not for her beawty, who yet counted the wife of the *Leuite* to be very fayre and beautifull. They so afflicted her all the nyght, that in the mornyng she dyed. Theyr wicked crime turned at the length into murther. In this place the hande and vengeaunce of GOD sheweth forth it selfe. This woman hauyng before committed adultery, and not for it iustly punished, at the length dyeth euen in adultery, and suffreth the lawe of the lyke. But whether she repented at laste or no, there is nothyng written of that matter. We onely see the outwarde thynges, it is GOD whiche searcheth the heartes. But if she dyd repent, and that with fayth, then escaped she eternall punishementes. Yet GOD will haue discipline established in publique wealthes, and the malefactors punished, who if they repent, then are they fatherly chastisynges, and not punishementes. Neither is it lawfull for the Magistrate to neglecte his office, although they repent: for if they doo cease to punishe, God (as it is before sayd) will by hymselfe reuenge. Wherfore that whiche is written to the Hebrues: Whoremongers and adulterers GOD will iudge, may be vnderstand two manner of wayes, bycause God sometymes punisheth by himselfe, and sometymes by the Magistrate.

The adulteresse as she sinned so is she punished.

The Leuite layd his concubine beyng dead vpon the Asse, went home and deuided her body into twelue partes, whereof he sent into euery tribe a parte. But it may be demaũded, how he sent twelue parts into euery tribe, when as they were 13. number. Some thinke it was, bycause he sent nothing vnto the tribe of *Leui*, for that ỹ *Leuites* dwelled dispersedly among ỹ other tribes. Other suppose that he would send nothing vnto the tribe of *Beniamin*, bycause he thought that they would be no equall reuengers, for as muche as the Gabaonites pertayned vnto them. But this sentence seemeth not probable, bycause it was the sinne onely of one City, & therefore it pertayned not vnto the whole tribe: vnles peraduenture we will say, that he supposed that the *Beniamites* were of such mindes, that they would

How the Leuite distributed the pieces.

woulde not know and take vengeance of the offences of theyr owne brethern. Neither was he deceaued in his opinio. For it happened in very deede. Other say that he sent two partes to the tribe of Manasses, because the Manassites dwelled part beyond Iordane, and part on this side therefore they say that in this hys distribution were omitted two tribes, Beniamin and Leui, for the causes before alleged. The entent of the Leuite was, that no tribe should excuse themselues by ignorance. What was the entent of the Leuite.

He was compelled so to do, because ther was then no magistrate in Israel, neyther any certayn place of iudgement where he might plead his cause. Wherefore he stirreth vp al ỹ people to take away suil amõg thẽ. And it semeth that he more profited by this meanes, then he should haue done if he had vsed letters or speech. For those things do very much moue, which are set forth before ỹ eies. And yet in so doing he sought not reuengement, either by a wicked or by an vnlawful meanes, forasmuch as he did not tumultuously call souldiers together, neyther raised vp seditions, or inuaded the city, which did him the iniurye. He brought the cause before them, to whom it pertained to knowe it: he complained not to Ammonites or Iebusites, but to his owne people. Wherefore he ordereth his accusation well and lawfully: neyther by accusing doth he violate the law, yea rather he is an help vnto it, as on the contrary side, they which hold their peace and vtter not wicked acts, are agaynst the lawes. For euẽ as of our selues we ought not to wish any mans death, so must we not suffer the lawes to be openly and vilanously violated with out punishmẽt. Wherefore let the bishops in the old time looke howe godly they did, when they made intercession vnto magistrates for wicked men, and for such as wer appointed to dy. If thou wilt say ther straight way followed most ciuil warre, whiche thing seemeth may be imputed vnto the Leuite. But it is not so, it ought rather to be ascribed vnto the Beniamits, which would not punyshe so greate a wicked treyne. By accusinge the law is not violated, but holpen. This ciuil warre is not to be imputed vnto the Leuite.

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Lodly many persons elected by the institution of God which are not Magistrates as the ministers of churches, in whiche yet are keepers of the worde of God, & of his law, but not as touching outwarde discipline onely. Because it is the office of ministers, by the worde of God to pearce euē to the inward motiōs of minds: for the holyghost adioyneth his power both to the right preachinges of his worde & also to the sacraments which are distributed in the church. But the magistrat onely exerciseth outward discipline & punishment vpon transgressors. The minister bindeth the guilty & impenitent in the name of god, and in his name excludeth them from the kingdome of heauen, as long as they so remain. The magistrate punisheth without ward punishmentes, & when nede requireth vseth the sworde. Either of them nourisheth the godly, but after a diuerse manner: the magistrate encreaseth them with riches, honors and dignities: the minister comforteth them with the promises of god, and with the sacramentes. Wherefore the magistrate is instituted, to the end that the lawes should be most diligētly kept, the guilty punished & the good holpen & norished. And vndoubtedly the law is a dumme magistrate, & againe the magistrate is a liuing and speaking law, and so also is the minister of god (as Paule sayth) to theyr prayse which do well: and contrarily he beareth the sworde against the wicked, as gods reuenger & iudge, neyther tende these thinges to any other end, then to the health of men.

The end of a magistrate.

But the forme of magistrates is not one onely but manye, as Monarchia, Aristocratia, & Policia or Tirannis, Oligarchia, & Democratia. The discriptiōs and natures of which forms Plato, Aristotle, and other Philosophers haue elegantly taught. Of all those formes the best is to be desired, and all men to whome it pertayneth ought to prouide, that a good or tollerable estate degenerate not into an euill one. But if it happen that Tirans or wicked princes obteine the gouernment of thinges, that is to be suffred asmuch as is by the worde of god lawfull. The Iewes were by violence oppressed of the Babilonians, whome yet god admonished that they should obey, & to pray for the king, although he were a tiran, & possessed the kingdome of the Hebrewes most wrongfully. Cesar also held Iewry by tiranny, and yet Christ sayd: Geue that whiche is Cesars vnto Cesar, & the thinges ỳ are of god vnto god. The Apostles also haue taught that we must obey princes & pray for thē, Nero was a most vnpure beast, whō yet the Apostle in his Epistle to ỳ Romains declared ỳ he ought to be obeyed, not onely for fear, but also for cōscience sake. Phocas possessed ỳ empire of Rome by euill arts, most cruelly slew Mauricius his prince, & also his children, whom yet ỳ Romaines acknowledged as theyr Emperor, & Gregory the first vnto ỳ people his cōmandements & writings. If ỳ wilt demaūd, what forme of a publike wealth ỳ Iewes had, it may easily be knowen by the fast thinges which we haue in an other place spokē. They had at ỳ beginning this forme Aristocratia: for god allowed ỳ counsell of Iethro, which was ỳ ther should be chosē out wise mē & strong & such as feared god, which should gouerne the publike welth, as it is writtē in Exodus & Deut. yea & god himself did so vnto his spirite inspire these .70. men, whō he had cōmanded to be chosē as helpers of Moses, ỳ they also prophesied. So were the Israelits governed, although afterward they were governed by ỳ power of a king.

Many formes of magistrates.

In example of the Iewes.

But this is not to be omitted, ỳ princes in ỳ holy scriptures ar not only called Deacōs or ministers of god, but also pastors, of whō Ezechiel cōplaineth for many causes for ỳ they cruelly & pernitiously led the people of God. Homere also calleth Agamemnon the feder of ỳ people. For they ought not to beare rule as thrines or hired mē, to flese & to oppresse, but to kepe, norishe & fede like pastors. They are also called fathers: for the Senators among ỳ Romaines were called Patres conscripti, ỳ is appointed fathers, nether was ther a greter or more auncient honor in ỳ publike welth thē to be called pater patriæ, ỳ is the father of ỳ countrey. Yea also a magistrate is contayned in ỳ law of God vnder this cōmaūdement: Honor thy father & thy mother. Wherefore princes owe vnto their subiectes a fatherly loue. And they ought alwaies to remēber, that they are not ru-

Princes are called Pastors.

Magistrates are called fathers.

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Verte pagynam

lers ouer beastes but ouer men, & that thēselues also are men, who yet ought to be far better & more excellēt thē those whom they gouern, otherwise they ar not apt to gouern thē. For we make not a shepe a head ouer shepe, but the chiefe wether & then the shepeheard. And euē as a shepeheard excelleth ỳ sheepe, so ought they to whome the office of a magistrate is committed, to excell the people. But now must we consider by whome Magistrates are ordeined. That sometimes is done by the assent of ỳ Senate, sometimes by ỳ voices of ỳ people, or by ỳ will of the souldiers, or els by successiō of inheritāce. But these ar but instrumēts. But ỳ proper cause of Magistrates is god him self: which may be by many reasōs proued. First there is by god a certain light kindled in ỳ harts of mē, wherby they vnderstand ỳ they can not liue together without a guide, & there bēce spronge ỳ office of a magistrate. The law of god also commaundeth to obey Magistrates. And before the law geuen by Moses (as it is written in Gen.) god ordeined ỳ he which shedeth mans blood his blood, also should be shed, not vndoubtedly rashly & by euery mā (for that were very absurd) wherefore we may gather by those wordes, that a magistrate was not obscurely instituted by god, which should punish manquellers. Paule also writeth, that all powers whatsoeuer they be ar ordeined of god. And Christ answered vnto Pilate: Thou shouldest haue no power against me, except it had beene geuen thee frō above. By these testimonies and reasons it followeth that god is the true & proper cause of Magistrates.

By whome magistrates are ordeined.

God is first ordeiner of magistrates.

But here some cauell, & saye that if all magistrates are of God, then must all things be rightly gouerned: but in gouerning publike welthes many things as we se, are done viciously & peruersly. Vndoubtedly vnder Nero, Domician, Commodus, Caracalla, & Heliogabalus good lawes were contēned, good men killed, & discipline of ỳ city was vtterly corrupted. But if Magistrates were of god, such thinges coulde neuer haue happened. This reason neither can nor ought any thing to moue us: bicause the office is to be seperated from the persons: vndoubtedly it is possible, that he which hath the office may be a wicked & naughty mā, when as yet neuertheles the power is good & very profitable. For there is nothing so good, but that men by theyr malice may vse it ill. Therfore it is no meruaile if there haue bene kinges & Emperors, which sometimes haue abused ỳ power geuen thē, which yet they were not so able to corrupt, but that mē receiued by it many good thinges & cōmodities, as I haue before shewed. By the testimony of Daniell it is most manifest that Magistrates ar of God. For he (saith he) geueth & transfereth kingdōs as it pleaseth him. Farther we se that ỳ Monarche hath sometimes bene in ỳ East, sometimes in ỳ South, afterwarde in the West, & sometimes in ỳ North: & also that there hath sometimes bene good princes, and sometimes euill: sometimes haue reigned noble men, & sometimes obscure men. And we vnderstād that it oftentimes happeneth that riches or power profite not to get or kepe a kingdo me: and to thinke that these things are done by chaunce without the prouidence of God, it is mast absurd.

The office is to be seperated from the persō.

Some Astronomer will peraduenture say that these chaunges or mutacions are impoted by ỳ starres: but Daniell the minister of ỳ truth, saith that it is God which chaungeth times. For euē as he hath in ỳ year appointed courses of times, so hath he as it pleaseth him sometimes ordeined & sometimes take away princes. He did cast down Saul, & he also promoted Dauid. And he foretold that he would so doe: all it should seme to haue happened rashely or by chaunce. Yea and kingdomes & publike wealthes may be called certayne workehouses or shops of the will of god. For that is done in them, which god himself hath decreed to be done, although princes oftētimes vnderstād it not. God called ỳ Medes and ỳ Assirians to afflict ỳ Israelits, & them (when it semed good vnto him) he repulsed & toke away. He raysed vp the Persians against the Chaldeans, and the Grecians against the Persians, and lastelye the Romaines against all other nations. Who deuided the kingdome of the Hebrewes into Iuda and Israell? Vndoubtedly God. Ahias the Silonite did foretell that it should so come to passe, and sayde

The chaunges of the wicked are not to be ascribed vnto the starres.

that the worde was come forth from the Lorde, that it shoulde so be. Who ouerthrew Achab? Who caused Iehu to be annointed, but onely God? But there are certayne Tirannes which destroy publike welthes. I graunt that. But our wicked actes deserue it. For there are oftentimes so grieuous wicked actes and so many, that they cannot be corrected by the ordinary magistrate, and by a gentle and quiet gouernaunce of thinges, and therfore god doth then promise tirannes to afflict the people, and yet for the most part he tempereth and lengtheth his punishment in raysinge vp good and godly princes. After the fall of Nero he set vp Vespacian: after Domician, he sent Neruan and Troian: after Commodus, Pertinax and Seuerus: after Heliogabalus, Alexander. But they which say: The wicked actes of Tirannes are not of God, yet do they range and spreade abroade in kingdomes and Empires, therfore Empires and kingdomes ar not of god: they (I saye) make a false Silogismus a secundum quid ad simpliciter that is, from that which appeareth to that which is indede, neither doth this rightly follow: Certayne thinges in a magistrate are not of God: therfore the magistrate is not of God. Or rather they reason it from accidences: for vices and wicked acts chance to publike powers, but are not knit vnto them (per se) that is of thēselues, or by their nature.

What draweth Tirannes to send welthes.

God sendeth good Princes after tirannes.

But some man will doubt: If the Magistrate be an Ethnike & also a tiran, whether it be lawfull for a godly man to vse his helpe and ayde? What els? Paul appealeth vnto Cesar a most wicked tiran. But it may seme that he did against his own preceptes. For in his firste Epistle to the Corrin. he reprehended those Christians which pleaded causes at the iudgements places of the Ethnikes. He sullye reproued the Corinthians, because there were Christians amonge them, which might in the church haue decided their causes. Neither was it conuenient that Christians should contend with christians at the iudgements places of the vngodly. But Paul whē he appealed vnto Cesar, had not to do wt christians, but with ỳ Iewes, & president of Rome. Wherfore forasmuch as he had not a faithfull magistrate, neither could it otherwise be done, & his life also was soughte, he did not sin in implesinge the layth and ayd of the cōmon magistrate, although he were an Ethnike. For euē as we vse the sun & rayne, so also is it lawfull to vse the publike and ordinary magistrate, what maner of man so euer he be.

The godly may vse Ethnike magistrate.

The Christian church did the same thing, whē there were yet no Christiā Emperors. For Paulus Samosatenus was condēned as an heretike, & being a bishop he was displaced. But bicause he would not render vp the house which longed vnto ỳ bishop, there was requeste made vnto Aurelianus ỳ Emperor, & ayd obteined at his hands to cōpel him to deliuer his house vnto ỳ new bishop. Who can say ỳ the church herein sinned, bicause it vsed ỳ publike magistrate, though he were an infidele? But let vs returne thither frō whence we digressed, and constantly beleue that the magistrate is of god, although oftentimes (our sins deseruing the same) many thinges vnder him are done wickedly & vnlawfully. For Osee the Prophet semeth yet to be against us whē he saith: they haue raigned, but not by me. But we must know that Hoseah entreated oftentimes, which neither regarded lawes, neither noysshed ỳ good, nor take away ỳ euil frō among ỳ people, & therfore they raigned not by god, but by their own lustes they regarded their own affections & not the law of god. Furthēr they ouerpast kingdomes, being stirred vp by their own wicked desires, & moued by their own ambicō, not as they which felt ỳ calling of god vnto the kingdome, neither rose they vpon them the power & will to obey god, but to fulfill their own ambicō. This was not to reign by god. But ỳ they were not exalted to the kingdome by ỳ will of god, it is contrary in a maner to ỳ whole scripture. For god calleth Nebucad-Nezar his seruāt, by cause he would vse his ministery to afflict ỳ Israelites, whē as yet it might haue been said ỳ he reigned not by god, forasmuch as he fought against ỳ Iewes by his own lust & coueteous desire of his mind, & not of a zeale to fulfil the will of god.

How it is said that tirannes reigne not by god.

Wher-

fol 257.

Wherfore the sentence of Hosea the prophet is nothing against vs, but that we may beleue that the Magistrate is of God, and that we ought to obey him. Paule saith: Let euerye soule be subiect vnto the higher powers. The same thing is written to Titus. And in the first Epistle of Peter, the second chap. And Paule to Timothe addeth, that we should pray for them.

But the Papistes, and they which will be called Ecclesiastical men, will not heare these thinges. For they cry that they are exempted from publike and ordinary powers, when as yet the Apostle vsed no exception when hee sayde: Let euerye soule be subiect vnto the higher powers. And: He which resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Yea and Chrisostome also vpon that place saith, that the Apostles, Prophetes, Euangelistes, and Moonkes, are comprehended vnder that lawe. And Chrisostome wrote these thinges of Ecclesiastical persons, when as yet he was Bishop of Constantinople, and there were then also Christian Emperours.

Ministers of the churche are not exemted frō the ordinarye power.

Chrisostome.

But it is a sporte to heare the argumentes, which these false Ecclesiasticall men vse. In Etrauag. de Maioritate et Obedientia, chap. Vnam sanctam, Bonifacius the. viii. (whom they say entred in as a Fore, raigned like a Lion, and dyed like a Dog) saith that there are two swordes in the Church. And least he should seeme to speake it rashly, he citeth these woordes out of the. xxii. chap. of Luke: Whē I sent you without bag or scrip, did ye at any time want any thing? They said vnto him: No. Christ added: But now I saye vnto you, let euerye man take his scrippe and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coate and bye a sword. They said vnto him: Behold here are two swordes. Christ answered, it is sufficient. Bonifacius saith: Two swordes are sufficient for the Churche, namely the spiritual sword and the temporal. Wherefore they which say that Peter had not an outward sword, do seeme not to vnderstand the woordes of Christ, wherein he sayd: Put vp thy sword into the sheath. Thy sworde (sayth he) and not an other mans. For he had a sword of his owne, although he were bidden to put it vp.

What the false ecclesiastical mē trifle of two swoordes.

But there must needes be some order kept and obserued in these swoordes. For what powers soeuer there be, they are ordained of God. For there shoulde be a great confusion, if for that being two swordes in the Church, the one should not be gouerned by the other. Wherfore the temporal sword ought to be gouerned by the spiritual. And to make this argument more plaine: The church (saith he) hath two swoordes, but it vseth them not after one and the selfe same manner. For it exerciseth the spiritual sword, but the temporal sword ought to be drawen, onely at the becke and sufferance of the Church. This is so obscure, that it may in a maner seme to be a riddle. Yawe be it this is his meaning, that the sworde of the Emperour ought to be drawen onely at the will and pleasure of the Pope, that when he commaundeth, he must strike, and by sufferance, that is he must go forward in striking, so long as he listeth and will suffer it. Wherfore these thinges must be in order: and the order is that the temporal sword be reduced vnto God by the spiritual. For (as that Dionisius saith, who is thought to be an Areopagite, although he be farre an other) all inferiour thinges are referred vnto the chiefest thing, but yet by a meane. Wherfore, saith he, the temporal sworde must be drawen at the becke of the Pope, that by that meanes it may be referred vnto God. So we see is now brought to passe. For so often onelye as the most holy willeth that warre be made against the Lutherians, he will that the Emperour straightway should obey. And if any Prince will not with much submission obey him, straightway are sent Legates hither and thether, that al other kinges and princes should apply them selues vnto his becke, and make war and bere him, which will not obey him.

The Pope maketh subiect vnto him selfe the sworde of the Emperour.

Dionysius.

Bonifacius addeth moreouer that he himselfe is aboue al kinges and princes. For principallity is to be esteemed according to the dignity of the things which by it

The Pope preferreth himselfe before al kinges and princes.

by it are exercised. We (saith he) exercise spiritual thinges, and they temporall, wherefore their sworde is inferiour to ours, and they themselues also vnto vs. He addeth also an other reason, they pay vnto vs tenthes, but tenthes ar paid by the inferior vnto the superior. Wherefore seing kings & princes pai tenthes, they do testify ỹ their lands & reuenues pertaine vnto the church, & that they ar subiect vnto it. Moreouer, he which blesseth, is greater then he which is blessed. But Bishops consecrate and anoynt kinges. The Glose addeth: That of kinges onely the right shoulder is anointed, but the heades of Bishops are anointed. And vpon Kinges is poured oyle, but vpon Bishops Chrisme. Wherefore wee muste needes confesse that Kinges are inferiour to Bishops. Farther, kinges receaue the crowne and scepter of Bishops. For who saith he, anoynted Saul, and who anointed Dauid, but onely Samuel: who anoynted Iehu, but a Prophet sent by Helizeus: The matter also which is intreated of by bishops, is greater the that, about which kinges are occupied. For Christ said vnto Peter: whatsoeuer thou shalt binde in earth, shalbe bound in heauen. This power is greater then al humane power. And God saith vnto Ieremy: I will set thee ouer nations and kingdomes, to roote out and destroy, to scatter and to plant. Therefore we are greater then al the power of kinges, and are exempted from their right. Wherefore prophane and lay powers of Emperours and Kinges muste be iudged by the Ecclesiastical men, & ought by vs to be appointed, and may by vs be ouerthrowen. For to whom it pertaineth to builde, to the same it belongeth to destroy. Therefore the spiritual Magistrate ought to iudge of the ciuill Magistrate. But if the spiritual offende in any thing, of whom ought he to be iudged? The inferiour, saith he, ought to be iudged of the superiour. But the Pope, which is the highest of al, of whom shal he be iudged? Of no man saith he, but onely of God, bycause the spiritual is iudged of no man, but he iudgeth al thinges.

The Pope will not bee iudged or gouerned of any.

Oh how finely and trymly ordaineth he his tirannye? He calleth hym selfe onely spiritual. The Gloser, although he were otherwise grose inough, yet bee could not be so much a blocke, but that he sawe that these thinges were spoken very absurdly. How, saith he, is the Pope spiritual, if he be vnpure and wycked? He expoundeth himselfe by this distinction: There is one maner of spiritualtye saith he, of the person, and an other of the state. Wherefore if there be anye spirituall person, he may reproue al men by a brotherly admonicion: but he ought to be reprehended of no man. Bicause for that he is spirituall, hee committeth nothing filthely. But sometimes some person which is not spiritual in life and maners, ought yet to be called spiritual, bicause of his degree. As are many bishops and Popes: wherefore we muste call the bishop of Rome whatsoeuer he be, spirituall and moste holy. But what thing els is this, then to teache vs to lye, if they will haue a filthy varlet called moste holye? Bonifacius at the last concludeth, that all Emperours and Kinges muste be subiect vnto his power onely. And he addeth a reason: Vnles we will together with the Maniches appoint twoo begynninges: which thing we ought not to do, for Moses sayd not, in the beginninges, but in the beginning God created heauen & earth. Wherefore, saith he, we define, determine, and pronounce, that all men oughte of necessitye of saluacion, to obey the Pope, as the chiefest power. And so he excellently I promise you concludeth that al Ecclesiastical men are exempt from the ciuil Magistrate.

Two maner of spiritualties of the Canonists.

The Pope pronounceth that he of necessitye of saluacion ought to be obeyed.

Of the two maner of powers, the ciuil and ecclesiastical.

Before I come to confute this their moste shameles boasting, I thinke it expedient briefly to speake of the two maner of powers: of the Ecclesiasticall power I say, and ciuil. In that it is sayd that the Ecclesiastical power is preferred before al ciuil functions, it is somwhat that they say, if it be rightlye and aptlye vnderstand. All ecclesiasticall power cleaueth vnto the woorde of God, so that without it is none: but the woorde of the Lorde is a rule common, whereby all thinges ought both to be directed and be tempered. For it teacheth in what maner the outward sworde and publike wealth ought to be gouerned. And generally also it sheweth how all thinges ought to be done of al men. So Ambrose (whō

Ambrose instructed Theodosius.

Theo-

Theodosius the Emperor raged to cruelly, and without al consideracion against the Thessalonians) perswaded him, that in al punishmentes of death, ther should be .xxx. daies space after the sentence geuen, least the Magistrate should do those things in a rage and fury, wherof although he after ward repented him, yet they could not be amended. So many Bishops, oftentimes in things most waighty, shewed foorth their authority, and many times either put away cruell warres, or els pacified them, out of the word of God preached among them. Wherfore the Ecclesiastical power after this maner comprehendeth al thinges, because out of the word of God it findeth how to geue counsell in all thinges. For there is nothing in the whole world, whereunto the word of God extendeth not it selfe. Wherfore they are farre deceaued, which vse to cry: what hath a Preacher to do with the publike wealth, what hath he to doo with warres: what with Potica- ries: what with Cookes: But let them tel me, when the Minister of the word perceiueth the law of God to be violated in these thinges, why should he not reprehende them by the word of God: Why should he not admonish them: Why should he not exhort them to cease from synne: Undoubtedlye it is his dutye to correct synners, not in dede with the sword, or punishing by the purse, not by emprisonment, not by banishment, but after his awne manner, that is by the might and power of the word of God.

The preaching of the word of God hath al mē e al states subiect vnto it.

The Minister of the Churche worketh by the word, and not by the sword.

Againe, the political power is extended to al those thinges which pertayne to politicall power. But after what maner: Shal ciuil power require good motiōs of the minde, and inward repentance: It cannot cause these thinges: yet it must with these thinges, and vse those meanes wherby they may be had. For he ought to haue a care, that Bishops, Pastors and Teachers in the Churche doo teache purely, reprehende fatherly, and by the word of God administer the sacramēts. This thing in dede the Magistrate doth not by himselfe, but hee ought to haue a regarde, that they may be in a redynes, which should do them wel. Wherefore either power extendeth most amply, and comprehendeth al thinges, but not after one and the selfe same maner. And the rule of either of them is to bee taken out of the word of God, which is plaine to be in the Church.

How far ciuill power extēdeth

Againe, there are two subiections: One is political and ciuil, whereunto all men are subiect, who if they offend in any thing against the lawes, let them at the iust Magistrates hand looke for imprysonment, punishment by the purse, banishment, death, and outward paines. But if they doo well, let them looke for honours, rewardes, dignities, and prayse. And after this maner the ciuil power is not subiect vnto the ministery of the worde, because by it it can not by these kindes of punishmentes be afflicted and constrained. The other subiection is spiritual, that is of faith, and of obedience. For strayght way, as sone as men heare of their duty out of the word of God, and that either this thing or that is to bee done, or this or that thing to be auoyded, they geue place, beleue, and obey. Because they perceaue, that that which is spoken, is the worde of God. And these are the endes of eyther power. And so is to be vnderstand that saying of Valentinian the Emperour, out of the booke called Historia Tripartita, which thing is had also in the distinction. 63. chap. Valentinianus: Christ (saith he) suche a bishop, vnto whom we, which gouerne the Empire, may submytte our heades, and vse his admunicions as medicines. &c. By which wordes is vnderstand that it longeth vnto the Ecclesiastical power, to admonish out of the word of God for saluacion. Although the same Emperour afterward erred. For when he had appointed Ambrose Prietor of the City of Millane, the people did chuse him bishop. Which thing when the Emperor knew, he gaue thankes vnto God therfore after this maner: I had made hym ruler ouer the bodyes of men, but thou wouldest haue him ruler ouer the soules. &c. Valentinian did not rightlye put a distinction betwene offices. For why: Ought bishops to haue a care onely ouer soules, and not also ouer bodies: What if they geue them selues to glotonye or dron-

Two kinds of subiection.

A sentence of Valentinia the Emperour.

In error of the same Valentinian.

A bishop ought not to haue a care onely ouer soules, or onely ouer bodyes.

dronkennes, or liue licentiously touching outwarde thinges, shall they not reproue these thinges? Undoubtedly they muste reproue them. Neither must princes haue a care onely ouer the bodies of men, and neglect their soules. For we do not imagine that a prince is a neatherd or a swineherd, to whom is committed onely the care of the belly, flesh and skinne of his subiectes: yea he must prouide that they may liue vertuously and godlily. But what if Christian princes when they are by the worde of God admonished of publike and most grieuous synnes, will not heare, neither amende that whiche they haue naughtely committed. What I say shal the bishop do herein? Ambrose excommunicated Theodosius the Emperor, when he exercised so grieuous tiranny against the Thessalonians. Innocentius also excommunicated Arcadius, when he had exiled Iohn Chrisostome, who admonished him freely and truely, as it is had in the dist. 96. chap. Duo sunt, & in the dist. 18. in the chap. Quoniam quidam. And they are the wordes of the syxt Synode, where it is decreed that ther should euery yeare be had two Synodes. And if princes would hinder them, let them be excommunicated.

Eusebius. But what do I make mention of these latter thinges? Let vs reade Eusebius in his. vi. booke, and. xxxiiii. chap. where he saith that Philip the Emperor, who liued in the tyme of Origene, was the first Christian prince, and when he would haue bene present together with the faithful on Easter euen, and haue communicated with them in prayers, the bishop, because he was a wicked and naughty liuer, reteined him among them that wer put to penance, that he should make open confession before the Churche, and acknowledge his synne, other wyse he could by no meanes be admitted vnto the Communion. This did the bishop at that tyme against the Emperour a chiefe Monarche of the whole world. Wherefore the ciuil power ought to be subiect vnto the worde of God which is preached by the Ministers. But againe the Ecclesiasticall power is subiect vnto the ciuil, when the Ministers behaue themselues yll, either in thinges humane or Ecclesiastical. For these powers are after a sorte conuertible and sundry wayes are occupied about the selfe same thinges, and mutually helpe one an other, euen as Aristotle Theodectes calleth Rhetorike and Logike interchangeable artes, because either of them are occupied in the selfe same thinges after a sundry maner. The Ecclesiastical power is subiect vnto the Magistrate not by a spirituall subiection, but by a politike. For as touching the Sacramentes and sermons, it is not subiect vnto it, because the Magistrate cannot bende the worde of God or the Sacramentes, which the ministery vseth, neither can be compel the pastors and Teachers of the Church to teach otherwise, or in any other sorte to administer the Sacramentes, then as prescribed by the worde of God. Howbeit ministers in that they are men and Citizens, are without all doubte subiect vnto the Magistrate, and also their landes, riches, and possessions. So Christ payd tribute, so also did the Apostles, and the whole primatiue Churche, when there were yet most holye men. Their maners also are subiect vnto the iudgementes and iudgementes of the Magistrates.

Aristotle.

Princes may put Ministers out of their place, if they be found vnfaithfull.

Furthermore, we muste adde that Ministers are subiect vnto the Magistrate, not onely as touching the fore thinges which I haue rehearsed, but also (as I before signified) concerning their function. Because if they teache not right, neither administer the Sacramentes vprightly, it is the office of the Magistrate to compel them to an order, and to see that they teache not vnpurelye, and that they mingle not fables, or that they abuse not the Sacramentes, or dispose them otherwise then the holye path commaunded. Also if they liue naughtelye and wickedly, let them put them out of the holy ministerye. This did Salomon, who deposed Abiathar and substituted Sadok in his roume, as it is written in the syxt booke of Kinges, the second chap. And in the new Testament, Iohannan displaced Silucrius & Vigilius, which thing I doubt not but other princes did sometimes. But howbeit I will not presently declare this one thing I will say, that that

thing

thing was lawfull for them in the causes now alledged. But some man will say, that I speake now of the fact, and not of the right. Yea but I speake also of the right. For the king ought to haue with him the law of God written, because he is ordained a keeper, not onely of the first table, but also of the latter. Wherefore he which offendeth in any of them both, falleth into his power. But although he a king may remoue an vnprofitable and hurtful bishop, yet can not a bishop on the other syde put downe a king, if he offend. Iohn in deede reproued Herode, but he displaced him not of his kingdome. Ambrose and Innocent excommunicated Emperours: but they went no farther. Yea and Christ called Herode a fooxe, but he tooke not away from hym his kingdom, and he payed tribute vnto Tiberius, a most wicked Tirannc, neither was he at any time author to any man to shake of his yoke. Wherefore let Popes take heede by what right as they iudge them selues, they put Kinges and Emperors out of their place. This thing did neither anye of the Prophetes, nor the Apostles, nor Christ.

It longeth not to the Ministers of the Churche to put downe Princes.

The Popes boast that they haue great power: but if it be any that they haue, it consisteth wholy in the woord of God. Let them teache, preach, and admonish, if they will exercise their power: otherwise the ciuil and temporal power, whom they so much crake of, is farre from the ecclesiastical Ministers. In summe, euen as there is found no king nor Emperour so great, which is not subiect vnto the power of the woord of God, which is preached by the Ministers: so on the other syde is there no bishop, which when he hath offended, ought not to be reproued by the ciuil Magistrate. What difference so euer there bee, the same (as I haue sayde) is wholye as touching the manner of reproouing. The Ministers of the Churche doo that by the woorde, and Princes by outward punishmentes. But our false ecclesiastical men wilbe princes and raigne. But Christ would be no king. And when he was sought for, to that ende to be made a king, he vtterly refused it: yea he openlye professed that his kingdome was not of this worlde. He sayd also vnto the Apostles: Princes of the nacions do beare rule ouer them, but ye shal not do so. Peter also (whose successors they affirme them selues to be) admonisheth Ministers, not to exercise dominion ouer the Clergy. But these men will haue pylons, soldiours and swoordes, and feyre vp warres, as they lust them selues.

Perauenture they will obiect vnto vs the Assamonites, out of the olde Testament, whom it is certayne that they were both kynges and Priestes, and confounded both the powers. That history in deede is written in the bookes of the Machabites, but we must see whether they did it rightly, or wickedly and ambitiously. Undoubtedly I thinke they did it not orderily: for God by his woord had many tymes adiudged the kyngdoms vnto the Tribe of Iudah, euen to the tyme of Messias. And contrarily he commaunded the Leuites, that they should possesse no landes, and muche lesse to occupye a kyngdome among their brethren. But if a man had rather saye, that they did thys thyng by a certayne secrete reuelacion and hydden iudgement of GOD, hee shall not amende their cause. For that whiche is so done, ought not to bee drawen into an example. But I thynke rather that they offended in so doyng. They did well vndoubtedlye, when they deliuered their Countrey from tyrranny: but that thing being finished, they ought not to haue taken vpon them the kyngdome. Neyther did GOD obscurely declare that that their act displeased hym. For (as wee gather out of Iosephus) that house afterward neuer wanted Tragedies. They farther obiecte vnto vs, that *Peter* slewe Ananias and Saphira, and that Paule strake Elimas the Sorcerer wyth blindnes. That is true in deede: but they did these thinges by the woorde of God, not by violence, not by the swoord, neither by the labour of a hangman. Let these men doo the same thynges by the woord, and wee will regarde them. Why doo they not harken vnto Paule to Timothe:

Of the Assamonites or Machabites.

How the Apostles sometimes vsed outwarde punishmentes.

Let no man going on warfare for God, wrap hymselfe in cares of this lyfe. If they will go on warfare for God, why doo they in such sorte hynder themselues with worldly busines? Haue they so much leasure from their own affaires, that they can haue a care ouer other mens thinges? Let them answer plainly: would they at this day abide, that any king should attempt to teache the Gospel, or administer the Sacramentes? They would not suffer it. Neyther did God hymselfe also suffer it: but he strake Ozeas with Leprosy, when he would haue burnt incence vnto God. Why therfore doo they inuade other mens borders? These functions ought to be seperated, because either of them requireth a whole man a part by hym selfe: yea rather scarce hath beene founde anye one man at anye tyme, which could rightlye execute eyther of them, so hard a thyng is the execution of them both. Howbeit, both of them doo helpe one an other: for the politike Princes geueth iudgement, and the Ecclesiasticall doth not in deede geue iudgement, but he teacheth how iudgement ought to bee geuen. Haue no respect (sayth he) of persons in iudgement: afflict not the poore and straunger: receaue no bribes, &c. So on the other syde the politicall Magistrate preacheth not, neither administreth the Sacramentes. But vnlesse these thinges bee rightlye ordered, he ought to punish the Ministers.

The offices of both the powers must not be confounded.

And to be briefe, there are two thinges to be considered of vs in thys collacion. In the Ciuyll Magistrate is to be considered both the power, and also the man which beareth and exerciseth the power. Be in respect that he is a Christian man, is vndoubtedly subiect vnto the worde of God, and in respect that he beareth power, and gouerneth, he ought also to be subiect vnto the same worde of God. For out of it ought he to seeke rules to gouerne and to administer. In the Minister of the Churche also is to be considered both the ministerye it selfe, and also the person which executeth it. As touching the person, the minister is subiect vnto the Ciuill power: for he is both a Citizen, and payeth tribute as other men doo, and is vnder the correction of manners. But as concernyng the ministerye, he is also somewaye subiect vnto the Magistrate: For if he eyther teache or administer the Sacramentes agaynst the worde of God, he must bee reprehended by the Ciuil Magistrate. And yet must hee not seeke for rules and reasons of hys function at the same Magistrates hand, but out of the worde of God. Bythys distinction we may easelye vnderstande the differences and agreement of eyther power.

Wherin either power differeth and agreeth.

Now resteth to come to that Thraso Bonifacius to confute hys argumentes. First, he gathered out of that whych the Apostles answered: Beholde here are two swordes, and Christ added: It is sufficient, that the Churche hath two powers, and both of them committed vnto hym. To that I aunswer, that it is possible, that sometymes there may be two swordes in the Churche: but there were not so alwayes in it, neyther peraduenture shall bee alwayes so. What outward sworde had the Church in the tyme of Christ, and of the Apostles and Martyrs? But yet now (they will say) it hath. I graunt that, because kynges and Emperours are Christians, whych in the olde tyme were Ethnikes. The Churche hath also husbandrye, trade of marchaundise, the arte of Carpenters, and other suche lyke. For they whyche exercise these thynges, are members of the Church. But that cōmeth to passe (as the Schoolemen speake) per accidens, that is by chaunce. For there might be a Churche, thoughe those thynges were not. So nowe, because there are Princes in the Churche, it is sayde to haue an outward sworde. But because Princes are in our tyme a part of the Churche, it doth not therfore follow that the sworde of Princes is the sworde of ministers: euen as although there be in the Church husbandry and trade of merchaundise, and also the arte of Carpenters, it cānot therby be gathered that ministers are husband men, merchauntes, and Carpenters.

To the argumentes of Bonifacius.

How the churche maye haue twoo swordes.

The Churche hath nowe almost al artes.

Now

Now I come to the place of the Euangelist. The Apostles sayde, they wanted nothing, when they were sent without wallet and scryp, vnto whom Christ sayd: Let euery one take vnto him his scrip and wallet, and he which hath none, let him sell his coate, and bye a sworde. What woulde Christe signifye by these wordes? Nothing els vndoubtedly, but to shewe that the state and condicion of tymes hereafter should be far otherwise then they wer before. Hitherto (sayth he) whylest I was with you, ye felt no griefe, neyther wanted you any thyng. But now harder tymes are at hand: now shall ye haue neede of coates, scryps, and swordes. By these wordes hee declareth that hee shoulde depart from them, and that hee woulde sende them into the whole worlde to preache and teache the Gospell, in which ministery they should meete with so manye aduersities, that they should thinke themselues to haue neede of swordes. It is a figuratiue kinde of speeche, whereby is vnderstande one thing by an other, as is that in Genesis, when the Lorde sayde, that hee repented that he had made man. For God is not in very deede touched with repentance, but he doth that, which men repenting vse to doo, that is, he chaungeth that which hee hath done. And vndoubtedly then he by the flood destroyed humane kinde which hee had created. So now he hath not instructed his Disciples, to fight with yron, but onelye by a certaine paraphrasis describeth the condicion of the tyme to come. And euen as a golden ornament signifieth tranquility and peace: so in this place a sworde sheweth troublesome and vnquiet times.

After this maner Chrisostome interpreteth these wordes, expounding this place of Paule: Salute Prisca and Aquila. The Lorde (sayth he) hath not broken the lawe, which before he had made, saying: And hee which striketh thee on the one cheeke, turne vnto him the other. Blesse those that curse you, pray for them that persecute you. How then doth he commaunde his Disciples to bye themselues swordes? He ment no such thing, saith Chrisostome: For it is a figuratiue kinde of speeche, whereby he signified that he should be taken away from them, and that they should be afflicted with many calamities. These wordes are not so to be taken as they appeare at the first syght. In an other place Christe sayth also: That which ye haue heard in the eare, preache on the house toppes. And yet wee neuer reade, that the Apostles stoode on the houses toppes, when they preached vnto the people. Neither assuredly was it decent to haue left the strete and temple, and to haue spoke from the house top. The sense was, that these thinges which they had hearde priuatelye, they shoulde speake openlye and manifestlye. The Lord also sayd: Destroye this temple, and in three dayes I wyll reedifye it: which is also spoken figuratiuely. For he commaunded not to ouerthrowe the temple of Salomon (as the Euangelist himselfe interpreteth) but vnderstoode that which he spake, of the temple of his owne body: wherein (as Paule sayth) corporally dwelled all diuinity. *Chrisostome.*

But to returne to the matter, that Luke so ment Chrisostome proueth by these thinges which follow: That in the sonne of man shoulde be fulfylled that which was spoken of him: And he was counted with the vngodly. For the Apostles vnderstoode not Christ: for they thought that hee had spoken simplye, and (as the wordes sounded) spoken of an outward sworde. And so did Boniface vterly interpreate it. And in that Christ addeth: It is inough, he vnderstoode that two swordes are sufficient in the Church, so that ther ought to be nowe neyther more nor fewer. But Chrisostome vnderstandeth it farre otherwise. For when Christ perceiued ỹ the Apostles vnderstode him not, by that answer he declared that he would omit the thing. And in dede so is a scholemaster wont to say vnto a child which yet vnderstandeth not that which is taught him: It is inough. Otherwise vndoubtedly two swordes wer not sufficient against al the aduersaries of Christe. There shoulde moreouer haue needed coates of male and shieldes. Wherfore Chrisostome concludeth that ỹ speche was figuratiue & parabolical.

In the times of the Apostles ꝧ church had not two swoꝛdes.

Farthermoꝛe, if Bonifacius expolition dee receaued, wee muste thincke that the Church in the time of the Apostles ought to haue had two swoꝛds, which is moste farre from the truth.

But let vs come to that which Christ said vnto Peter: Put vp thy swoꝛd into thy sheath. Thy swoꝛd (saith Boniface) not an other mans swoꝛd. But what gathereth he by those woꝛdes? Although Peter haue his swoꝛd, yet if he be cõmaunded to put it vp, how can he haue it drawen? oꝛ to what end hath he a swoꝛd, if he maye not vse it? But Boniface wil peraduenture aunswer: I haue in deede a swoꝛd, but I vse it not, but by an other mans hande. Oꝛ I vse not myne owne swoꝛd, but the swoꝛd of the Empeꝛoꝛ, & other pꝛinces. Foꝛ they ought to dꝛaw the swoꝛd at the becke and sufferance of the Church. I would gladly demaund, whither Christ, whē he bad Peter to put vp his swoꝛd, ment this, that he should in deede vse it as he listed and would himselfe, but yet by the labour of an other man? Assuredly that which a man doth by an other, he seemeth to do it himselfe. If a man by money oꝛ giftes get one to kil his enemy, although he do it not with his owne hand, yet neuertheles he should be an homicide: otherwise euen Pꝛinces doth not with their owne hand kil the guilty, but commaunde the hangmen to punish them. Ther is in this answer of Bonifacius a deceite of equiuocation. Foꝛ we demaund whither an ecclesiastical Minister may beare the office of a ciuil Magistrate, and vse a ciuil swoꝛd: and they remit vs vnto the swoꝛd of Peter, a man otherwise pꝛiuate.

Euery man is sayd to doo that himselfe whych he doth by an other man.

Bernardus.

Notwithstanding Bernardus in his 4. booke de Consider. ad Eugenium, seemeth to interpꝛets the two swoꝛdes. I graunt that *Bernard* hath certaine thinges lyke vnto this, but yet not vtterly the same. But we must remember, in what tyme Bernardus lyued. He lined at that time, wherein all thinges were coꝛrupted in the Church, and if a man reade those his bokes de Consideratione, he shal se that he grieuously complaineth of the coꝛruption of his time. Eugenius was by the Romanes excluded the City, and peraduenture he meditated by violence to restoꝛe himselfe. Wherefoꝛe Bernard exhoꝛted them to pꝛeache the Gospell, to deale against the Romanes with the woꝛde and with Sermons, rather then with the swoꝛd. Eugenius said: what wilt thou haue? That I should feede Serpentes and Dꝛagons and Beastes? Yea rather assayle them saith Bernard with the woꝛd, & not with iron. And in an other place he saith: If thou wilt haue both swoꝛdes, thou shalt leese both. Neither is it to be thought that Eugenius would by himself haue fought, but peraduenture he assayed to moue warre by other, from whiche purpose *Bernard* dissuaded him. And thus much of him.

But in that Bonifacius addeth, that those swoꝛds of the church ought to be in oꝛder (namely that the one should be subiect vnto ꝧ other, & that he pꝛoueth by thys saying of Paule: Those powers that are, are oꝛdeined of God) is manifestly declared how this man wꝛesteth the scriptures. Foꝛ this woꝛd ordinatæ, that is oꝛdered, is in Greeke wꝛitten τεταγμέναι: which is nothing els, then instituted oꝛ appointed. But be it so, as Bonifacius hath expounded it, what manner of oꝛder shal this be at the length? Undoubtedly, it should be that the Minister should teache, and the ciuil power should beare and beleue. But this is nothing vnto the Pope which teacheth nothing.

The lowest thinges saith Dionisius are by meanes reduced vnto the highest. Wherfoꝛe *Bonifacius* concludeth that the outward swoꝛd ought to be referred vnto God by the spiritual. Undoubtedly I wil easely graunt that the swoꝛd of the spirit, that is the woꝛd of God, is the meane wherby the other swoꝛd, namely the outwarde, ought to be tempered and directed vnto God. But why doth not the Pope retaine this meane? Why vseth he not the woꝛde? Why teacheth he not? why pꝛeacheth he not? Undoubtedly pꝛinces that stray, are not by him reuoked into the right way, yea rather contrarywise the Pope and bishops of the Church are sometimes rebuked and sullily repꝛoued of pꝛinces.

The Pope vseth not the swoꝛde of the woꝛd.

Aaron

Aaron allureth, being high priest, fel grenously in making the golden calfe and obeying the foolishnes of the people. Moses accused him grieuously, whome it is certayne that he was a ciuil magistrate. For toward the end of Deut. he is called King. And when the priestes abused the money which was offred for the mendyng of the couerings of the temple, who remedied that, but only Ioas the king? I will not speake of Dauid and Salomon, and others which deuided the lottes of the priest, & orders of the Leuites. And I will not at this time proue these things by any more examples. For they are manifest inough of them selues. Wherefore I graunte that the ciuil power haue be exercised of the ministers by preaching as the worde. But the pope vseth not this kind of gouernment, but rather an incredible tirannye.

It longeth to princes sometimes to admonish and correct Ecclesiastycall men.

They bosse moreouer that they themselues are greater in dignitye, for that their exercise spirituall & heauenly thinges, where as princes are occupied onely about earthly and ciuill thinges. Be it so, for we deny not but that ministers are occupied about thinges greater and more deuine then magistrates are. But both the pope alone ministreth them not, yea rather he ministreth them at all. Wherfore if the dignity of the ministery depende of those thinges, then will it follow that many bishops and priestes be in dignity far excell the pope, which neuer preacheth, & most rarely, and to very few, administreth the Sacramentes.

Of tithes.

Let vs come to tithes, by y payment whereof Bonifacius laboreth to proue y all princes are tributaries vnto him. This argument semeth to haue some shew, because in the first sight it agreeth with the .7. chap. of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, where Paul proueth the dignitie of Christ to be greater the y dignity of the priesthode of the Leuites. For thus he gathereth: Abraham payd tithes vnto Melchisedech, at which time Leui was not yet, but was at y time in the loins of Abraha, & so paid tithes in him. And he which payeth tithes to an other, by the self same thing protesteth himself to be inferior vnto him. Christ was priest according to y order of Melchisedech. Wherfore the Apostle concludeth y the priesthode of y Leuits was made inferior vnto the priesthode of Christ. I haue opened the spring frō whence Bonifacius derined his argument. The place is very dark, and nedeth explicatiō, and moreouer Bonifacius doth not aptly apply it to his purpose. First we ought to vnderstand that tithes in the old time pertayned vnto ceremonies, & that alwel in Melchisedech as in the Leuites. For in either priesthode they were referred vnto Christ. And either priesthode was in very dede a figure of Christ: for euen as the Leuiticall priest entred once euery yeare into the Sancta Sanctorum, and that neuer without blood: so Christ by his blood entred once into the tabernacle, that is into heauen, and agayne Melchisedeche for that he had neyther father nor mother, resembled Christ, which in respect that he was God, had no mother, and in respect that he was a man, wanted a father.

Both the priesthode of Leuit & also of Melchisedech signified Christ.

But what signified the tenthes in either priesthode? Undoubtedly they signified nothing els, then that the electe ought to referre al their thinges vnto christ. By that ceremony the people worshipped euen Christ. And if a man will conferre Melchisedech and the priesthode of Leui together, although both of them seme to shadow Christ, yet shall he se that he is more expressedly & manyfestly signified by Melchisedech, as the Epistle to the Hebrewes testifieth. Bonifacius sayth: we receiue tenthes of all the laymen. We do take them indede, but now that Christ is come, the paying of tenthes is no more a ceremony, as it was before the coming of Christ, when by tithes men worshipped Christ, which was to come in the flesh, and confessed that they ought vnto him both themselues, and al that they had. After which self same maner they payd the first fruites of al their thinges. But our men do not these ouyes receiue tenthes. But by what lawe? For not bounde truely by the ceremoniall lawe, but by the morall lawe. For as muche as it is meete that the spirituall shoulde bee nourished of the people. For the labourer is worthye of his rewarde: and he which preacheth the Gospel, it is meete

Tithes at this day ar no more ceremonies but rather rewards and stipendes.

that he liue of it. Wherfore whither stipēds be payd vnto ministers out of lands or out of houses, either in ready mony or in tenthes, it skilleth not, so that they be not maintained filthily, but honestly. Indede these rewardes in some places doo retayn the olde name of tenthes. But in many places they ar not called tenthes, but stipendes or wages. And assuredly they are in very deede rather rewards, whiche are dewe vnto the labours of the ministers, then tenthes.

Stipendes are paid both to superiors and also to inferiors.

And as touching this foresayd argument, we must vnderstand that such rewardes and stipendes, are thinges indifferent, bicause they are sometimes payd vnto inferiors, and sometimes to superiors. For tributes which are geuen vnto kinges and princes, are they? stipendes which we geue vnto them, partly to norish and sustein them, and partly to confesse that we are subiects vnto them, and lastly ỳ they may haue wherwithal to defend the publike welth and vs. And sometimes inferiors also do receaue stipendes. For princes pay them vnto souldiers, and yet cannot we therefore saye that the souldiours are greater then kinges and Princes. And notwithstandynge I woulde not haue ange thynke, that I speake these thinges, to dimynysche the prymitye of the Ecclesiasticall ministerye, but that men myghte vnderstande that they? argumentes are very trifling. Neither doubt I to affirme, that the church it self whiche payeth the stipend vnto the minister, is greater then the minister. Wherfore if we speake of tenthes, as they are at this day geuen vnto ministers, they are no cause that they should be greater then those that pay them. And in that kinges and Emperors are consecrated and annoynted of bishops, and in that they receyue the crowne and sworde of them, it nothinge helpeth their cause. For if we speake of the ciuill power, that is not geuen of the bishop, but of God. But this thing is ther done, that after the king or Emperor is chosen of god, in such manner as is agreable, prayers should be made for him in the assembly of the church, that god may confirm and strengthen his hart, that he may encrease pietye in him, and instil in him a feare of his name, prosper his counsels, and so make fortunate his actions, that they may proue profitable vnto the church, and vnto the publike welth. And the bishop whilest these thinges are in doing, is the mouth of the church, & goeth before it, in expressing the prayer. And this function was deriued of an olde ceremony and custome of the Iewes. And ỳ the king receaueth not his power of the bishop, but of God, euen their owne decrees also do testifye. In the dist. 96. chap. Si Imperatur, Gelasius saith, that the Emperor hath the priuileges of his power at gods hand. Why then doth Bonifacius arrogātly claim it vnto himself: namely that which longeth to God onely. For as Paule sayth: All power is of god. In the Code de Iure veteri enucleando, in the laws fyne, Iustinian declareth that his power was geuen him of the diuine maiestie. And the Glose (in Extraug. de maioritate & obedientia in the chapter vnam sanctam toward the end, saith, that power is geuen vnto kings of God onely, and that therfore they do indede receiue the crowne of the bishop, and the sworde from the aulter.

The church which payeth the stipēd vnto the minister is greater then he

Why in the church kinges are consecrated

Power is geuē vnto princes of god, and not of bishops.

Iustiniane.

But let vs more narowly examine Bonifacius argumēt: I (sayth he) do geue power vnto Emperors. Therfore I am greater then Emperors. Let this most blessed Thraso answere me, who consecrated him when he was chosen Pope: Vndoubtedly the bishop Hostiensis. Let vs conclude therfore that the bishop Hostiensis is greater then the Pope. And if that falsely not, thē is the argument also of Bonifacius of no force, bicause (as I haue now shewed) it cleaueth vnto a broken foundation. For they are not bishops which geue power vnto kinges. Farther, wer there not many Emperors whiche were neuer consecrated of bishops, and yet were neuerthelesse for al that Emperors. Neither were the old Grecian Emperors so annoynted. Wherfore that is a new inuētiō. But what if I proue that the head bishop was sometimes consecrated of the ciuill magistrat. Vndoubtedly Moses consecrated Aaron, who as yet (as it is sayd) Moses was a ciuil prince. Wherfore Bonifacius laboureth in vayne about his consecration, bicause he cannot

All emperors were not consecrated of the Pope.

gather

gather nothing thereby.

The hearers moreouer of the kayes. We (sayth he) haue the power of binding and losing. But the power of the kayes consisteth herein, that ye should preach the worde of god truly. For he which beleueth the gospel, is loosed: he which beleeueth not, is bound. But when ye neither preach, nor teach, neither can ye binde, nor loose. And farther this subiection which we haue graunted is spirituall, namely of fayth and of obedience: and not ciuill, and with dominion. Wherein the kayes of the church consyst.

After hand was Ieremy obiected, vnto whom the Lorde sayde: I haue appointed thee ouer nacions and kingedomes, &c. First here I demaund what kings Ieremy deiected, or whom he abrogated of theyr Empire, and what new kinges he instituted? They can shew of none. What therefore signify these woordes: I set thee ouer nacions and kingedomes? Undoubtedly nothing els, then that by the spirite of prophecy & woorde of god he should foretell what kingdomes god would ouerthrowe for sinnes, and what new ones he would institute. Why doe not the Popes so exercise theyr power? Let them set before kinges and princes of the earth the threatninges of god, and let them be in this manner ouer nacions and kingdomes. Could Ieremy be called the cause of the ouerthrowe of kingdomes? He was not properly the efficient cause, but onely a certayn occasion. For when he had admonished the king of Iudah, and he beleeued him not, the prophet by his preachinges was some occasion that he should be condemned and ouerthrowne. So Paule sayth: To some we are the sauor of life to life, and to other the sauor of death to death. When as yet the Apostle properlye killed no man, but his preaching after a sorte brought death vnto those which would not beleeue. It is god therefore that seperateth, ouerthroweth, scatereth & planteth. Neither disdaineth he sometymes to call vs his fellowe workers. Prophetes are not the efficiēt causes of the ouerthrow of kingdomes. Ministers and prophetes are an occasion, but not a iust cause of ruines.

Bonifacius goeth on, the lay power ought to be iudged of the Ecclesiasticall, but by what kind of iudgement? Undoubtedly by this, that in the churche be set forth the anger of God against sinners, & that they be admonished and corrected by the holy scriptures. But ỹ bishops may expel kings and put them out of their kingdome, when as ỹ permitted? Frō whence haue they that, or what writings will they bring for it? But that is most intollerable ỹ the Pope sayth that he can be iudged of no man. And yet Iohn. 23. was in the counsel of Constance put downe, and not onely by god, but also by men. So these men plant and replant Canons, and the same they alow and disalow, as often as they think good. Yea and Emperors haue sometimes thrust out and put down Popes, as it is before said. Paul to the Gal. sayth: If an Aungell from heauen preach any other gospel, let him be accursed. If the Pope (which may come to passe, and hath alredy long since come to passe) obtrude wicked opinions, who shall pronounce him accursed? Shall he be vtterly iudged of no man? The church vndoubtedly shal geue sentence vpon him: and the magistrate (for that he is the chiefest part of the church) shal not onely iudge together with it, but also shall execute the sentence. Farther it longeth vnto the magistrate to prouide that the riches of the churche be not geuen vnto ỹ enemies of godlines. Wherefore if bishoppes become enemies of the churche, a faythfull magistrate ought not to suffer the goods of the church to be consumed by them. The Canonists haue this oftentimes in theyr mouth: That for the office sake is geuen the benefice. When therefore they do not their office, ought the magistrate to suffer them to enioy their benefices. The Pope ought to be iudged of the church. It is the dewty of the magistrate to execute the sentence of the church against the pope

But let vs heare how Bonifacius proueth that he can be iudged of no man. Because he that is spirituall (sayth he) iudgeth all thinges, but he himselfe is iudged of no man. A godly and wel applied argument I promise you. But let vs se what kind of iudgement Paul writeth of in that place. He speaketh not vndoubtedly of the common kind of iudgement, whereby men are either put to death or put out of theyr roome. He entreateth there onelye of the vnderstandinge of thinges deuine, and which availe vnto saluation. These thinges I say properlye

belong vnto the iudgement of the spiritual man: but concerning common iudgementes, and knowledge of ciuill causes, Paule neuer thoughte of them in that place. Which is easely perceaued by his wordes, We haue not receiued (saith he) the spirite of this world: but a spirite, which is of God. If thou wilt demaund for what vse ỳ spirite is geuen vs: he answereth, that we should know those things ỳ are geuen vs of God. And because ỳ spirite of this worlde cannot geue iudgemente of thinges deuine, it is added: The carnall man vnderstandeth not those things which ar of ỳ spirite of god. The spirituall man iudgeth all things. What: Doth he iudge also ciuill and common causes? No vndoubtedly: for he iudgeth those thinges whiche pertayne vnto the saluation of men: the which vnto is iudged of no man. Without doubt both Peter and Paul were iudged by the ciuill power, whereunto Paul appealed to be iudged there, and yet were they both spirituall.

Peter & Paule were iudged by the ciuil power.

But that place is thus to be vnderstanded. He ỳ is spirituall, in that he is such a one, cannot in thinges deuine and such as pertaine vnto saluation, be rightely iudged of any man, which is not endewed with the same spirite that he is. The wicked and worldly men count him oftentimes for a seditious, vnpure, & infamous fellow: but only God and his spirite iudgeth vpon the matter.

Note.

Lastly Bonifacius concludeth, that there is one onely chiefe power, which longeth vnto the pope, least he should seme with the Manichees to make many beginninges. And he answereth, That god is the beginning, and not in the beginnings created the world. We also abhorre from the Manichies, and do put vnto onely beginning, and pronounce this vnto all kynde and offspring of all powers, namely, god and his worde, without which can be no power, either ciuill or spirituall call. For the foundation of either of them dependeth of the worde of god, & so we make but one beginning & not two. Further, if Bonifacius will vrge these wordes of Genesis: In the beginning god created, he ought to be in the world but one onely king. For when Paul sayde: One Lorde, one faith, one baptisme, he added not one Pope.

We put this one onely beginninge, and not many.

A Schisme of the Popes.

At the length our Thrasonicall Bonifacius commeth to the matter, that he excludeth them from the hope of saluation, which acknowledge not the Pope for the chief prince & head of the church. But when there were two or three Popes all at one time (which thing both happened, and also endured the space of 60. yeares full) it muste needes be that those were at that time Manichies, and did put two beginnings, which were of Bonifacius opinion. Moreouer, what thinke they of the Gretians, of the Persias, and Christians which dwell in the East part, for asmuch as they acknowledge not the Pope, who yet neuertheles reade the scriptures, beleue in our Lord Jesus Christ, and both are, & also are called christians? All them Bonifacius excludeth from the hope of saluation. This is the ambicion and vnspeakeable tirannye of the Popes.

When we obiecte vnto the papistes these wordes of Paule: let euery soule be subiect vnto the superior powers, they answere: that euery soul ought to be subiect vnto the superior power, but yet to theyrs, not to other mens power, otherwise the frenchmen ought to be subiect vnto the Spaniardes, the Spaniardes to the Germaines, which thing, for that it is absurd, it is concluded, that euery man ought to obey his own Magistrate. What now the clergy acknowledge the bishops for their power, and ought to be subiect vnto them: and the bishops acknowledge the Archbishoppes and Primates, and they lastly acknowledge the Pope. After this manner say they, we obey the power, and saith Paule, What haue we to do with kinges or ciuill magistrates. But this is nothing els, then moste filthily to abuse the wordes of Paule. Also they not the rather deuide the publike wealth into two bodies, which ought to be one body onely. For when they deuide the kyngdome of the Clergye, from the kingedome of the laitye, they make in one kyngedome two peoples: and do set vp euer either people a Magistrate.

The Papistes do rēt into two partes both the kingdomes and the people.

And thereby commeth to passe, that the Clergy whiche are Frenchemen, seeme not to be Frenchemen: and the Germanes seeme not to be Germanes. And this maketh not coniunction, but diuision.

Farther, of what power I praye you speaketh Paul? Not vndoubtedly of Byshops or Archebishops, but of that power whiche beareth the swoorde. He doth not without a cause (sayth he) beare the swoorde. He speaketh of that power to whom tribute is payd. For (or this cause (sayth he) ye pay tribute. But Bishops neither beare swoorde, nor exacte tributes of the people. Wherfore Paul speaketh not of them. And thoughe Germany Byshops beare the swoorde, and do gather tributes and customes, they doo not that in respect that they are Byshops, but in respect that by accidens they haue the ciuile power adioyned vnto thē: how rightly, let them see to it. But it is manifest that Paul spake of the Ciuile power, vnto whiche he commaunded that euery soule should obey. Neither is the interpretation of Origene probable, wherin he affirmeth, that Paul sayd: Euery soule, and not euery spirite. Because (sayth he) the spirituall man is moued with no affections, neither possessethhe any thyng in the worlde. Wherfore he is not subiect at all vnto the outward power. Wherfore Paul commaundeth euery soule, that is, euery carnall man to obey the ciuile power. But what? Was not Christ spirituall? who was more spirituall? And yet he acknowledged the superior power, and payd tribute. What say you to the Apostles, were not they spirituall? And yet they neuer exempted thēselues from the ciuile power: yea rather they obeyed and taught others to obey them. *Origene.*

But let vs heare what our *Bonifacianes* aunswere farther. They say that they haue not this power ordinarily, and by the right of their fruition, but graunted them by priuiledges and giftes of princes. And why say they is it not lawful for vs to enioye the priuiledges and liberality of princes? But we ought here to haue a regard, not what princes haue doone, but what they ought to haue done. God without all doubt hath made subiect euery soule vnto the hygher power. It was neuer lawfull for any prince to breake that law. For humane reason seeth not better then the prouidence of God, what should become of the affaires of humane kynd. And the euent it selfe also sufficiently hath declared how much that remission of princes hath profited. For after that Bishops and false Ecclesiasticall men got themselues once frō the subiection of the ciuile power, they straight way became farre worse then they were before, and made the people which were committed to their charge, nothyng the better. Wherfore let them cease to say that Emperours and kynges haue geuen them these thynges, let them rather heare ỹ word of god, wherin they are cōmaūded to obey princes. But they haue not onely withdrawen thēselues from obedience towarde princes, but also haue clayned vnto thēselues an immunite or fraunches. And an immunity is a liberty from doyng of homages, & bearyng of ciuile burthens. And among burthens are numbred tributes, & customes. Tributes are those which are payd of landes and possessions. Customes are those whiche are payd of marchandises, & of those thinges whiche are either caried out or brought in. These thynges Vlpiane calleth ỹ sinewes of the publique wealth, as without which it cā not either consist, or be gouerned. By what ryght therfore and reason haue these men withdrawē themselues from the publique commodity? With what face do they boast of such liberality of princes, whiche neither Christ, neither the Apostles, nor the Prophetes vsed? And althoughe they haue this thing as they say, by the gift of kings and Emperors, yet must they take heede, that it be not hurtfull vnto the Citizins, and least whilest they are lifted vp, other be aboue measure burdened. And yet ar they not by priuiledges and lawes of princes exempted from all burthēs. In deede they are franchised from personall burthens: & that not without great reason, whiche euen the Ethnike princes sawe also. In the digestes de Vacatione & excusatione munerum, in the law Prætor: Vlpianus saith: If a man haue gotten

Whether it were lawful for princes to exempt Ecclesiasticall men from their subiectiō.

What immunity is.

What tributs is.

What customs is.

Vlpiane.

Ministers of the Church ar exempted from personall burthēs and from such as are filthy.

Vlpianus.

gotten a benefice, neither can hurt of conscience be absent from it, but is acquited. And Constantine the Emperor, in the Code de Episcopis & Clericis in the lawe. 2. and. 2. exempteth them from personall and filthy burthens. Personall burthens are those whiche are accomplished by the industry of the mynde and labour of the body. Filthy burthens are those, as to burne tyle, to drygge lime, to kepe the cundite, to beate the bath, and such other of like sorte. From these burthens they are wonderfully exempted, bycause the ministery by such filthy exercises should come in contempt. And they are made free from personal burthens, bycause whe they should geue theyr myndes to holy thynges, they ought not to be withdrawe to other thynges. Wherfore princes haue ryghtly graunted these thynges vnto Ecclesiasticall men, that they should not be absent from the study of religion, and that they should not be condemned of the common people.

What personal burthens are.

Filthy burthens.

But what if a man clayme hymselfe to be a Minister onely by hys apparell or garmentes, and doth not hyng in the Churche, is this freedome also graunted vnto hym? No vndoubtedly. Yea Iustiniane in the Code de Episcopis & Clericis in the lawe generaliter sancimus, sayth that he meaneth onely of those, whiche diligently geue themselues to holy thynges, and not of vagabounde and idle persons, which bragge onely in the name of the Ministery. Moreouer Ministers are not looked from ordinary charges, although they are exempted from extraordinary charges. Ordinary charges are those, whiche are imposed alwayes by the commaundement of the lawes. Extraordinary charges, whiche are exacted onely for some present necessity, and afterward doo cease. Wherfore if Ecclesiastical men haue manors & landes, as other Citezins haue, for them they ought to pay. For the Church when it taketh landes, taketh them vnder theis burthens. But they are free from extraordinary tributes, bycause in the olde tyme Ecclesiastical men were poore, & besides necessary foode and apparell had nothyng remanyng, or if peraduenture there remayned any thyng, all the same, whatsoeuer it were, was bestowed vpon the poore. But nowe is is cleane contrary: for both they abounde in riches, and they bestow very little vpon the poore. And yet if any great necessity happened, they were compelled to pay also extraordinary charges. As if there were any highe wayes to bee mended, and any bridges to be made, any shippes to be rigged, for to transporte an hoste, as it appeareth in the Code, by the lawes of the Emperour. Neyther vndoubtedly doth brotherly charity suffer, that when other are burdened, they should lyue ryght aboundyng in wealth and riches. Neyther is it to bee suffred, that they should lyue at ease, and other in payne.

Instiniane.

Ordinary charges.

Extraordinary charges.

Why they are acquited from extraordinary charges.

They are not exempted from all extraordinary charges.

Yet the Pope in his Decretalles (de Immunitate Ecclesiæ in the chapter. Non minus, where the wordes of the Counsell holden at Lateranum are cited. And in the chapter aduersus Consules) will haue the Ecclesiasticall men vtterly exempted. And Bonifacius the. 8. in hys. 6. de Immunitate Ecclesiarum, in the chapter Clericis laicos, permitteth them not to pay any thyng. Yea and he excommunicateth the prince, which taketh tribute of a Minister of the Churche, and also the Minister hymselfe which payeth it. This lawe as to cruel, Benedictus the. 11. after a sorte mitigateth, in Extrauag. de Immunitate Eccles. in the chap. Quod olim, yet he permitteth not ỳ prince to exacte any thyng without askyng counsel of ỳ Bysshop of Rome. For he in deede doth not excommunicate those princes which doo reteine tributes of Ecclesiasticall men, but onely those that exacte it of them. For he permitteth not, that princes should exacte any thyng by their owne right, whiche thyng yet sometymes he permitteth, namely in an extreme necessity, as in daunger of religion and lyfe, so that firste there be had the counsell of the Bysshop and clergy, and afterwarde also the agreement of the Pope. So longe therefore hath he decreed that they must tary. So these men do exempt themselues frō the obedience and tributes of princes and kynges, which (as I haue before sayd out of Vlpiane) are

are the establishementes and sinewes of the publique wealth. When I thinke vpon these thinges, I call to remembraunce a profitable saying of Diocletian: of whō when a Philosopher desired an immunite: This request (sayd he) disagreeth with thy profession. Thou professest (sayd he) that thou wilt ouercome thy affections, but thou shewest that thou art ouercome of auarice. So these men professe themselues to be spirituall. But in a spirituall mā is nothing more required the charity, whiche counselleth vs not to lyue franchised and securely, when other are oppressed with cares and burthes. Thomas Aquinas bringeth a place of Genesis to shewe that Priestes are exempted from tributes, not in deede by the law of GOD, but by a lawe made by princes, and yet neuertheles agreeing with the law of nature. For Pharao kyng of Egypt prouided, that the Priests should not paye the fift parte of their fruites for tribute, when as yet so muche was exacted of all the other Egyptians. Wherfore he concludeth that Priestes are exempted. This place is diligently to be considered. First let vs note, that the Priests of the Egyptians had theyr dayly lyuing out of the threasory of the kyng. They had meate and drinke and money geuen them to lyue by. Afterward it came to passe, that when the hunger waxed great, all the Egyptians solde their landes vnto the kyng, therwith to buy corne to driue away the hunger. But whē that famine was past, the kyng rendred the landes vnto the olde possessors, but yet vpon this condition, that euery yeare they should paye him the fift parte, but of the landes of the Priestes there was no fift part payd. And no meruayle: bycause they sold not their landes vnto the king when they were kept of the common cost. Yet it is to bee thought that they payd so muche tribute of their landes as they were wont to pay before the famine. Neither vndoubtedly can any other thyng be gathered out of that place, but that Priestes ought to be noorished of the common cost: but in that they payed not the fift part, that happened for an other cause, as we haue nowe declared.

A sayinge of Diocletian.

Thomas Aquinas.

They bring forth also the. 8. chapter of Esdras, where Artaxerxes prouided that when he had layd a tribute vpon the Iewes, there should be nothing leuied of the Leuites in the name of a tribute. But this is not to be meruayled at, seyng ỹ Leuites had no landes to pay tribute of. For vnto them pertayned onely oblations, first fruites, and tenthes. For whiche cause they were released of tributes. Also Iulius Cesar de bello Gallico sayth, that the Druites whiche were Priestes in Gallia payd no tributes. But Plini in his. 16. booke and. 44. chapter, writeth that the Druites had no landes. And yet are not these thinges spoken to this end, that I should thinke that it is not lawfull for the Magistrate to deale somewhat more gently with them, and somewhat to beare with the: Bycause they must alwayes apply themselues to holy thinges, and study for nothyng els. Wherby it cōmeth to passe, that they can not increase their substaunce, yea rather very oftentymes they suffer great losse, neither haue they their stipendes, but duryng theyr lyfe. This thyng onely I disallowe, that they clayme vnto thēselues immunity, both real and personall, they vtterly refuse both ordinary and extraordinary charges, and that by tyranny or against the worde of God, and for that the Pope will not suffer princes to exacte tributes of Byshops and Ecclesiasticall men, when they will themselues: and bycause they will not geue them, if they be required. The worde of God hath otherwise commaunded, when it sayth, let euery soule be subiect vnto the higher power. And therfore (sayeth he) ye pay tributes. None is exempted: neither would Christ himselfe be exempted. Chrisostome vpon that place of Paul: It may (sayth he) seeme grieuous vnto Christians, for that they beyng the children of God and appoynted for the kyngdome of heauen, are subiect vnto princes of this worlde. But he aunswereth: Whilest we are in this lyfe, our dignity is hidden. For it appeareth not what we shalbe. Wherfore whilest we lyue here, let it not be grieuous vnto vs to rise vp to the Magistrate, to geue them the way, and to honour them. These thynges are full of comelynes and are decently done

The Druites payd no tributes. Plini.

It is honest that the Magistrate deale somwhat more gently with Ministers.

Chrisostome.

done of the saintes. Nowe that we are regenerate by the worde and the spirite, it might seeme that we neede no Magistrate. Wherefore the Iewes, because they were the people of God, tooke it very grieuously that sometyme the Babilonians raigned ouer them, sometymes the Persians, sometymes the Greciane, sometymes the Romanes, and other nations whiche knewe not God. The Anabaptistes also and Libertines cry that it is a thyng vnworthy for a Christian to suffer a Magistrate ouer hym. The Clergy of the Pope also haue shaked of this yoke from themselues. But the Apostles which foresawe that this thing would come to passe, did very often inculcate, that the Ciuile power should be obeyed, whiche precept is two wayes transgressed: one way is, when men say they will not obey the Magistrate, and seditiously make warre agaynst hym. The other way is, whē they circumuent hym by subtilty and guile, that he can not execute his office. For there are in courtes, whiche flatter in the eares of princes, dispraise & prayse whom they list, complayne of the good, as euill, and commend the euil, as good. So according as they wil, some ar preferred to prouinces, and other some ar displaced. Wherfore Diocletian sayde: A good, wise, & wary Emperor is oftētymes solde of his subiectes. The prince is at home in his palace, they that are familiar with him accuse & defende before him whom they will. Yea and among the Romanes ẏ fathers which were called Conscripti, ẏ is appoynted, were sometymes called Circumscripti, that is deceaued or abused. The course of Iustice is by many deceates hindred. Neither skilleth it much whether it be done by violēce or by guile, because both wayes the publique wealth is hurte, and the institution of God contemned.

Anabaptistes & Libertines.

Sinne committed two maner of wayes agaynst the Magistrate.

A sentence of Diocletian.

Neither is this to be passed ouer in this place (whiche hath also ben often spoken of) that the Magistrate is not to be obeyed, if he commaūd any thing agaynst the worde of God. For when he so doth, he is no Magistrate. Because (as Paul sayth) he is the Minister of God to good. Wherfore if he commaund thinges contrary vnto the worde of God, he is not in that parte his Minister. But thou wilt say: Sometymes grieuous, molestous, and harde thinges are cōmaunded: whiche yet are not agaynst the worde of God. What is to be done in those cases? We must obey: for we are commaunded to obeye our Lordes, thoughe they be hard, so that they commaunde nothyng agaynst the worde of GOD: whiche thing if they do, we must aunswere them with this sentence of Peter, whiche sayth: we must rather obey God then men. Nabucad-Nezar would haue had his Image worshipped, the faythfull Hebrues aunswered: Thy image O kyng we will not worshyp. Antiochus cōmaunded the Hebrew woman to eate swines flesh: but she chused to dye with together her seuē childrē, rather then to cōmit any thing agaynst the lawe of God. Also the Martirs, as well in the old tyme as also in our tyme, suffred most extreme punishmentes, and most cruell deathes, for that they would not sinne agaynst the law of God.

Eusebius. Eusebius Casariensis writeth that Constantius the father of Constantine sayned vpon a tyme, that he would put out all the Christians whiche would abyde in theyr religion, from their honours and offices. But they whiche were in very dede godly, of theyr own free will gaue ouer their dignity, and chused rather to geue place vnto dignityes, then to depart frō Christ. But this turned to good vnto thē, for the Emperour embraced thē: and those which had denyed Christ for to keepe their dignityes, he vtterly removed from hymself, saying: that they also would not be faythfull vnto him, whiche had broken thier fayth vnto God. Constantius after warde the sonne of Constantine, beyng an Arrian, went aboute to drawe the faithfull Bythops into hys hereſy: but they chused rather to be banished, then to follow that wicked purpose of the Emperour. After ward Iulianus Apostata opened the temples of Idoles, and labored to dryue the Christians to the Ethnike religion & worshipping, but such as wer in deede godly had greater long

An example of Constātius an Emperor.

Constantius the second an Arrian.

Iulianus Apostata.

ter loue and regarde to Religion of Chriſt then to their lyfe. Yea and Achilles in Homer ſayth: I will obey the princes, but yet when they commaund thinges honeſt and iuſt.

Achilles.

And theſe thynges pertaynie not onely to ſubiectes, but alſo to inferiour Magiſtrates. For what, if the ſuperiour prince commaunde the inferiour Magiſtrates, to receaue the Maſſe in their Cityes: Undoubtedly they ought not obey. If a manne will ſaye: It is the ſuperiour power, therefore it muſte bee obeyed: I will anſwere: In thynges ciuile and humane let them obeye as muche as they ought, but not thyng againſte GOD. We muſte alwayes runne vnto that principle: Euery thyng is ſuche a thyng by reaſon of an other, wherefore that other ſhall more bee ſuche. Therefore if we obeye the Magiſtrate for goddes ſake, muche more is GOD hymſelfe to be obeyed. Wherefore the inferiour Magiſtrates ought not in ſuche thynges to haue a regarde what the ſuperiour power commaundeth, but what God hymſelfe hath commaunded.

Of inferiour powers.

But there are ſome whiche ſaye: that before we departe from the obedience of the Magiſtrates as touchyng Religion, we muſt tary for the conſent of the Churche. They whiche ſay theſe thynges, muſt marke that Chriſt neuer ſo commaunded: Euery manne for hymſelfe is wholy bounde vnto the lawe of GOD, whether other conſent or diſſent. If the good man of a houſe haue many ſeruauntes, whome he commaundeth to doo hys woorke in the countrey, but ſome of them, when their maſter is abſent will be idle, ought the reſt therefore to be idle, becauſe ſome conſent not to theyr common buſines? Did Paul when he was called to preache Chriſt, tary for the conſent of his other brethren. No doubtleſs: but as he witneſſeth vnto the Galathians, when it pleaſed GOD to reueale vnto me hys ſonne, that I ſhoulde preache hym amonge the Gentiles, I ſyth not straygh waye aſke counſell of fleſhe and bloude, neyther went I vnto the Apoſtles whiche were before me, but I went into Arabia. Wherefore he taried not for the conſent of other, but ſtraight waye obeyed his vocation. So alſo ought we to doo: after that GOD hath opened vnto vs his truth, we muſte not tary. We muſte in deede tary for the conſent if the thynge bee doubtfull and darke. But one cauſe is manifeſt and without all obſcurenes, whiche if we will awaite till conſent be had, the thyng it ſelfe is loſt, and good occaſions taken away. Tiberius would haue brought Chriſte into the number of the goddes, but he ought to haue that conſent of the Senate: but the Senate would not: and by that meanes it came to paſſe, that whyleſt the conſent was taryed for, Chriſt could not be numbred amonge the goddes, vnder as Tiberius was able to haue brought it to paſſe by himſelf. But I pray you let them cal vs: For whoſe cõſent they will tary, For the Biſhops cõſent? But they (no doubt) will neuer conſent: for they are ſworne enemyes vnto the truth.

Whether the conſent of the Churche is to be taryed for in reformyng of religion.

A ſimilitude.

Paul taryed not for conſent.

Why we muſt tary for conſent.

An acte of Tiberius.

But let vs returne vnto the inferiour Magiſtrate, of whom we ſpake before. We muſt remember what God hath commaunded chyldren concernyng theyr parentes: Honour thy father and thy mother. By whiche woordes vndoubtedly is alſo commaunded honour and obeyſaunce towarde ſuperiour powers. For they haue the place of parentes towardes the inferiour Magiſtrates. But let vs ſee what Chriſt hath pronounced as touchyng thys matter. He whiche loueth father (ſayeth he) or mother more then me, is not woorthy of me. The ſame thyng without doubte muſte we thynke of the Magiſtrate whiche is the father of the countrey. We muſte obeye hym, but yet not aboue the Lorde: yea if he commaundes any thyng againſt hym, he is both to be hated, and alſo to be perſued. Neither is it lawfull for any manner to profeſſe hymſelfe to be a Chriſtian, whiche will not departe from the ſuperiour Magiſtrate in theſe thynges, whiche are againſte the woordes of GOD. Thys were to haue a will to ſerue two Lordes, and to halte in two partes. If GOD be God, let vs follow hym: and that not by halues, but wholy.

But it is to be feared (saye they) least whylest we are agaynste the superior power, we engender daunger to the publique wealth. To this will I answere contrarylye to that which Demades in the old tyme answered vnto the Athenienses. Cassander the Macedonian, whiche succeded Alexander the greate, entreated with the Athenienses, to worshippe Alexander for a GOD. They stayed at it, but Cassander, vnles they would consent, seemed that he would inuade them with battaile. Wherefore Demades spake thus vnto the people: That it was to be feared, least whilest they retayned heauen, they lost not earth. So doo I answere these menne, but chaungyng the worshyp: That it is to be feared, least whilest they to muche regarde and defende an earthely publique wealth, they lose heauen. For although the superior power doo fume and threaten, we muste stande valiantly to a good cause. For we muste worshippe GOD holyly and godly, thoughe all Magistrates and the whole worlde were agaynste vs. And therefore if that superior power commaunde any thyng agaynst the lawe of God, it is not to be obeyed.

In answere of Demades.

In example of Naboth.

So dyd Naboth beinge hymself, he would not graunt vnto Achab hys vyneyarde whiche was his inheritaunce, neither had he in that thing a respect vnto any thing elles, then that the lawe of GOD should remayne vnbroken, wherein it was commaunded that ye tribes and kinreds of the Israelites as touchyng possessions should remayne distincte and separated. Wherefore by it, it was not lawfull for Naboth to alienate hys inheritaunce for euer. Yet a manne beyng farre endetted mought haue solde his inheritaunce, till the yeare of Jubily. But after that yeare it returned vnto the olde possessor agayne. GOD would by thys meanes, that the inheritaunces of the Israelites shoulde not be confounded. Wherefore Naboth would not sell hys auncient inheritaunce, that the lawe of GOD shoulde not be broken, whome Magistrates also ought to follow, and not to geue place in theyr Cityes and dominions vnto moste impure Masses and Papisticall Idolatrye. The Jewes, whenthey were oppressed vnder the Macedonians, chuses to suffer any thynge, rather then that the Image of Iupiter Olimpicus shoulde abyde in the Temple of GOD. And when the Romanes bare rule ouer them, thoue greate sedition and tumult stirred they vp, rather then they would suffer the Siluer Eagle, or the Image of Caligula to be set vp in the holy place. Yea & Valentinian ye Emperor beyng an Arian (as both Eusebius writeth and also Ambrose in hys Epistles) would haue had the Church of Millan deliuered vnto him, there with hys heretikes to haue celebrated prayers and holy seruices. But Ambrose would not geue place, but rather abode daye and nyght in the Temple together with the people, that the Emperour should not fynd it empty and so possesse it. If the Iewes would not haue the Temple of GOD polluted with Images, and Ambrose suffred not the Churche to be contaminated by heretikes, why doo faythfull Magistrates permitte theyr Temples to Idolatrers, and impure worshippynges of Papistes.

The constancy of the Jewes agaynste the Macedonians & Romanes.

Ambrose.

They saye that these thynges pertayne not vnto them, and that these Temples are not in theyr power. What then? If murther shoulde be committed in those Temples, or any shoulde there conspire agaynste the publique wealth, would they learne murtherers and conspiratours to bee punished there? And would they say ye these wicked crimes pertayne nothyng vnto them? Would they willingly & wittingly suffer these thynges? I thinke not, if they were wise, & if they would keepe and defend the publique wealth. If a man should obiect vnto them, this Temple is not yours, nether perchaunce hath it any matter vnto you, what is herein: yea but they would then answere, for inasmuche as it is in our City, in that it sufficiently pertayneth vnto vs. But forsothe ames, farre more grieuous then murthers and conspiracyes, are these committes, Idolatry I say, sacrilege, and

and blaſphemye. And ſhall a Magiſtrate whiche will be called a Chriſtian, thynke that theſe thynges pertayne nothyng vnto hym? But, ſay they, the ſuperior power hath commaunded theſe thynges to be done. To this I haue alreadye largely aunſwered. Nowe thys thynge wyll I adde, if the ſame power ſhoulde go aboute to deſtroye the Citye, or to take awaye or diminiſhe the priuiledges, they woulde neuer ſuffer that, they woulde rather runne to weapons: but theſe thynges whiche are farre more grieuous and cruell, are openly and manifeſtly done and ſuffred. And whiche is muche moſte grieuous of all, thoſe thynges are there ſuffred, where many yeares the Goſpell of Chriſte hath bene receaued.

Nowe reſteth (becauſe oftentymes the Magiſtrate excuſeth hymſelfe, ſaying ẏ Eccleſiaſtical cauſes pertayne not vnto him) to declare ẏ to be vntrue. Although it be ſufficiently declared by thoſe thinges which I haue already ſpoken, yet for ẏ more eaſie vnderſtandyng I thinke it good to adde theſe thynges. Firſt I ſay ẏ ẏ Magiſtrate is the keper of the law of God, which conteyneth not onely the latter table, but alſo the firſt. Wherfore ẏ Magiſtrate is a keper as well of the one, as of the other. I adde that alſo whiche Auguſtine ſayth, that not onely priuate men, but alſo kynges ought to ſerue the Lorde. For in the Pſalme it is written: In gatheryng together peoples into one, and kynges to ſerue the Lorde. And in an other place. And nowe O kynges vnderſtand, be wiſe ye that iudge the earth. Serue the Lord in feare, &c. A priuate man (ſayth Auguſtine) ſerueth the Lorde if he confeſſe hys name, and lyue vprightly. But this is not ſufficient for a kyng and Magiſtrate. For he by his authority and power ought ſo to ſerue the Lorde, that he muſt puniſhe thoſe that are againſt hym: whiche thyng vnles he doo, he ſeemeth to aſſent vnto blaſphemers and heretikes. For the king, when he ſeeth theſe menne, and ſuffreth them, is as much in fault, as if he ſhoulde ioyne hymſelfe with them, and maintayne theyr wicked actes. Nebuchad-Nezar as ſoone as euer he knewe GOD, made a decree that whoſoeuer ſpake blaſphemy againſt the GOD of Daniel, ſhoulde dye. The lyke decree made Darius afterwarde. Wherfore our Magiſtrates alſo ought vtterly to take awaye all Idolatryes, blaſphemyes, and ſuperſtitions, aſſone as euer they find them out.

Auguſtine.

Howe kynges ought peculiarly to ſerue the Lorde.

The Ethnike princes neuer thought that the care ouer Religion pertayned not vnto their power. Why was Socrates condemned at Athens? I do not now demaunde how holyly or iuſtly: (for as all men in a manner beleue, Anitus and Melitus lyed againſt hym) this I ſpeake, for that he was for no other cauſe condemned, but onely for religion, as though he taught newe gods, and led away the youth from the olde, and receaued worſhyppyng of the gods: and he was by a prophane Magiſtrate condēned. Wherfore the Athenienſes thought that the obſeruance and care of religion pertayned vnto their Magiſtrate. The law of God commaunded that the blaſphemer ſhould be put to death, not I thinke by euery priuate mā, or by the Prieſtes, but by the Magiſtrates. The Ethnike Emperors alſo in thoſe firſt tymes did for no other cauſe rage againſt the Chriſtians, but becauſe they thought that matters of religion pertayned vnto their iudgement ſeat. And aſſuredly as touching this opinion, they were not deceaued: for none (as Chriſoſtome ſayth) either Apoſtle or Prophet reproued the people, either Iewes or Ethnikes, becauſe they had a care ouer Religion, but they were deceaued in the knowledge of Religion: becauſe they defended theyr owne religion as true, and condemned the Chriſtian religion, as vngodly and blaſphemous.

The Ethnike princes had a regard vnto religion.

Socrates was for religiō ſake condemned of a prophane Magiſtrate.

Chriſoſtome.

Conſtantine and Theodoſius are praiſed, and very many other holy princes, becauſe they tooke awaye Idoles, and either cloſed vp, or elles ouerthrew theyr Temples. But they dyd not theſe thynges, but for that they thought that the charge of Religion pertayned vnto them: otherwiſe they ſhould haue bene buſy fellowes, and ſhould haue put theyr ſicle into an other mannes harueſt. The Donatiſtes tooke thys in very ill parte, and grieuouſly complayned

Auguſtine.

thereof in Auguſtines tyme, bycauſe the Catholique Byſhoppes required ayde of the Ciuile Magiſtrate agaynſt them. But Auguſtine confuteth them with the ſelfe ſame argumentes, whiche I haue a litle before rehearſed, and addeth this moreouer: Why did ye accuſe Cecilianus Biſhop of Carthage before Conſtantine, if it be wicked for the Emperor to determine concerning Religion.

Farther, there is gathered by thoſe thynges whiche the ſame father wrote agaynſt Petilianus, and agaynſt Parmenianus, and alſo in many other his Epiſtles, howe that the Donatiſtes accuſed Cecilianus (as it is ſayde) before Conſtantine the Emperour, who firſt ſent the cauſe to Melchiades Biſhop of Rome. And when by hym they were ouercome, they appealed agayne vnto the Emperor, neyther reiected he their appealation from him, but committed the matter vnto the Biſhop of Orleance: by whom they were agayne condemned. Neither reſted they ſo, but again appealed vnto ỹ Emperor, who heard thē, decided their cauſe, condemned them, and by hys ſentence abſolued Cecilianus. Where are they now which ſo often and ſo impudētly cry, that there is no appealyng from the Pope, and that the cauſes of Religion pertayne not vnto the ciuile Magiſtrate?

Conſtātine decideth a matter of religion.

To whom in the olde tyme pertayned the ryght of callyng generall counſels? Pertayned it not vnto the Emperors? As for the counſell of Nice, the counſell of Conſtātinople, of Epheſus, and of Chalcedonia, Emperors called them. Leo. I. of ỹ name, prayed the Emperor to cal a counſell in Italy, bycauſe he ſuſpected the Gretians of the error of Eutiches: ỹ could he not obteyne it, and the Byſhops were called together to Chalcedonia, where at the Emperor alſo was preſent, as was Conſtantine at the counſell of Nice. Neither doo I thinke ỹ they were there preſent, to ſitte idle and to do nothing, but rather to put forth vnto the Biſhops what they ſhould doo, and to vrge them to define rightly. Theodoretus telleth, that Conſtantine admoniſhed the fathers to determine all thinges by the ſcriptures of the Euangeliſtes, Apoſtles, Prophetes, and Canonicall ſcriptures. Iuſtinian alſo in the Code, wrote many Eccleſiaſticall lawes of Byſhoppes and Prieſtes, and other ſuch lyke. Yea and Auguſtine hath taught, that the Magiſtrate ought after the ſame manner to puniſh Idolatrers & heretikes, as he puniſheth adulterers, for as much as they cōmitte whoredome againſt God in mynde which is much more heynous then to committe whoredome in body. And looke by what lawe murtherers are put to death, by the ſame alſo Idolatrers and heretikes ought to be puniſhed, for that by them are killed not the bodies, but the ſoules: although the common people be ſtirred vp onely agaynſt homicides, bycauſe they ſee the bloud of the bodyes killed, but ſee not the death of the ſoules. Undoubtedly it is profitable for the Magiſtrate to take vpon hym this care, and by his authority to compell menne to come to holy ſermons, and to heare the worde of God: for by that meanes it commeth to paſſe, that by often hearyng thoſe thynges, begyn to pleaſe, whiche before diſpleaſed. As Hyſtoryes teach, that God hath oftentymes with moſt noble victoryes illuſtrate godly princes, which haue had a care vnto theſe thinges.

Iuſtinian. Auguſtine.

God hath proſpered princes whiche had a care vnto Religion.

Farther, it can not be denied, but that it is the dewty of the Magiſtrates to defend thoſe Cities and publique wealthes ouer whiche they are gouerners, and to prouide that no hurt happen vnto them: wherfore for aſmuch as Idolatry is ỹ cauſe of captiuity, peſtilence, famine, & ouerthrowing of publique wealthes, ſhal it not pertaine vnto the Magiſtrate to repreſſe it, and to kepe the true ſound religion? Laſtly Paul teacheth fathers to inſtruct their children in diſcipline, & in the feare of God: but a good Magiſtrate is a father of the countrey, wherfore by the rule of the Apoſtle he ought to prouide that ſubiectes be inſtructed as common children. But kynges and princes, whiche ſay that theſe thynges pertayne not vnto thē, do in the meane tyme let, gene, and ſell Biſhoprikes, Abbacies and benefices, to whō they thinke good, neither thinke they that to be none of their of-

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fice: onely religion they thinke they haue nothyng to doo with, and they neglect to prouide that they, whom they exalte to moſt ample dignityes, ſhould execute theyr office rightly. Wherfore this thyng onely remayneth for them, euen that GOD hymſelfe at the length will looke vpon theſe thynges, and with moſt grieuous puniſhement take vengeaunce of their negligence. Theſe thynges haue I ſpoke the more at large by occaſion of our Hyſtory, which maketh mention twiſe or thryſe that euilles happened in Iſrael, becauſe they had not a kyng or lawfull Magiſtrate.

The.xx. Chapter.

1 Then all the childzen of Iſraell went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan euen to Beerſeba, and from the lande of Gilead, vnto the Lord in Mizpa.

2 And the corners of all the people, and all the tribes of Iſrael, aſſembled in the Churche of the people of God, foure hundzeth thouſand footemen that dzew ſwozd.

3 And the childzen of Beniamin heard ỹ the childzē of Iſraell wer gone vp vnto Mizpa. Then the childzen of Iſraell ſayde: Howe is this wickednes committed?

4 And the man the Leuite, the womans huſband that was ſlayne, aunſwered and ſayde: I came vnto Gibea whiche is in Beniamin, with my concubine to lodge.

5 And the men of Gibea aroſe agaynſt me, and beſet the houſe roūd aboute vpon me by nyght, thynking to haue ſlayne mee. And haue forced my concubine that ſhe is dead.

6 Then I tooke my concubine, and cut her in pieces, and ſent her thorough out all the countrey of the inheritance of Iſrael. For they haue committed abhomination and vilany in Iſrael.

7 Beholde all ye childzen of Iſraell, geue your aduiſe and Counſell herein.

The congregation of the Iſraelites was aſſembled together to iudge of the crime. This Hebzew wozd *Edah* ſignifieth a Church or an aſſembly, beyng deriued of this verbe Adah, whiche is to teſtify: becauſe that it is the vſe and ende of ſuch aſſembiyes, that the godly ſhould faythfully teſtify before God of thoſe thynges whiche are put forth to be conſulted of. The end of aſſembiyes or meatynges together.

From Dan euen vnto Beerſeba. In this kinde of Paraphraſis is comprehended the whole people of *Iſrael*. For theſe ar the endes of that kyngdome: *Dan* is the ende towarde the North, whereby ỹ Iewes are neyghbours vnto the Zidonians, and Beerſeba toward the South. Dan & Beerſeba.

Euen vnto Gilead. That land is beyond *Iordane*, where the two tribes Ruben and Gad together, with halfe the tribe of Manaſſes dwelled. Thys was the third end toward the Eaſt. And ouer agaynſt that toward the Weſt lay the ſea called mare Mediterraneum. Within theſe termes and lymites was conteyned the region of the Hebzues, whiche they poſſeſſed in the land of Chanaan. The borders of the region of the Hebzues.

They came into Mizpa vnto the LORDE. Mizpa was a place moſte apte to haue aſſembiyes in, it was not farre frome Ieruſalem in the Tribe of *Iudah*. In the fyfte booke of the Machabites the thyrde Chapiter, Where Mizpa was.

it is thus written: When the people by reason of ꝑ tyranny of the Macedonians fled out of Ieruſalem, they aſſembled together in Mizpa vnto *Iudas Machabeus*. And it is added that ꝑ place was a houſe of prayer of auncient tyme, & laye ſituate ouer agaynſt the City of Ieruſalem. And in this booke we haue before heard, how that when Iephtah ſhould be ordeyned Iudge ouer the people, the people aſſembled together in Mizpa. In Samuels tyme alſo ꝑ people aſſembled together twiſe vnto that place: once when they ſhould leade an army agaynſt the *Philiſtines*, & an other tyme when Saul ſhould be created kyng. Farther, when all the Citye was ouerthrowen by Nebuchad-Nezar, all the people fled to Godolia in Mizpa. Moreouer beſides the opportunity of the place, was added a notable benefite of God: bycauſe, as we rede in the. 10. chapter of Ioſuah, there aſſembled thether agaynſt the people of Iſrael a very great nũber of kynges, for there were not ſins or fyre, but very many kinges which were neyghbours, entending vtterly to deſtroye the name of the Iewes. Yet God commaunded them to be of a good & valiaunt courage, bycauſe he would geue vnto his people the victory ouer them all. And when that thyng happened, contrary to all mans hope, the Hebrues for a monument of ſo great a benefite, built in that place an alter vnto God. Wherfore it is probable (as the Rabbines affirme) that in Mizpa began to bee a houſe of prayer. For the people went not to the tabernacle or to Ieruſalem, ſo often as they had occaſion to pray, but had in Cityes and Villages certayne Synagoges, wherein they prayed together vnto GOD. But to doo ſacrifices it was not after that manner lawfull but onely at the tabernacle of Moſes, or at Ieruſalem, after Salomon had builte the Temple: although hyghe places were ſometymes vſed. Wherfore the people aſſembled thether as well for the opportunity of the place, as alſo by reaſon of the auncient Religion: neither thought they it lawefull to begyn any thyng without prayers. Whiche inſtitution, for that the Papiſtes would ſomewhat reſemble, they firſte prouide to haue a Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt, longe before they make any leagues, or rather conſpiracyes agaynſte Chriſte.

Euery Citye had Synagoges.

It is ſayde that they aſſembled together vnto the Lorde, to praye together vnto the Lorde. Although Dauid Kimhi thinketh that this was added: bycauſe whereſoeuer is a multitude of the godly, there is GOD alſo preſent. And to confirme that ſentence, he bringeth a place out of the Pſalme: GOD ſtoode in the Synagoge of Goddes. For Iudges whiche in thys place are called Goddes, when they geue iudgement, ought not to thinke that they haue theyr owne cauſe in hande, but Goddes cauſe, as Ioſaphat the godly kynge ſhewed them. I doo not diſallowe this ſentence: for it is both godly, and alſo it maketh menne to vnderſtande, that when aſſemblyes are godly had, then doo menne aſſemble vnto GOD: whiche thyng if menne in theſe dayes would conſider, greate menne would handle publique cauſes with more feare of GOD. Howbeit thys is for certayne that the Iſraelites aſſembled not in Silo, as ſome thinke.

D. Kimbi.

And the corners of all the people aſſembled. The Hebrewe woorde is Penoth, whiche properly ſignifyeth corners: but in this place it is taken for Captaines, heades ouer ten, Centurions, Tribunes, and gouernors of warlike affayres. For they after a ſorte are corners, ſtrengthes and ſtayes of an army. Wherfore the villages of the Heluetians in the *Italian* toungue are called Cantones. Wherfore the Hebrues come and aſſemble in Mizpa, not raſhly, but in their orders. They had not in deede a kyng, or mighty Magiſtrates, or Senadrim, as it is thought, for they wer ſore decayed and weakened by the *Philiſtines*. Yet they retayned among themſelues ſome order and diſcipline.

Fower hundreth thouſande footemen. When they went out of Epypte, they were 666000. men. It ſeemeth that the number was nowe diminiſhed. And no merueyle, bycauſe they had ben afflicted with many & greuous calamities. Alſo

The nomber of the Iſraelites diminiſhe.

the

the tribe of Beniamin was away, which peraduenture had thirty thousande soldiours. For that tribe was both ample and also mighty.

And the chyldren of Beniamin heard. The Beniamites would not be present, they onely heard what should be done. Kimhi admonisheth that these wordes are put in by a parenthesis: for there is no cause shewed why they woulde not be among them. *David Kimhi*

And the children of Israel sayd: Tel how this wycked act was committed. Kimhi thinketh that these things are to be red in ℏ vocatiue case, as though it should haue bene sayd: O ye chyldren of Israel, declare the whole matter in order as it was done: in the meane time it seemeth that the Beniamites are noted, bycause they would not come vnto the assembly, neyther take awaye euill from among them. The people assembled together to vnderstand the cause, that for as much as ther was no Magistrate, the people might publikely gene iudgement of so haynous a wycked crime.

The Leuite answered. This is in deede a short accusacion, but yet it comprehendeth al. In the meane time, this is to be noted, that this Leuite is called the husband of the womã that was slaine, which yet is called his Concubine. Wherby is proued the sentence which we haue before affirmed, namelye that lawfull wyues also are called Concubines. *It is proued that Concubines were wiues*

They entended to kyl me. He speaketh modestly and shamefully, and declareth the wycked act of the Gabaonites. Leui ben Gerson saith, that he so spake, bicause he was ready to dye, rather then he would suffer so great a villany.

Behold al ye chyldren of Israel. When hee had finished his tale, he byddeth them to take counsell, what was to be done in this matter. Then followeth the deliberation.

8 Then al the people arose as one man, saying: There shall not a man of vs go to his tent, neyther shal any turne into hys house.
9 But now thys is the thyng whych we wil doo to Gibea, against it by lot.
10 And we wyl take ten men of the hundreth throughe out all the tribes of Israel, and an hundreth of the thousand, and a thousande of ten thousand, to bryng vittayle vnto the people, that they maye doo (when they come to Gibea of Beniamin) accordyng vnto all the villany, that it hath done in Israel.
11 So all the men of Israel were gathered agaynst the City, knit together as one man.
12 And the tribes of Israel sent men throughe all the Tribe of the chyldren of Beniamin, saying: What wyckednesse is thys that is committed among you?
13 Now therefore delyuer vs those wycked men which are in Gibea, that we may slay them, and take away euyll from Israel. But the chyldren of Beniamin woulde not obey the voyce of theyr brethren the chyldren of Israel.

They al euen to one determined, that so great a villany should be auenged, if the Beniamites would not punish the guilty, as it was meete they should. The summe is: They wil not suffer the wicked act to escape vnpunished. But howe these thinges moght be rightly and orderly done and ordered, was first to bee considered. For there was a great number of men, namelye. 4. hundreth thousand. Wherfore out of that number they chused some to bring vittayles: & other some to assayle the enemies. But before all thinges, they sent a message vnto the Beniamites, that if they woulde deliuer the wicked men, they woulde cease

from warre. But some man wil say, was it sufficient to deliberate to fight, and onely to heare the accusation of the Leuite? Undoubtedlye it seemeth that hee ought to haue proued that fact, both by reasons, and also by witnesses. But it is probable, ỹ he had his seruant to witnes, which was present when those things were done, and peraduenture that old man, to whom he had turned in. For it is to be thought that he was departed from the Gabaonites, for as much as he could not abide their wickednes. But howsoeuer the matter was, the people before they go to hand strokes, decreed to send messengers vnto the Beniamites, that by them they might excuse their fact, and defende them selues. And by that meanes the other part, namely the guilty, was heard.

What wytnesses the Leuite mought haue.

In the meane time they chuse those by lots which shoulde be appointed to certayne offices. This was the peoples doing: and therfore it was done by choyse, that they might know, who should cary vitailes vnto the campe, & who shoulde fight. And to cast lot seemeth to be the most meetest way for the state of the people: for the people loueth equality of lawes, and equability, which seemeth then to be chiefest, when choise is permitted vnto lots. Wherfore wher as the people gouern, Magistrates are oftentimes chosen by lots. So is it also in hostes, ỹ whē soldiours wil, they doo many thinges betwene themselues by lots. This therefore was the maner therof, that the tenth man of the whole people shoulde bee had, so that one of ten should by lot be taken, ten of a hundreth, one hundreth of a thousand, and a thousand also of ten thousand. This seemeth to be a very profitable and commodious way. For now oftentimes in hostes a man shal se more rascals and vitlers, then soldiours. But by this meanes or decree, one tended vpon nine soldiours, and ten vpon ninetye. And their charge was to prouide vyttailes, bicause they knew not how long that expedicion shoulde endure. So in Titus Liuius Quintius Cincinnatus, being created Dictator in a perilous time of the publik wealth, and hauing a iorney to make by night, straightway cōmaūded, that the youth should gather together stakes and make readye weapons: but the old men and such as were not apt for warre, shoulde dresse vittailes for the rest, as much as should serue them for fyue daies. Here we see that the Dictator had his choise of them al. But among the Israelits ther was no Dictator: wherfore the matter was put to lots. In the booke of *Iosua* also in the first chapter, it is written that Iosua commaunded the tribunes to gather an armye, and that al of them should haue meate ready dresst to their handes, when they should passe ouer Iordane. For they wer ignorant what should happen vnto them.

To cast lots are most apt for the popular state.

Titus Liuius.

As it were one man. They were agreed together, and also of one mynde: and nothing is more profitable prosperously to make warre, then the concorde of soldiours.

The tribes of *Israel* sent messengers. The Israelites do appoint nothing rashly or headlong. This reason was most iust, that before they made any inuasion by warre, they should proclaime warre. For where that is not done, it may seme to bee rather theft, then warre. Farther, they woulde that if anye had beene innocent amonge them, they shoulde not haue wrapped them selues together with those wicked men. Delyuer vnto vs (say they) those which haue committed so great wickednes. That al the people may punish them, if ye will not. And they bring foorth the law of God: That euil may be taken away from among the people. By euil is vnderstand sinne and wickednes: that semeth to be taken away, when it is punished. But if it remayne vnpunished, then remaineth that God will take vengeaunce therof. Other do thus expound it: That we maye take away euil, that is, that we may turne away from Israel the calamities, whyche for that sinne seemed to hang ouer it. So Jesus in the Gospel healed al diseases and griefes in the people: when as yet he came not for diseases sake, but for sins. But diseases are inflicted bicause of synnes. Therfore seing he tooke awaye the cause, namely synne, he tooke away also the effectes of synne. They sent messen-

Warre whē it is not proclaymed, seemeth theft.

How euil is taken away.

gers,

gers, not onely to one famely of the tribe of Beniamin, but to all. Schebat in Hebrue is a tribe, but here it is taken for a famely. And in very dede tribes were nothing els then familes, comming of the Patriarches, namely the children of Iacob. But the tribe of Beniamin had ten familes, who toke their names of their first Parentes. And those ten familes were so notable and aboundant, that R. Selomoh saith, that Rachel after a sort brought forth twelue tribes, that is, there came out of Beniamin ten familes, which might bee likened vnto ten tribes. Further, of Ioseph were borne Ephraim and Manasses. Wherefore the Tribe of Beniamin was very populous and mighty. Whereby also it came to passe that they trusted to much in their own strength, and thought that they were able to resist al Israell. Wherefore they would neither deliuer the guiltye, nor yet punish them. For they thought it ignominious vnto them, if they should haue don either of them. They would not geue place to sound counsels, wherefore they could not deny, but that warre was iustlye made against them, which by honest meanes they might haue auoyded. But the rest of the people are to bee praysed, because they with so great moderation tooke in hande so great a matter. First, they would know the cause, then sende messengers, to require that the guiltye might be put to death: lastly they would assay all thinges, rather then they would make war against their brethren. On the contrarye syde, the Beniamites doo al thinges peruerslye, they take no counsel, they neither deny nor excuse their act, they will not deliuer the guilty, but prepare them selues to defende. And so for the wickednes of a fewe, they contaminate them selues all. And as Paul sayth to the Romanes, they do not onelye euyll them selues, but also consent to them that doo euyl. Neither could they excuse themselues by ignorance of the law, which they had so often heard. They acknowledge that the wycked act was most grieuous, which yet they allow in defending the guilty.

Beniamin had ten familes. R. Selomoh.

A comparyson betwene the people and the Beniamites.

14 But the children of Beniamin gathered them selues together out of the Cities into Gibea, to go out and fyght agaynst the children of Israel.

15 And the children of Beniamin were numbred at that tyme .26. thousand men that drew swoorde, besides the inhabiters of Gibea, which were numbred .vi. hundreth chosen men.

16 Of al this people there were .7. hundreth chosen men, that were shut in their ryght hande: all these could slyng stones at an heare breadth, and not fayle.

17 Also the men of Israel beside Beniamin, were numbred. 400. thousand men that drew swoord. Al these wer men of warre.

18 And they arose vp, and went vp to Bethel, and asked of God, & the children of Israel sayd: which of vs shal go vp firste to fyght agaynst the children of Beniamin? And the Lord sayde: Iuda shall be fyrst.

19 Then the children of Israell rose vp earelye, and camped agaynst Gibea.

20 The men of Israel I say went out to battaile agaynst Beniamin, and the men of Israel put them selues in aray, to fight against them beside Gibea.

21 And the children of Beniamin came oute of Gibea, and slewe downe to the ground of the Israelites that day .xxii. thousand mē.

22 And the people the men of Israel plucked vp their hartes, and set their battayle agayne in aray, in the place where they put them in a ray the fyrst day.

23 And

23 And the chyldren of Israel went vp, and asked the Lord saying: Shal I go agayne to battayle agaynste the chyldren of Beniamin my brethren? And the Lord sayd: Go vp against them.

24 Then the chyldren of Israel came neare the chyldren of Beniamin the second day.

25 And the second day Beniamin came forth to meete them out of Gibea, and slew downe to the grounde of the chyldren of Israel agayne. xviii. thousand men. Al they could handle the swoord.

The Beniamites assembled together to Gibea, because they saw al the brunt of the battail bent thitherwarde. They tooke out the choyce of their soldiours, wherein were not comprehended the inhabiters of Gibea, which were in number sixe hundreth men of warre, and men picked out. And it is added for a thyng wonderful, that there were of the Beniamites seuen hundreth, which had an impediment in their right handes, but vsed slynges, & leuened so nye, ỹ they missed not euen an heare breedth. It is saide that they had their handes closed, bycause the sinewes wer bound, neither could the spirites haue their mouings freely. For which cause they were vnapt to drawe swordes. The latin translacion hath ambidexteros, bicause they could vse both handes, as though either hand were the right hand. And they which excuse this translacion, do say that they so vsed the leaste hand, as if they had had no right hand. I thinke rather that they were leaste handed. But in that it is added that they leueled so rightly, that they missed not a heare breedth, I thinke it be spoken by this figure Hiperbole, wherby their cunning and industry might the more be commended.

What hande is ment to be closed

Leafthanded.

Hyperbole.

In the Hebrue it is read that the Beniamites had. xxvi. thousande soldiours. But in the latin interpretacion are put onely. xxv. thousand, for this cause as I suppose, bicause in that laste conflict wherein the Beniamites were ouerthrowen, we reade onely of. xxv. thousand that were slaine. Wherfore if a man compare the first number with the latter, there are a thousand ouer, whom other thinke that when their host was discomfited, and thinges past all hope, they turned backe & fled into Europe. But Kimhi thinketh more rightlye, that they were mysling, when the Beniamites got the vpper hand in those two first conflictes. For it is not credible that they so ouercame, that they lost none of their soldiours. Wherfore if thou adde them vnto the. xxv. thousand, which fel in the third battail, then is the whole number of. xxvi. thousande erplete. These thinges I knowe are of smal waight: which yet I thought good to note, bicause the Rabbines haue writ ten many thinges of them, and the translacions so differ.

D. Kimhi.

When the soldiours were chosen out, and al thinges set in an order, the Israelites send to Bethel, and aske counsel of God. The Arke of the Lorde was at that time in Siloh, and from thence wer geuen answers. And *Bethel* in this place is not the name of a City, but is take for the house of God, and signifieth a place where the Arke of the couenant remained. Farther, Siloh was not farre from Gibea, wherfore it was no hard matter for the Israelites to send thether to aske counsel of God. They asked the Lord, which tribe should haue the fyrst place in the battayle, for some one tribe must nedes be the first. Answer was made, that this should be geuen vnto the tribe of Iuda. That was of al the tribes most populous and noble, vnto which afterward came the kingdome. They enquired not who should be the captaine of the warre, but which tribe shoulde begyn the battaile first against the enemies.

Bethel is not alwaies the proper name of a place.

They nothing doubt of the victory: neither demaund they any thing concerning it. They saw that their quarrell was iust. They sawe also that they were more in number and multitude, and that it would be easy to ouercome so fewe: wherefore they pray not vnto God to geue them the victory, which was a grie-

Why they doubted not of the victory.

Wherin the Israelites synned.

thing tyme, as R. Leui ben Gerson affirmeth. Wherefore God being offended, suffred them twise to fall before their enemies, and that wonderfully. For God hateth nothing more then pride, and to much trust in our owne strengthes. He will also haue men knowe, that victory is hard to be required, and also to be hoped for at his handes onely. But Kimhi sayth, that other thinke that this so great misfortune of warre happened, because of the idolatry of Micha the Israelite. As though God should in this maner haue dealt with them: He will auenge the iniury done vnto a man, being a Leuite, but he neglect and wincke at the foule impiety, which Israel suffer at the Danites handes, who publikely worship Idoles. Either of these sentences is very likelye, although neither of them is gathered out of the text. Howbeit this we may affirme, that there were some certain causes, inwhich God was exceedingly prouoked of the Israelites. But what those causes were, though we know not, it is no mernayle. For the counsels of God are hidden and obscure. Order at the length required this, that the Israelites should first auenge the contumely of God himself, and afterward of the Leuite. But this is sufficiently declared in the text, that they at those twoo first tymes came not vnto Godearnestly inough. They came in deede: but they neither fasted, nor killed sacrifices, nor made any prayers, as far as the holy history declareth. But at the last, hauing already twice ouerthrowen, all of them with a lowly and humble minde come vnto God, al pray together and fast. These thinges seme sufficiently to declare, that they were not before in the house of the Lord in suche maner as they ought to haue beene. For if they had had true faith, they would haue before also proclaimed holy common prayers and also fasting. Mourning, fasting, and prayers are the effectes of faith and true repentaunce. These thinges for that they had not, it is probable that therfore they returned so great losse at the first and second conflict. This thing also might be a cause, for that they gaue ouerto much securely and contemptiously, as they which had put their confidence in the number and strength that they had. Wherefore they contemned the enemy, then the which nothing is more vnprofitable to those that fight. For contempt of the enemies engendreth negligence in the hostes.

D. Kimhi.

What thynges the Israelites had omitted.

The contempt of enemies hurteth very much

26 Then al the children of Israel ascended, and all the people, and they came into the house of God, and wept, and abode there before the Lorde. They fasted and that day vnto the euening, and offered burnt offringes, and peace offerings before the Lord.

27 And the children of Israel asked the Lorde (for there was the Arke of the Lord in those dayes.

28 And Phinhas the sonne of Eleazar, the sonne of Aaron stoode before it in those dayes saying: Shal I yet go any more to battayle against the children of Beniamin my brethren, or shal I cease? The Lord answered: Go vp, for to morow I will deliuer them into your hand.

29 And Israel set men to lye in wayte round about Gibea.

30 And the children of Israel went vp against the children of Beniamin the third day, and put them selues in aray against Gibea, as at other tymes.

31 Then the children of Beniamin comming out to meete the people, were drawen from their City, and they began to smite and to kil of the people as at other times, euen by the wayes (whereof one goeth vp to the house of God, and the other to Gibea) in the fielde, vpon a thirty men of Israel.

32 And the children of Beniamin sayd: They are fallen before vs as at

as at the firſt. But the chyldren of Iſrael ſaid: Let vs flie, and pluck them away from the citie, euen to the high wayes.

33 And when all the men of Iſrael roſe vp out of their place, and put themſelues in aray in Baal-Thamar: in the meane while, the men of Iſrael that lay in wayte, came forth of their place, euen out of the medowes of Gibea.

34 And they came ouer againſt Gibea, ten thouſande choſen men of all Iſrael, and the battayle was ſore: for they knewe not that the euyll was neare them.

35 And the Lord ſmote Beniamin before Iſrael, and the chyldren of Iſrael deſtroyed of the Beniamites the ſame day .xxv. thouſand and one hundreth men. All they couldе handle the woord.

36 So the chyldren of Beniamin ſaw that they wer ſmitten down, for the chyldren of Iſrael gaue place vnto the Beniamites, becauſe they truſted to the men that lay in wayte, whych they had layde beſydes Gibea.

37 And they that lay in wayte haſted, and brake forth towarde Gibea, and the embuſhment drew themſelues along, and ſmote all the City with the edge of the ſwoord.

38 Now the men of Iſrael had appointed a certayne tyme with the embuſhmentes, that with great ſpeede they ſhoulde make a great flame and ſmoke ryſe out of the City.

39 And the men of Iſrael retired in the battayle, and Beniamin began to ſmyte and kyll the men of Iſrael, about .xxx. perſons, for they ſayde: Surely they are ſtriken downe before vs, as in the fyrſte battayle.

40 But when the flame began to ryſe out of the City, as a pyller of ſmoke, the Beniamites looked backe, and beholde, the flame of the City began to aſcend vp to heauen.

41 Then the men of Iſrael turned againe, and the chyldren of Beniamin were aſtoyned, for they ſaw their deſtruction at hand.

42 Therefore they fled before the men of Iſrael vnto the waye of the wylderneſſe, but the battayle ouertooke them, and they whyche came out of the Cities, ſlewe them among them.

43 Thus they compaſſed the Beniamites about, and purſued them at eaſe, and ouerran them, euen ouer againſt Gibea on the eaſt ſyde.

44 And there fell of Beniamin .xviii. thouſand men, whych were all men of warre.

45 And they turned and fled vnto the wylderneſſe, vnto the rocke Rimmon, and the Iſraelites gleaned of them by the way .v. thouſand men, and purſued after them vnto Gideon, and ſlew two thouſand men of them.

46 So that all that were ſlayne that day of the Beniamites, were .xxv. thouſand men that drew ſwoord, which were all men of warre.

47 But .vi. hundreth men turned and fled to the wylderneſſe, vnto the rocke of Rimmon, and abode in the rocke Rimmon .4. monethes.

48 Then the men of Iſrael returned vnto the chyldren of Beniamin, and ſmote them with the edge of the ſwoord, from the men of the

the

the City vnto the beastes, and al that came to hand, also they set on fyre all the Cities that they could come by.

After that the children of Israel had had the ouerthrowe, they went vp vnto the house of God, and wept there. And assuredly somewhat they dyd that belonged vnto piety, but yet not so muche as they ought: for they fasted not, neyther offered they sacrifices, whiche are tokens of a full fayth and conuersion. How beit the Lorde byddeth them to ascende, bycause he wouldo not feare them away from the battaile, which they had in a iust cause taken in hande. He dyd not strayght way geue the victory, but styll permitted them to be afflicted of their enemyes, whereby they might vnderstande their faultes, and more earnestly desyre pardon. There perished againe, xviii. thousand of them, after which slaughter it is sayde that they came all of them humbly vnto God. There they wept, not counterfetlye or lightlye, but bytterly and earnestlye, and that all the whole daye. They fasted, they offered burnt offerynges and peace offeringes. Burnt offeringes were they which were all whole burnt, but of peace offeringes a certaine part was offered, an other part was geuen vnto the Priest, and an other part returned vnto him whych offered it, to eate it with his frendes in the sight of the Lorde. The Hebrues being now oppressed with troubles, doo not onelye pray vnto God, and bewayle their synnes, but also fast, and after fastyng institute a cõmunion among themselues. In that it is said that the Arke of the Lord was there, we must vnderstande that of Siloh: for there it continually abode. It is said that the priest stoode before the Lorde: and that is nothing els, then that he exercised the holy ministery.

Why God had the ascend whe they shoulde be ouerthrowen.

They asked: Shal we ascende, or shal we cease? This is a more ful interrogacio then the first were: for at the first time they onely demaunded, which tribe should first assaile the enemies. At the second time, whither God wold that they should ascend against their enemies. But now they demaund whither they shal go vp, or whither they shal cease? As though they vtterly referred the matter vnto the wil of God. God answereth them more gently & saith: Go vp, to morow I wil deliuer them into thine hand. The thinges that are now done and set foorth, serue to our cõmodity. We ought to attempt nothing, whereof we are not before certain, whither it be iust or vniust. For the true knowledge whereof, we must seke for the answer of God out of the holy scriptures. The Israelites wold not wrap the innocents with the guilty, & therfore they sent messengers at the beginning, which thing at this day is not obserued in making of warres. Our Capitains and Emperors do all thinges without respect, & do no les rage against children, olde men, maydens, and widowes, then against those which haue chiefly offended. The Beniamites are worthely to be condemned, bicause they defended an vniust cause, & thought that it would be ignominious vnto thẽ, if they should deliuer any of theirs to be punished, which thing we see happeneth very often tymes in these dayes. For maisters defend their seruantes, they care not by what right or wrong. For if their seruant, although he be guilty, be cast into prison, they think that therby cõmeth a great ignominy vnto thẽselues, their family, and to their court. But they ought to haue iustice before their eyes, & not to haue a regard to any thing els, then that the lawes should be kept. The Beniamites did put their confidence in their own strength, & the Israelites in their great number, and also in the iustnes of their cause. But both of them sinned, for confidence is not to be put either in the strength of soldiours, or in the number, or in the iustnesse of the cause, but onely in the mercy of God.

This is a more ful interrogacion then the first were.

Although the cause be good, yet doth not the thing alwaies succeede prosperously. The Beniamites in a most wicked cause got the victory the fyrst time, the second tyme, yea and the thirde tyme, yet at the last they suffered punishment, and were ouerthrowen and slayne. For God, howsoeuer he do for a time winke

at the wicked actes of men, yet he suffereth them not alwayes to escape vnpunished. For the vngodly, as the holy prophetes admonisshe vs, florissh for a short time: but if thou a litle while passe by and returne, he shall be no where. That the Israelites were so often ouercome, it was the worke & counsel of God, not bicause he would help the wicked men, but to allure his to true & iust repentace.

Why god would haue the Israelites ouercome.

We may also hereby learne, that in all matters that wee take in hande, three thinges are chiefly to be required: first that the cause be iust which we will defend. Farther, that we put not the abilitye of performing the same in our owne strength, but in God: lastly, that we put to our endeuor & diligence. Otherwyse to despise the meanes, wherby we may attain to our purpose, is nothing els thē to tēpt God. It is not inough to say: I haue a good cause, I will cōmit ẏ residue vnto god. We must also stretch out our strengthes, & ad to our diligence: Wherfore we may not put our affiance in any cause, although it be neuer so iust.

Three thinges required in euerye thing that we take in hād.

Some man will say: what difference then is there betwene a iust cause, and an vniust? Much vndoubtedly. For in an vniust cause thou canst not cal vpon God, or trust that he wil be an helper vnto thee. For an vniust cause is vnder ẏ curse of God, and to cal vpon God to helpe, it is euen like as if I should desire help of a man, to fight against my selfe. But if the cause be good, euery man maye put his confidence in God, & cal vpon him, but yet not in such maner to put hope in the equity of the cause, but that thou mayest hope, that God for his mercies sake wyll bee an ayde vnto thee. If the successe bee euill, the cause is not therefore strayght waye euyll. Neyther if the successe bee good, is the cause therefore straight waye good. Nebuchad-Nezar destroyed Iewrye, and ledde awaye the nacions that were adioyning captiues into Babilon, and yet was not his cause therefore good. Gods cause in deede was iuste: for hee woulde by that meanes take vengeaunce of a rebellious people. But Nebuchad-Nezar thought nothing els but to exercise his tyrāny. Ioseph, bicause he would auoide aduoultery, was cast into prison, and yet was not his cause therefore euer a whyt the worse. Dauid was elected of Absolon, and yet was not Absolons cause therefore anye whyt the better. In our time Princes that are Protestantes haue had yl succes in war, and yet is therfore not the cause of the Gospel to be thought the worse. The Beniamites now got the victorye more then once or twise, in a cause moste wicked. The holy Martirs in our times are most miserably slayne of Tyrannes, and that with most cruel kinde of torments, and yet we nothing doubt but that their cause is most excellent. England had of late, as touching the word of God and truth, a Church most rightly instituted, which was afterwarde miserabiye dissected and seperated: neither followed it therby that the cause of religion was euil. But now thankes be geuen vnto God which hath restored it.

There is great difference betwene, to haue a good cause, & to haue an euil.

The successe maketh not the cause eyther good or euyll.

There may in deede be drawen an argument of the euentes, but not of necessity, yea scarse probable. For the passage from the effectes to the cause, is not firme, vnlesse the effectes and causes be necessary. Wherefore this argument is of no force: The Israelites haue a good cause, therfore they shall not fail in battayle: for it may be, that God wil illustrate hys glorye, yea euen with the slaughter of them. And this argument also is no stronger then that: The Beniamites ouercame, wherefore they had the better cause. These things I haue spoken the more at large, to the end we should not wauer in mynde, or doubt of the goodnes of our cause, if peraduenture the thinges go not prosperously wyth vs.

From the cause to the effects is a firme argument, wher the effect followeth of necessitye the cause.

Farther, in this place is to bee noted the nature of godlye men: when they haue receaued the ouerthrow, they flee vnto God. But the vngodly, euen when they get the victorye, doo not geue thankes vnto God, as now we rede not that the Beniamites gaue thankes vnto God for their good successes, we haue heard of none of their prayers, nor of any confidence they put in God: yea rather there arose so great securitie and insolencye of some of their successes, that they brake out of the Citye, and pursued the enemies, farther then was meete or conne-

The godli whē they haue receaued the ouerthrow, flee vnto God.

The vngodlye gaue not thāks vnto God for the victory.

nient,

dient. But at the laſt they receaued the full fruite of their pride. Contrarilye the Iſraelites being afflicted with miſeries, got themſelues vnto God. Vnto whō god anſwered, ye he would the next day deliuer the Beniamites into their hands.

In the two firſt interrogations, the Iſraelites ſeemed to doubt nothing of the victory: bicauſe they had put a confidence in their owne ſtrengthes and number, but after the ſecond ouerthrowe, they ſhewed in deede a lowlye and humble mynde. Shal we go vp (ſay they) or ſhal we ceaſe? As though they ſhoulde haue ſaid: O Lord Iehouah, al the victory lieth in thine hand, therfore we wholy cōmit our ſelues to thy mercy: ſhew thou vnto vs, what we ought to do. If thou commaunde vs, we are ready to leaue of from our enterprize. This is a perfect interrogation, after the opinion of Leui ben Gerſon. Kimhi hath noted manye thinges in this place, not a little profitable for the vnderſtanding of other ſcriptures, concerning interrogations and oracles. This ſaith he, was the maner of aſking of God. He which would enquire concerning anye publike affaire, or otherwiſe of anye waighty matter, came vnto the prieſt, and he putting on an Ephod, ſtoode before the Arke of the Lord. In the Ephod, or in the breſt plate were twelue precious ſtones, wherin were written the names of the twelue tribes, and there were alſo ſet the names of Abraham, Iſaac, and Iacob, & in thoſe ſtones were al the letters of the Alphabete. The aſker ought to turne his face vnto the prieſt, and to aſke, not in deede ſo apertely that his voice ſhould be hearde, neyther yet ſo ſoftly, that he ſhould onely thinke in minde the thinges whych he deſired, but in ſuch ſorte, as we reade that Hanna prayed in the firſte booke of Samuel, wher it is ſayd that ſhe moued her lips onely, neyther ſhake she any thing that could be heard. Then was the oracle in this maner geuen vnto the Prieſt. By the power of the holy ghoſt certaine letters appeared aboue the other in the breſt plate, and that either in place or in brightnes, wherin the Prieſt red the miracle and will of God. And theſe thinges are thoſe Vrim and Thūmim, which the Prieſt bare in his breſt plate. This is Kimhies opinion. Vnto whom, what faith is to be geuen, I cānot tel. For it might be, that the ſpirit of god did moue letters geue oracles by the voice of the high prieſt, whoſe hart he inſpired to prophecy.

Leui ben Gerſon.

Dauid Kimhi

The maner of aſking of God.

This Pinhas which is written to haue ſtand now before the Lord, is not called by his proper name onely, but alſo by the names of his father and grandfather, are added with al, that is, the names of Eleazar and Aaron: which is done ſo much the more diligently, bicauſe no man other wiſe ſhould beleue that he could haue lyued ſo long. Therfore the Readers ſhoulde haue thought that thys had bene ſome other, rather then the ſonne of Eleazar. For if thou wilt counte the yeares, thou ſhalt finde that ther were no leſs then 300. yeres paſſed, from the time of that noble act of Pinhas, vnto this age wherof we now ſpeake. Wherfore it mought ſeeme incredible that it ſhould be the ſame man. Howbeit for as much as the holy ſcriptures do teſtify this thing, we ought ſo to beleue. Neither vndoubtedlye is it any maruaile, though God prolonged his life ſo long. For when he had ſlaine the harlot of Midian, and the Prince of the Tribe of Simeon, euen in that their wicked act, God iudged that he had employed his labour excellently well, & that he had done a moſt notable act. Therfore my couenant (ſaith he) ſhalbe with him life and peace. By which wordes was promiſed vnto him long life & honorable, which he ſhould execute in his prieſthood. Ther are ſome which produce his life farther, and ſay that he was Elias. But that hath no grounde of the holye ſcriptures. Yea rather ſome thinke that Elias came of the tribe of Beniamin, and not of the tribe of Leui, wherof Pinhas came.

Pinhas.

Pinhas lyued long.

Of what tribe Elias was.

Of Merites.

Againſt merites

Where as it is ſaid that the Iſraelites went vp, wept, faſted, & did ſacrifice, we muſt not think that by thoſe actions they ſatisfied the anger of god: for we haue no merites, for as muche as we cannot perfectly obey the law of God.

Further, if there were any merites of ours, they should consist of such woorkes which we are not of duty bounde to do vnto God: otherwise if we owe vnto God whatsoeuer we do, what thing can our merite then be? But both we our selues and al ours, doinges I say, sayinges, thoughtes, and counsels are due vnto god. Wherfore our merites do vtterly perish. Moreouer those woorkes whereby men should merite, ought to be of our selues: which cannot be affirmed, for no muche as it is god which woorketh in vs both to will & to perform, & that not as we will, but according to his good will. Wherfore Augustine was accustomed very wel to say, ✠ God which crowneth his giftes in vs. And in his .100. Epistle ad Sixtū Presbiterum, Paul (saith he) when he had sayd: The reward of sinne is death, dyd not straightway adde contrarily: The reward of righteousnes is euerlasting lyfe. But Grace (sayth he) is eternal life, for that is not rendred to our merites, but is geuen freely. He might in deede haue written after the same maner if he would. For the holye scripture sometimes so speaketh. But for that he was a defender of grace, he would not geue occasion vnto his enemyes to impugne it. Farther, our woorkes, how holye so euer they appeare, are neuertheles vnpure and imperfect. Wherfore they are woorthye rather of punishment, then that they should deserue any good. And inythout doubt they should be punished, were not the redemption and iustification wherby we haue by Christ our Lorde.

Augustine.

There ought also to be some analogy or proporcion betweene merites and rewardes, whereof there is none betweene our woorkes and eternall lyfe. For as Paul saith: The sufferinges of this time, are not woorthy of the glory to come, which shalbe reuealed in vs. This is to be added, that in the holye scriptures is no where found the name of merite: thoughe in deedes are wont to bring the .xvi. chap. of Ecclesiasticus, and there they say it is written: All merry shal make place vnto euery one, according to the merites of his woorkes. But they which obiect this thing, let him looke vpon the Greeke text, wherin it is thus written: πάντα ἔλεος ποιήσει τόπον κατὰ ἀγαθότητα, καὶ ἕκαστος κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, which is in latine: Deus omni misericordiam faciet locum, & quilibet iuxta opera sua inueniet. Which in englyshe signifieth: God wil make place vnto al mercy, and euery man shall finde according vnto hys woorkes. But in these woordes there is no mention made of merite, onely this is written, that whose woorkes are good, they shall be in good case, but yet their woorkes are not sayde to be merites or causes of reward. I will not speake how that booke is not in the Canon: bycause Paule and the Gospels vse the same forme of speaking. But of that wherby is written vnto the Hebrewes, by suche sacrifices God is well pleased, I haue before spoken: now we with one woorde onely will briefly touche the thing. This woorde of deseruing is not founde in the Greeke. In Greeke is read εὐαρεστοῦνται, by wherby woorde is onely signified, that the good woorkes of the faythfull are grateful and acceptable vnto God.

Of the woorde reward.

But as touching this woorde reward, which some, bicause they do not well vnderstand it, do take for merite, we must deuide it two maner of wayes. For that is sometymes called a reward, which is geuen freely, but yet is promysed, by adding of some woorke, wherby men should be stirred vp to doo well. So eternal life may be called a reward, not ✠ we deserue the same by our woorkes, but bicause by a certain order appointed of God, it followeth our good woorkes.

Whither eternal lyfe may be called a reward

But sometimes a reward is that which is due vnto good deedes, & is rendred vnto them of duty. After this maner eternal life cannot be called the reward of our woorkes. Wherfore Paul to the Romanes saith: Abraham beleued God, & it was imputed vnto him for righteousnes. But vnto him which woorketh reward, is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt. Wherfore eternal lyfe, for as muche as it is not of right due vnto, cannot be a reward, if the woorde be taken in that signification. But when they thus reason: there is a reward geuen,

ergo

ergo there is a merite. The argument is not firme, bicause in affirming we may not discend from the general worde to the ſpecies. Nother doth he rightly conclude whych ſayth: It is a liuing creature, ergo it is a man. This generall word reward hath two ſpecies: therfore this argument is not firme, if we saye: It is a reward, Ergo it is plaine that it muſt be geuen of dewty. A genere ad ſpecies.

This ſaying alſo of Ieremy is to be added: Curſed be euery one that putteth his hope in man, and calleth fleſh his ſtrength. But all our thinges, whatſoeuer they be, ars not without fleſh. Wherfore it is not lawful for vs to put confidence in them. And Ierome writing vpon that place hath very well brought in manye thinges, whereby may be vnderſtanded that in our workes there is no regard of merite. Yea and the Papiſts alſo themſelues, which ar the patrones of merites, are ſometimes compelled to confeſſe that our merites are nothing at all. For on the 2. Sonday in the Aduēt, thus they pray: Be pacefied O god with the prayers of our humility, and wher helpe of merites do want, ſuccor vs with the aydes of of thy mercy. The fathers, whē in their writings they oftentimes inculcate this word of meriting, do by it ſignify nothinge els, then to get, to obteine, and to atteine to. And as manye of them as haue written purelye, the ſame haue deteſted the conſideration of merites, wherof the papiſtes ſo much boſt. Wherfore the Iſraelites were not heard thoroughe the merite of their teares or prayers, but bycauſe by fayth in Chriſt to come they obteyned forgeuenes of ſins, and ſo by his merite onely they returned into fauor againe with god. Ierome.

They offred ſacrifice. Although I haue before largely ſpoken of the ſacrifices in the olde time, yet I thinke it good here alſo briefly to touch what profite was of them in the old law. When men are vexed with calamitye, they beginne to think vpon their ſin, they loke vpon the law: wher whē they behold the wrath of god kindled for ſinne, they are in hart detected: in which perturbatiō there remaineth no remedy, but to get them vnto Chriſt, which is the ſumme and end of all ſacrifices. Him did the fathers, which wer godly, embrace by faith: but in the ſacrifices, as often as the ſacrifice was ſlaine, ſo often the death of Chriſte was after a ſorte ſet before the eyes of thoſe that ſtoode by, by whoſe death the ſynnes of the world ſhould be taken away. Wherfore they had after this manner a communion amonge themſelues in Chriſt, which by ſundry notes and ſignes dayly ſignified to the people in the old time, wherbēce they by fayth receaued vnto their ſaluation both his death and the fruite therof as we do. Wherfore Paule ſayth trulye vnto the Corinthians: All did eate of one, and the ſelf ſame ſpirituall meate, and all dronke of one, and the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall drinke. And they dronke of the ſpirituall rocke following them. And that rocke was Chriſt. Wherefore the elders had their miſteries and ſacraments, whereby they alſo embraſed Chriſt. And vndoubtedly as touching the thing, they had the ſame that we haue, the difference was onely in the ſimboles. What profite the ſacrifices of the law had. The ſacramēts of the elders & ours ar al one, but differ in outward ſimboles & ſignes.

But Auguſtine noteth in the certaine other differences, which here to rehearſe ſhal not be vnprofitable. Firſte they hadde manye ſacramentes, and wee but fewe: the ſimboles of our ſacraments are water, bread, and wine: they had oxen, calues, ſheepe, gotes, doues, turtle doues, bread, wine, oyle & ſuch other like. Farther, the condicion of our ſacramentes is diuerſe from the equality of theirs: for they as were more grieuous, but ours are by Chriſte made both eaſier and alſo lighter. Moreouer thoſe ſimboles that were geuen vnto them, were conteined in one country onely, but ours ar common to the whole world. Farther in them Chriſt was ſet forth, as he which ſhould come: but to vs, as he which is now alreadye come. But as touchinge ſaluation there is no difference. For the ſame ſaluation and the ſame Chriſt was offred vnto them, which is ſette forth vnto vs. *Auguſtine.* Differences betwene the Sacramentes of the elders and ours.

This is also to be added, that our Sacraments are more manifest and excellent, for as much as they haue more manyfest woordes of Christ and his redemption, which make fayth more ful. And therfore the spirite is now had more aboundantly, then it was in that time, if we speake of the comon state of men. For I speake not of persons singularely, neither do I thinke that Abraham had lesse faith and spirite then christian men now haue. But now let vs returne vnto the history.

The hebrewes when they were afflicted, fled vnto God by Christ, who was set before them in their sacrifices, and was there apprehended by fayth. Wherehence was all the vtility of their sacrifices, to the offring or receiuinge wherof it was not lawfull to come rashly, otherwise they should haue bene to their hurt, and should haue kindled the wrath of God against them, which thinge Paul hath very well admonished vs of saying: He whiche eateth or drinketh vnworthely, eateth and drinketh vnto himself damnation. Wherefore in the law there were many purifications, sprinkelings, and washinges, before they came vnto the holy seruices. And these men now repent, and throwe themselues downe vnto the ground wepinge before the Lorde: for they were touched with the bitternes and grenousnes of their sinnes.

What the purifications of the Elders signified.

When god had heard the prayers of the Israelites, and had promised to deliuer the Beniamites into theyr handes, he ministred also vnto them secrete and sound counsels, namely that they shoulde in a conuenient place lay an embushmēt, and making as though they would flee, draw away their enemies from the cities, that afterwarde they might oppresse them, both before and behinde. They had among them contrary counsels. The Beniamites sayd: They flee, let vs follow them and oppresse them as they are fleing. The Israelites contrarily sayd: Let vs geue place vnto the Beniamites, hat they may follow vs more insolently and securely. For we will stoppe them of their returne into the city. We reade of the like policy of warre in the booke of Iosua, when the city of Hai was assalted. It is now writtē that god himself smote them. For it is sayd, And god made Beniamin to fall before the Israelits, least the victory should seme to be attributed, either vnto the strengthes of the Israelites, or to theyr politique deuyse. Whe whole fume of those which were slayn, were .25. thousand. The order of this history might seme some what troublesome, which yet if it be apart cōsidered perticulerly, shalbe the better vnderstanded. For at the first conflict were slaine of the Beniamites 18000. then when they fled into the desert 5000. lastly when they fled to Gibea. 2000. All whyche summes added together, doo make the full nombre of. 25000.

The counsels of the Beniamits and of the Israelites are diuerse.

The like politike deuise in the boke of Iosuah.

The city ascended vp to heauen. Here is the figure Hiperbole, whereby is signified either that the smoke of the citye ascended vp into heauen, or that als all the riches therof which were now on fire and turned into smoke, ascended vp in to heauen. The Beniamites being in extreme daunger, loke backe vnto the city, as though there they should haue found succor and ayde. They retrate, but they fall into the handes of the Embushments, and are slaine. From thence they get themselues and flee vnto the woods, but in the flight they are miserably killed. A few whyche escaped in those ouerthrowes, got them to the rock Rimmon, as in to a high castel and wel fensed, both by nature and situation. And ther a few were saued, as is afterwarde declared. Whereby we gather that no mighte or power can help vs, when god will strike. Whatsoeuer can be deuised or inuented of vs, if not hing profiteth against the Lorde.

In the hebrew tongue a place of fence is called a rocke.

So great and so populous a tribe, as soone as euer god would, perished in a manner wholy. Ther remained only. 600. men, whiche got themselues into the castle of Rimmō. It is called a rock, because in the holy scriptures places of fence are so called, for that they are in a manner situate vpon stony rockes and high places

places. But why the. 600. men were left on liue, there is (I thinke) a cause, namely least any one whole tribe should want in Israell. God would not for their deserts, but for his names sake haue a certayn fewe remaining, that the publik wealth of the Israelites should be preserued. And those same be left not whole, but in a manner maimed: for they had no wiues, neyther were there anye women left of that whole tribe, for them to marrye therefore, they wer compelled to desire wiues of ỳ other tribes. Wherefore the tribe of *Beniamin*, although otherwise it remained but small, yet howsoeuer it was, halfe the part therof cõsisted of other tribes. For the Israelites had slayne al their wyues and children and cattayle. This seuerity of the Israelites was great, or rather it may seme to be cruelty, and also against the law of God, wherin it was forbidden, that the childre should be slaine for the sinnes of the parents. But it is very likely (which thing the Hebrewe interpreters also affirme) that the Israelites when they fasted and prayed before the lord, bowed Cherim, that is the vow of a curse, wherby it was not lawfull to reserue any thing, which thing they vsed to do in battaile of peril, and in great daunger. Yea and in Deut. the. 13. chapter: God commaunded, that if any citye of the Israelites fell vnto idolatry, all the tribes shoulde go vp and ioyne their powers together and conquer it, so that they shoulde with sworde and fire destroye all thinges that they found in it. But the Beniamites defended a manifest wicked act, which differed not much from idolatry, and it is possible that the city of Gibeah was idolatrous. Wherefore nothing ought to be reserued in it. In the boke of Iosuah it is written, that when Acham had hidden for himself a certayn small thing of the curse of Iericho, the whole host was afflicted for that cause, which deuate being afterward found out, not onely he himselfe was killed, but also hys sonnes and daughters, with his oxen, his asses, his shepe, and his tente also and all his stuffe. Which thing yet we must not thinke that it was done by the prescript of the law, but by a certaine singulare counsell of God. But whither Israell exceded measure in this auengement or no, wee shal afterward see. We may learne also by this history, what sharpenesse there is in ciuill wars: for they haue farre more cruell endes, then outwarde warres.

Why the. 600. men wer saued

The tribe of Beniamin that remained, consisted also of other tribes.

Whither it was lawful for the Israelites to kill the children.

Ciuill warres more cruel the outward warres

Of fasting.

NOw that we are come to the end of the chapter: For almuche as it is sayde that the Israelites fasted and afflicted themselues before the Lord, I haue occasion geuen me, somewhat to speake of fasting. And to beginne from the Etimology of the word, this Hebrew woorde *Tsum* signifieth to afflict. Wherefore Aben Ezra sayth, that wheresoeuer in the holy scripture is founde affliction of the soule, there is vnderstand fasting. There is a nother word namely *Tsama* berye ny vnto this word, and it signifieth to thirst: for they which fast much, ar wont to thyrst, bicause the humors of the body ar with hunger and fasting dried vp. The Grecians cal it *νηστεία*, of this particle primatiue *νη*, & *σθομαι*, which is to be strong and firme, bicause by fasting the strength of the body is diminished. But bicause this particle *νη* is rather extensiue, it semeth to signify very firm and very strong, bycause a man that is fasting, is verye firme and constante, so that he had rather suffer grief, then to go from his purpose. Also the Grecians cal fasting by an other word *ἄσιτια*, bicause they which fast, doo beraue themselues of foode. For *σῖτος* signifieth both corne and meate.

Aben Ezra

But before I define what fasting is, I think it good first to dis̃ distinction. For forasmuche as there are sundry kindes of fastings, they serue not all to our purpose. For there is a certaine fast that is naturall, whyche pertayneth eyther to the recouering or to the defending of the health of the body. Wherefore Hipo-

A distinction of fastes.

Natural fast

crates sayth, that they which are of a full and perfect age, or also are old, can verye well abide to fast: in which place olde men are to be vnderstande as touching the first part and beginning of age. For they which are very old can no better abide fasting, then young men or children. There is an other fast which is vsuall, & is vsed taken in hand, whē men are so bent to their things, that by no meanes they will intermitte the affaires which they haue begonne. So Saule when he pursued the Philistians, and had the victorye nowe in his handes, commaunded that no man shoulde taste of any meat before euening. So also certain Hebrewes, vowed that they would neither eate any thinge or drinke, before they had killed Saul, as it is written in the actes of the Apostles. This manner also of fasting pertaineth not to this present matter. There is an other kinde of fasting, which ought to be familiar vnto all Christians, namely to take meate soberly and temperatly: which thing they shal do, if they neither eate too often in one day, nor whē they do eate, doo gorge themselues with to muche meate, or seeke for delicates and fine banquetes.

Vsuall fast.

Fast familiar vnto christiās.

The commodities of christiā sobriety.

This manner of liuing is very muche profitable to diminishe lustes, neyther suffereth it the minde to bee troubled with affections. It maketh the minde more chearfull and redy both to prayers, and also to the actions of the life. Wherfore Christ sayd: let not your hartes be oppressed with surfeting or dronkēnes. Peter also hath writtē: Be ye sober, for your enemy ꝑ deuil goeth about like a roaring lion, seking whom he may deuour. Paul also wrote of himselfe: I chasten my body, and bring it into bondage, least I preaching to other, should be made a reprobate. Farther there is an other commodity of this fast, that therby expenses are spared, not to lay them vp couetously, but that that which is ouerplus vnto vs, we may geue vnto the poore.

Miraculous fast.

There is an other fast which is aboue mans strength, and is sometimes geuē of god meruelously vnto some of the saints, to commend they doctrin. Moses in the mountayn fasted. 40. dayes, for God would by a notable example shew, that that law which he set forth, came from himself, and was not inuented of men. Ether went Moses therfore vnto the mountayne to fast, but to receiue the lawe of GOD, and to talk with him. Elias also receiued bread and water of the Aungel, and in the strength of that meate walked. 40. daies, euen vnto the mount of god Horeb, that hee by this miracle shoulde bee declared to bee the true reuenger of the lawe. By this kynde of fastynge our Sauioure commended the preachynge of the Gospell, that it should not seeme to bee a thynge vulgare, but shoulde be proued a thyng begonne by God. But these wer miracles, neyther pertayne they anye thinge vnto vs, but onelye that wee shoulde haue them in admiracion, and by suche examples bee stirred vppe with reuerence to receaue the worde of God.

Fast compelled.

There is also an other fast, which lieth not in our power. As when we beinge destitute of meate, haue not wherof to eat. Here is nede of patience, and we must pray vnto god, that he would strengthen and encourage vs. So the saints when they wandred about, and preached the Gospel, wer compelled sometimes to hunger. And the disciples when they followed the Lorde, were driuen by hunger to plucke the eares of corne, and to rubbe out the corne. Elias also desired meate of the widow, and wayted at the brooke for such meats as the Rauen should bringe him. This kind of fasting men do not take vpon them of their own free will, but it is layd vpon them by God.

Religious fast.

But omitting all those, as which nothing pertayne vnto our disputation, let vs

ds come to our fast which we may cal religious. And this fast is an abstinéce, not onely from meate and drinke, but also from all other thynges whiche may delite and norishe the body, contrary to the accustomed manner, as much as strength will suffer, and it is done of a repentant mynd and of a true fayth, by prayers to desire the clemency of God, for mysteryes, eyther already oppressing vs, or very nighe at hand. The forme of this definition is abstinence, and that aboue the accustomed manner, whiche yet exceedeth not strengthes of the body. The matter is not onely meate and drinke, but also all thynges whiche may reioyse the body. The efficient cause is fayth and repentance for synnes committed agaynst God. The end is, by prayers to craue the mercy of God, and to torne away or to diminishe calamityes. Therfore they whiche fast, ought to geue themselues to prayers, almes, visitynges of the sicke, and to the holy supper. Definition. In exposition of the causes of true fasting. Exercises of those that fasts truely.

When we fervently pray vnto the Lord, and do from the heart truly repent vs of the sinnes which we haue cõmitted, & for their causes are earnestly afflicted, we can not easely thinke vpon meate, drinke, & fine delicates. For whõ such a grefe grievously vexeth, it is more pleasant vnto thẽ to abstayne, thẽ to any other delectation. So Dauid in his .35. Psalme sayth of his enemyes: When they were sicke, I laughed not, but put on sacke clothes, and afflicted my soule with fasting, and earnestly prayed for them. They which detest and humble themselues (because they in a manner dispaire of their thinges) are wont to contemne and loth meate and drinke, and other delightes and pleasures. Hereby we may vnderstãd, how it commeth to passe, that our fastes doo please God, not assuredly that the emptines of the belly pleaseth God. So Ierome verily saith, which fasting to hardly, were made to all purposes all their lyfe long vnprofitable. This pleaseth God, that we detest the synne, that we returne vnto him with prayers, and fasting away other pleasures, do put all our delectation in him onely. Why fastynge please God. *Ierome.*

But the fastes whereof we now intreate, are sometymes publique and sometymes private. Private fastes we take in hand, when we are afflicted with proper and domesticall miseries: for there is none which is not vexed sometymes either in himselfe, or in his family. Or if it happẽ that peraduenture he be not greued with any calamity of his owne or any of hys: yet sometymes he must mourne for other. For if we be the members of one & the self same body, we must thinke & the discommodityes of our brethrẽ pertayn vnto vs our selues. So Dauid prayed for them which afterward became his enemies, & which reioyced in his euils. So Iobs frindes, whẽ they saw hym vexed yͤ most grieuous plagues, lay seuẽ dayes full, in dust and ashes, before they spake any thyng vnto him: so much wer those men moued with his misery. Wherfore before they commoned with hym, they would by fasting and prayers desire God to asswage his so great misery. So Dauid when Abner was slayne, did not onely mourne at his burial, but also sware that he would ẏ day taste of no meate before the sunne were set. The same thing did he when he was reproued of Nathan the Prophete, and when he had receaued tydinges of the death of the childe. Vndoubtedlye all the whole tyme that he was sicke, he neuer toke meate. Nehemias in the .1. chap. whẽ he heard of the afflictions of the Hebrewes whiche remayned in Ierusalem, afflicted himselfe with fasting, and prayed vnto the Lord. Daniel also when he had red those things which Ieremy wrote of ẏ captivity of .70. yeares, confessed both his owne sinnes, and the sinnes of the people, wept also and fasted. Wherfore private fasting ought to be taken in hand, not onely for our selues, but also for others. Fastes publike and private. We must fast sometymes for other mennes sakes.

But publique fasting is two maner of wayes commaunded: Either of God himself by the law, or of ẏ Magistrate, or of the Bishop, or els of a Prophet. And this is to sanctify a fast, which sometymes is red in the holy scriptures. Of thys kind there are many examples, & especially that fast which the Israelites in this place imposed vpon themselues. In the .1. booke of Samuel, when the Philistines How publique fastes are denounced. What it is to sanctify a fast.

gris-

grieuously afflicted the Iewes, the whole people at the exhortation of Samuel assembled in Mizpa, wept, fasted, and threw away their Idoles. Dauid also with all his, fasted, when he heard of the ouerthrowe of the people and death of Saul. The men also of Iabes Galead toke the carkayses of Saul and Ionathan, and wept, and also fasted. That also was a publique fast whiche Iosaphat commaunded in the. 2. boke of Paralip. the. 20. chap. Esther the queene beyng in extreme daunger, commaunded by Mardochem a publique fast to be denounced. The Israelites in their captiuity (as it is written in the. 7. chap. of Zachary) had a fast both in the. 5. moneth, & the. 7. moneth, because in the. 5. moneth the spoyling of the City & desolation of the temple happened, and in the. 7. moneth Godolias was slayne: whereby so many miseryes afterward ensued. That was also a publique fast which Iezabel proclaymed, a woman otherwise wicked and an Hypocrite. For she declareth that it was the manner, that when any great wicked crime was committed, the whole Churche should fast, as it were vsyng helpe agaynst the commyng punishement. This fast sometymes also the prophetes required. As Ioel when he sayd: Sanctifie ye a fast. Esdras also in his. 8. chap. proclaymed a fast. Wherefore fastes were by certayne godly consideratios publikely denounced.

Why an yeare ly fast was instituted among the Hebrues.

God himself also commaunded a publique fast. For he commaunded that euery yeare the feast Chephurim, that is the feast of expiations, should be celebrated the. 10. day of September with a publique fast. For the people committed many sinnes throughout the whole yeare, neither did they diligently obserue the ceremonyes. Wherefore once in a yeare the tabernacle was purified, and a publique fast was obserued. These thinges in the old Testament, signified as it were by a certaine shadowe that the sinnes of mē should be by Christ abolished, of whō when we take hold by a true and lyuely faith, we are loosed from sinnes, and therof followeth the mortification of sinnes and carnall delightes & pleasures. Neither is this to be passed ouer, that that one daye of fast was a festiuall day. For it was not lawful in the publique fast, either to worke, or for a man to gene hym selfe to his owen busines, not that on festiual dayes we ought vtterly to be idle, but that in those dayes we should do good deedes, whereby we may rest in God, and we are commaunded onely to abstayne from our owne workes. But to bewayle, to praye, to acknowledge sinnes, to bewaile them with an earnest cepētāce, are the workes of God, and therfore are not forbidden on festiuall dayes, but rather commaunded.

The day of fast was a festiuall day.

The Ethnikes acknowledged a Religious fast.

These thynges haue not onely the Hebrues learned out of the lawes of God, but also the Ethnikes by the instincte of nature. For when Ionas preached vnto the Niniuites that their City should within. 40. dayes be ouerthrowen, they dispayred not of the mercy of God, but got themselues to repentaunce, and euery one of them, euen from the kyng vnto the lowest Citezin, with their beastes also and cattell, fasted. And when they vehemētly and with a feruent zeale cried vnto the Lorde, they were heard. Augustine de ciuitate dei, writeth that Porphyrius taught, that abstinence from flesh and grosse meates, doth purify the myndes of men, wherby they are made the more prompt to thinges deuine, and to familiarity with good spirites. Plutarche also in his litle booke de Iside & Osiride sayth, that the Priestes of Heliopolis vtterly abstayned from all meates, whiche might nourishe and augment the wantones of the flesshe, and that they neuer brought wyne into the temple of their God. For they counted it a vilany to drinke wyne in the day tyme in the sight of their God: other men sayd he, vsed wyne, but not much, and they had many purifications without wyne. The same Plutarche de cohibenda Iracundia sheweth, that among the Athenienses wer certayne holy sacrifices, which were done onely with water without wyne. And this is notable, which is written in the same booke, that Empedocles was wont to say, that a mā ought most of all to fast from malice. Titus Liuius maketh mention, that when at Rome there happened many portentuous thyngs, which seemed to foreshewe

Augustine.
Porphyrius.

Plutarche.

Holy νηφαλια

Empedocles.
Titus Liuius.

some

some great euill, the decemuiri were sent to looke into the bookes of the Sibilles, and that there was annswere made, that they should institute a publique fast in the honor of Ceres, which faste should also be repeated agayne euery. 5. yeare. And that by that meanes the anger of the gods should be pacified. Wherfore the Ethnikes beyng smiten with the feare of the euils, which hoonge ouer their heades, fled vnto the oracles, fasted, and prayed the gods to turne away their anger. But Christians, not onely seyng so many & so great euils, but also hearyng them told from all parts of the world: yet turne they not vnto GOD by prayer, neither are they any thyng moued in mynde.

But peraduenture some man will say, that Fastes, byeause they are partly Iewishe, and partly Ethnike, seeme to be farre from our Religion. But that it is not so, may easily be proued by the new Testament. In the Actes of the Apostles the. 13. chap. the Church, beyng admonished by an oracle that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should be chosen to visite the Cityes and Townes where the Gospell had ben preached, first decreed a fast: then they layd their handes vpon them. And in the. 14. chap. when they after they had accomplished their matters thorough *Iconium*, *Listria*, and Antioche, returned home, they instituted a fast, and created ministers and Priestes in euery City. Augustine in his Epistle to Cassulanus sayth: When *Peter* should at Rome haue talke with *Simon* the sorcerer vpon the Sonday, the Churche of Rome vpon the Sabaoth day denounced a faste, whiche custome was alwayes afterward retayned. *Ierome* in his prologue vpon Mathew sayth, that Iohn beyng desired of the Churches to write the Gospell agaynst Ebion and Cerinthus, who denyed the deuine nature of Christ, annswered that he would so doo, if the whole Churche would before indicte a publique faste. Whiche thyng Eusebius also in his Ecclesiasticall Hystory testifieth. Paul also in the. 1. to the Corinthians the. 7. chapter, admonisheth those that are ioyned together in matrimony, not to separate themselues a sonder, but for a tyme, to geue themselues to fastyng and prayers. In whiche place I thynke he vnderstãdeth publique prayers, and also a publique fast. For fellowshyp with the wife not beyng letteth, but that they may be vsed priuately, but whether he vnderstood publique fastes or priuate, it skilleth not much.

Augustine.

Ierome.

Eusebius.

Farther, Christ being asked of his Apostles, why they could not heale ỹ dõme and cast out the deuil. He annswered: Byeause of your incredulity. And he added: This kynd of deuils is cast out onely by fasting and prayer. That place is somewhat darke, and therfore it shall not be vnprofitable briefly to expounde it. Is it to be thought, that by the merite of fastyng and prayers (as they vse to speake) deuils are cast out by vertue of the worke wrought? Not so. What thẽ signified the woordes of Christ? First he said: Byeause of your incredulity: for if ye had fayth, euen so muche as a grayne of mustard, and should say vnto this mountayne: Take vp thy self, & cast thy self into the sea, it should obey you. And together with a fayth, is necessary a vehement and fervent prayer, and also fastyng, byeause a fired and earnest prayer which draweth the mind, not onely frõ meate and drinke, but also from all other humane cogitations and pleasures. Wherefore Christ by the effectes describeth the cause, namely, fayth by prayers and fasting, and he speaketh of those deuils, to whom god gaue more liberty, as though he should haue sayd: ye must not liue easely or idely, if ye will cast out this kynd of deuils. Ye must haue a sure and strong fayth whiche thyng be expressed by the effectes, by prayers I say and fastes.

By these reasons and testimonyes may fastes also be commended in the new Testament. But in them are faultes to be taken heede of, whiche very often are many, and those greuous. First byeause in the Papacy are obserued fastes vpon certayne appoynted dayes, without consideration of persons or occasions, as an yearely ceremony, whiche at this day is vtterly of no strength, & is as if it were Iewishe. Wherever euery man hath added & heaped vp of his owne, whatsoeuer pleased

Fastes are commended in the new Testamẽt

What vices in fasting ar to be taken heede of.

Faste brought in without mete sure.

pleased him, and not that, which calamity of tymes or feruent prayers required. For one man brought in Septuagesima, an other Sexagesima, an other Quinquagesima, another Quadragesima which is Lent, an other Rogatiõ dayes, an other Imber dayes, an other ỹ euen of ỹ Apostles, an other Friday, an other Saterday, & an other brought in fastyng on ỹ Mẽsday. But of so many fastes, what utility hath there at the length followed? A great many questions & contentions. For a man will scarse beleue, howe many questions the elders haue had concernyng fast. Augustine ad Casulanum writeth that therfore we must fast on the Mensday, because Christ was sold that day: and on the Friday, because on that day he was crucified. But of the Sabaoth day he much doubted. For they of Millane & of the East parte, affirmed that on ỹ day we should not fast, because Christ that day was at reast in the sepulchre: contrarily the Romanes and Africans, and certayne other, because Christ was detected euen vnto ỹ ignominy of the sepulchre: therfore contended that the Sabaoth should be fasted.

Many contentions and questions concernyng fastyngs.

Monica the mother of Augustine.

The mother of Augustine, when she came out of Affrike to *Millane*, and sawe that the men there fasted not on the Sabaoth day, began to meruayle at the vnaccustomed manner. Wherfore Augustine which was not yet baptised, came to Ambrose, & asked in his mothers behalfe what was best to be done: Do sayth Ambrose that which I do. By which wordes Augustine thought ỹ he should not fast, because Ambrose fasted not. But what he ment, he himselfe more manifestly expressed. I (sayth he) when I come to Rome do fast, because the Sabaoth day is there fasted: but when I returne to Millane, because here it is not fasted, I fast not. De consecratione dist. 3. chap. De esu carnium, it is decreed that Friday and Mensday should be fasted, ỹ Sabaoth day is left free. And in the same distinct. ỹ chap. Sabbato vero, Innocẽtius hath added: That ỹ Sabaoth also must be fasted.

An answere of Ambrose.

Innocentius.

But he bringeth a farre other cause, then that which before we spake of. For for because (saith he) the Apostles both vpon the Friday, and also vpon the Sabaoth day were in great mourning and sorow, therfore we must fast. In the same dist. chap. *Ieiunium*: *Melchiades* decreed, that we must not fast on the Monday, nor on the Thursday: and he geueth a reason, because the fastes of Christians ought to be on contrary dayes, to the fastes both of heretikes and of Ethnikes.

Epiphanius.

Epiphanius bringeth a reason why the Mensday is to be fasted, namely because Christ was that day taken vp to heauen: for it is written, that when the bridgrome is taken from vs, then they shall fast, and this he affirmeth to be the tradition of ỹ Apostles, when as yet at this day we beleue ỹ the Ascension happened on the Thursday: wherfore let the Papistes take heede, howe much credite they will haue to be geuen vnto these traditions. For there are many of them, whiche euen they themselues can not deny, but that they are ridiculous and vayne. I know in deede there are traditions founde whiche are necessarily gathered out of the holy scriptures, and for that cause they ought not to be abrogated. But other traditions whiche are indifferent, are not to be augmented in number, least the Churche should be oppressed, neither to be thought so necessary, that they can not be abolished. And we must beware that in them be not put the worshipping of GOD. But as for those whiche are against the worde of god, are by no meanes to be admitted. In the dist. 76. chapter. i. are added Imber dayes, or the Fastes foure tymes in the yeare: Which why they are so diuided, scarsely can any man perceaue. They cite Ierome vpon Zachary, who maketh mention of the fourth moneth, fift, seuenth, and tenth. And they seeme to be moued with a wicked zeale to distribute these fastes into foure partes of the yeare. And those fastes whiche the Iewes receaued euery yeare for ỹ calamityes which they had suffred, the same our men haue made yearely. But other haue inuented an other cause, namely because in those foure tymes of the yeare: Bysshops are wont to promote clarkes vnto the ministery and others. Wherfore they say that the people ought then most of all to fast and praye, that GOD would graunt

We must geue litle credite to traditions.

Why ỹ fast of Imber dayes were inuented

them

them good Pastors.

Fasting and prayers should be had in the ordering of Ministers. But I would demaund of the Bishops why they institute Ministers onely at those .iiii. tymes of ỳ yere. Undoubtedly, they cā render no certayn & iust reason therof. Augustine in his boke de Hæresibus, sayth ỳ Arius contemned oblatiōs for the dead, & also such fast as were appointed, because Christiās were not vnder ỳ law but vnder grace: but he would ỳ euery mā should fast at his owne pleasure whē he himselfe would. In dede I allow not Arius in ỳ he was an Arrii, but as touchig sacrifices & oblations for ỳ dead, he iudged rightly & godly. And also concerning appointed fastes, I see no cause why he ought to be reprayned, vnles peraduenture he thought this, ỳ fastes could not be denoūced of the Magistrate & of ỳ Church, as ỳ difficulty of times required. The reason also which he vseth, ỳ Christiās are not vnder ỳ law, but vnder grace, is weaker for we are not so deliuered frō the law, ỳ we are absolued frō all order. Augustine also writeth ỳ Iouinia contemned abstinences & fastes as things vaine, & vnprofitable: where in if he spake of bare fastes onely, & such as wer appointed at certayne dayes & certayne tymes of ỳ yeare, he iudged not ill. For vnles they be adioyned with faith & repentāce, & also with vehement prayers, they nothing at all profite. In Esay ỳ .58. chap. ỳ people cōplayned: We haue fasted, & thou hast not looked vpon vs: which wordes shew, that fastes without circumstances requisite, are not acceptable vnto God: but if they be ioyned with their additions, they are not vnprofitable.

Augustine.

Ierius an heretike.

Iouinian an heretike.

By ỳ decrees of Liberius, who liued in ỳ tyme of Cōstātius, may be knowē, how ỳ whē ỳ ayre was vntēperate, or ỳ there was any famine, or pestilēce, or warre, then they assēbled together to denoūce a fast, wherby to mitigate ỳ anger of god. Augustine whē he sawe his city besieged of ỳ Vandales, gaue himself vnto fasting & prayers, & in that siege died. As Possidonius testifieth. And generally whē we attēpt any great waighty matter, as whē we denoūce war, or creat Magistrats, or ordeine Ministers of ỳ Church, we haue nede most of al of feruēt prayers, for the feruētnes wherof fasting very much auayleth. Christ when he should begyn his preaching, went into ỳ wildernes & fasted. A widow when her husband is dead, is left in a perilous state. Therfore prayers & fastes are very conuenient for her. Anna the daughter of Phanuel led her life in ỳ temple, where she gaue herself to prayer & fasting. Paul to Tim. sayth: A widowe which is truly a widowe, putteth her cōfidence in the Lord, & day & night applieth herself to prayers & fastes. Cornelius, when he was not yet sufficiently instructed of Christe, and was heavy and penstiue in mynde, in the ninth houre was fasting, and in prayers, to whom the Aungell (as it is written in the Actes of the Apostles) appeared.

Liberius.

Augustine.

Whether fastes denounced ought to be obeyed.

But it may be demāded, when fastes are denoūced of princes & of the Church, whether men are bound to obey them or no? Undoubtedly they are bound by the law of sayth, & by obedience. For when fastes are set forth ỳ are agreable vnto the word of God, how can he which believeth in god detract thē? Assuredly he cā not. Howbeit this is to be vnderstād of those which are of ỳ state & conditiō ỳ they be able to fast. For if a mā be hindred either by age, or disease, or labours, in ỳ case this ought to be of force which ỳ scriptures say: I will haue mercy & not sacrifice. But they which are not hindred, ought to obey. In ỳ counsell of Gāgrensis chap. 30. it is ordeyned, ỳ if a mā obey not ỳ fastes which are cōmāded him of ỳ Church, how soeuer he boast of perfectiō, without bodely necessity, & prowdly contemneth the decrees of the Church, let him be accursed. In the Canones of ỳ Apostles (although they be Apocripha & conteyne certayne strāge things, neither is it sufficiently agreed vpō the nōber of them) in ỳ Canon I say .68. it is cōmended, ỳ the Clergy, which fast not, hauing no bodely necessity, should be deposed. Let infātes in no case be cōpelled & bidde to fast: for ỳ should hurt their health. Yet Joel sayth: Sanctify a fast, gather together old men & sucking children. And the Ninimites at the preaching of Jonas, cōpelled beasts & infātes to fast. These wer extraordinary

Confilium Gangrense.

The Canones of the Apostles.

thinges, neither are they for that end set forth, that we should imitate them.

Augustine. As for priuate fastes moste men will haue them to be free. Wherefore Augustine ad Casulanum: We know (sayth he) what we must fast when we are commaunded, but on what dayes we should fast, and when dayes we should not, we know not, because that is no where prescribed in the newe Testament, therefore fastes are to be left free: And in his 2. booke de Sermone domini in monte (expounding these woordes: Iudge not and ye shall not be iudged) he writeth, that men may two maner of wayes iudge rashly. Either if they vse alwe that into the euill parte whiche mought haue bene done rygghtly: or if when it is manifest that a fame is playnely euill, they thinke that he which hath done it, can not repent. And of the first kynd he bringeth an example, as if a man, because he is sicke in the stomake, or is troubled with any other infirmity of ỹ body, would not fast. An other whiche knoweth not this, will suspect him to be a glotton, ỹ to much delicate. For here that which is free, ỹ which may well be done, is vsurped into ỹ worse part. This in deede is Augustines opinion, which yet we ought prudently & soundly to vnderstand. For if a priuate man, when he is in misery or daunger, doth see that fasting & prayers may helpe him, he except he fast doth vndoubtedly sinne. But for as much as fasting after this sorte maner now declared may profit, we must vndoubtedly fast. It is free in deede, because by ỹ outward law he can not be condemned which fasteth not. But when our fast may auaunce the glory of god, it is no more free, for asmuch as we ar cõmanded to serue God withall our hart, with our soule, & with our strength. For there are many things which of their own nature are free & indifferent. But when it commeth to choise, & we see they may either illustrate or obscure the glory of God, then are they not free nor indifferent, bycause all our strengthes and faculties are to be applyed vnto the glory of God.

How fastes maye be called free or not free.

In true fastig we must faste the whole day.

Farther there is an abuse of fastes as touching the space of tyme: for as much as the Papistes, if they some litle while defer their dinner, and then whatsoeuer they eate, so that they eate no flesh, they thinke it sufficient. But the elders remayned fasting all the whole day euen to euening, at which time they were occupied in the woorde of God, in prayers, and holy occupations. In Leuit. the. 23. God sayth, when ye fast, rest from all woorke, and afflicte your soules: for it is a Sabaoth. And no man doubteth but that the Sabaoth endureth from euening to euening. So Saul when he had put the Philistines to flight, proclaymed a fast vntil night. And Dauid in the death of Abner sware ỹ he would take of no meate till night. Tertullian cõtra Psychicos sayth, ỹ the Churche produced their fastes euen to euening. Augustine de moribus Ecclesiæ contra Manicheos: Let accustomed fastes saith he, of the Church be continued euen vntil night: for al the whole day were celebrated holy assemblyes, were also had publique prayers, but at euening they were vnlocked, & did take meate. But it is a sporte, to see how ỹ Papistes illude this ancient custome: they say their euen songes before noone, & then they go to dyner, at night they institute a drinking, & so bicause ỹ they fast very litle.

The Jewes fasted from euening to euening.

Tertullian.

Augustine.

In the Church.

Thomas Aquinas, *Consilium Calcedonense.* Thomas in secunda secundæ sayth, that in his time fastes were produced euen vnto the ninth houre. And he bringeth the counsell of Chalcedonia, where it is decreed ỹ he which entreth before the ninth houre, should not be counted to haue fasted. Here by the way we must beleue which was the ninth houre. The 9. houre was at none, in which tyme worthy ỹ Christ our sauiour was crucified. Wherefore the ninth houre must needes be the third houre from noone. The elders vsed to deuide the tyme, that al wayes from the ryming set to the Sunne rysing they counted 12. houres, and agayne as many from the rysing of the Sunne to the goynge downe thereof. Agayne they deuided either tyme into foure spaces, and those they called watches: And euery one of those spaces contayned three houres. Wherefore the three houre from the rysing of the Sunne is either the eyght or ninth houre, as the tyme of the yeare requireth. For those houres are vnequall. The first houre is noone, and the ninth

Which was the 12. houre.

The vnequall houres among the elders.

is the

is the thirde after noone, and the .xii. at the sunne set. But Thomas obiecteth vnto hymselfe, that whiche we say, namely, that the elders fasted the whole day. It is ridiculous to heare what he aunswereth. Because we (sayth he) are in the state of the day, and the elders were in the state of the nyght: therefore we must finishe our fastes in the day tyme, when as they ended them in the night tyme. And he bryngeth this saying of Paul: The nyght is past, & the day hath drawen nyghe. Whiche sentence how much it serueth to this present thyng, all menne see and vnderstande.

An other abuse is, the choyse of meates, wherein nowe in a manner consisteth the whole religion of fastes. The elders vsed it not: for when they had fasted vntill euen, at supper they dyd indifferently eate whatsoeuer was set before them. But now our mẽ do more seuerely abstayne from flesh, egges, and milke, then they in the olde tyme abstayned from vncleane beastes. Paul reproueth this superstition, and calleth it a doctrine of deuils. But they say, that Paul reproueth those onely, whiche auoyded some meates, as euill creatures, and beleued that those euill creatures came from an euill God: but we (say they) do teache no such thyng: we onely forbid mẽ some kind of meate for one day, or a few dayes, which afterward we set at liberty. As though Montanus could not after this manner haue excused himself, against whom these places are cited of the fathers. Tertullian accuseth Marcio as an heretike, because he did put some holines in fish. Wher for there is no choise of meate to be suffred, but so much as shall seeme to serue to temperance, whiche thing if the Papistes would so diligently haue takẽ heede of, they should rather haue abstayned frõ wine, then frõ flesh. For Salomõ saith, wine is a thing of excesse. And Paul: Abstayne (saith he) from wine, wherin is excesse. They should also haue abstayned from fishe, & especially the delicater kinde of fishes. For there are of them whiche do no lesse delight the taste, and no lesse stirre vp to lustes, then doth flesh. And vndoubtedly among the elders, as well the Grecians as the Romanes, fishes were counted among the chiefest delicates.

Of the choyse of meates.

Montanus an heretike.

Tertulian.

What choise of meate is to be followed.

Fishes counted amõg delicates

Moreouer Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History teacheth, that the elders fasted far otherwise: for in the Lent some fasted two dayes, some foure dayes, some .v. some .vi. some .vii. & other some the whole .vi. dayes. And when they fasted, some abstayned frõ all kynd of flesh & fishe, and did eate onely all maner of pulses. Other abstayned frõ flesh of foure footed, & lyued onely on foules & fishes. For al thigs were at that tyme left free in the Churche. For when they had fasted vntill euen, at supper they dyd eate moderately whatsoeuer came to hande: although the afterward the thing began by litle & litle to decline to superstitiõ. Ierome to Nepotianus sayth, that there were in his tyme whiche abstayned not onely from all kynd of meate, but also from bread. They vsed certayne thinne brothes, made with spices, neither did they drinke them out of a cuppe, but supped them out of a shell. Augustine de moribus Ecclesiæ & Manichæorum, bringeth in a Manichite an elect (for so they call they Ministers) who in dede did eate no flesh, but in the meane tyme vsed most delicate & fine meates, and most sweete sawses: wyne also they might not touche, but drinkes which wer made of fruites, which much resẽbled wine, & farre passed it in pleasãtnes & taste, of these I say they dranke aboundantly. On the other part he setteth a true Christian man, who remayned fasting vntill euenyng and then had to supper a messe of herbes potage sodde with a pece of larde, and a smal portion of salte flesh, and hardened in the smoke, and dranke thre or iiii. draughtes of wyne: Augustine demaũdeth, whether of these semeth to haue fasted best & more truly: and he gaue iudgement on the Catholikes syde. The Mõtanistes so delighted in this choise of meates ỳ they inuẽted for thẽselues ξηροφαγίας which wer meates to dry vp nature, & such other like. For (as Tertullia affirmeth) they did eate only bred, salt, & al maner of pulse, & their drike was water. This kind of fast they vsed ii. wekes before Easter. Ierome also addeth ỳ they

Hystoriagrapher.

Sondry kindes of fastes.

Ierome.

Augustine.

A cõparisõ betwene a Christian and a Manichite.

ξηροφάγιαι of the Montanistes.

Tertullian.

Ierome.

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wer wont to fast three Lentes, & for that cause that they fasted so seuerely, they were called ἐγκρατῖται that is Pure. Eusebius in his .5. booke and .18. chap. writeth that one Appollonius reproued Montanus, bycause he was the first that wrote lawes of fastyng, as though the Churche before hym was free. He by lawes and prescriptes prescribed what dayes men should fast, and what meates they should absteyne from. Suche an author haue the Papistes of their prescribed fastes and choyse of meates. This superstition agreeth not with the woorde of God. Christ sayth: That whiche entreth into the mouth, defileth not the man. And whatsoeuer is set before you, that eate, demaūdyng nothyng. And to Titus: All things are cleane, vnto the cleane, but vnto the vncleane, nothyng is cleane. To the Colossians: Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. To the Romanes: The kingdome of God is not meate and drinke. To the Corinthians also, are many thynges written to confirme this sentence, where he entreateth of meates dedicated vnto Idoles. So the Scriptures make mencion of no choyse of meates for Religiōs sake: yet I deny not but that meates are to be chosen, either for the anoyding of excesse or sicknes, or elles for the kepyng vnder of the wantones of the flesh. But that Christians should absteyne from flesshe, from egges, and from milke for religions sake, is no where prescribed in the Scriptures.

Eusebius. Montanus the first that wrote lawes of fastig

Agaynste the choyse of meates.

A certain choise of meates is to be admitted.

There is an other abuse bycause they impose such fastes which the strengthes of men are not able and abyde. For they will haue the people fast .40. dayes. Which thyng, if it should be required accordyng to the prescript rule of GOD, and of the olde Churche, namely that the fast should be continued vntill euen, no man in a manner were able to performe that. And that institution some referre vnto Thelesphorus the Pope, other some to a tyme a litle before hym. And vndoubtedly therein is nothyng elles, then a certayne mere wicked zeale and noughty imitation of Christ. For he fasted .40. dayes: therfore superstitious men thought it good that Christians should fast so many dayes euery yeare, when as yet Christ fasted after this maner, but once in his lyfe tyme: neither required he at any time any such acte of his Apostles. But these men decree it to be sinne, and that a grieuous sinne, whē such a fast is violated. They ought to haue regarded that Christ all ỳ tyme did eate nothyng, & in that he could so long endure, ỳ same to haue pretayned to a miracle, and to the power of God: The holy scriptures no where commaunde, that in that thyng we should imitate Christe. Chrisostome in hys .47. Homely vpon Mathewe: The Lorde (sayth he) hath not commaunded thee to faste fourty dayes, although he mought haue commaunded it. What then commaunded he? Learne (sayth he) of me, for I am meeke and humble in heart. But the manner of these men is peruerse. For they will imitate Christe in that which they ar not commaunded: but that which they are cōmaunded, they will not followe. Our sauior when he sent foorth his disciples: Go (sayth he) to all nations, teachyng to obserue those thynges, not whatsoeuer thynges I haue done, but whatsoeuer thynges I haue commaunded you. And it is a wonder to see howe superstitiously and subtelly they haue decreed of these thynges in the Counsell of Martine de Consecratione, in the dist. 3. Non licet, and in the Canones of the Counsell of Laodicenum in the chapter Non oportet, it is commaunded, that in the Lent fastyng on the Thursday should not be broken. And in the Counsell of Agathensis it is commaunded, that in the Lent fasting on the Saterday also should not be broken: bycause on the Thursday & Saterday many fasted not. Yea & on the Sondayes also in the Lent, wherin they fasted not, they would that there should be retayned a choise of meates. And de Consec. in the dist. 4. chap. Deniq; sacerdotes it is ordeyned, that ỳ Prestes should begyn theyr fast from Quinquagesima. And in the same place .5. distinct: chap. Quadragesima. Gregorius hath inuented a reason wherby to proue that Lent is to be fasted. We must sayth he, geue ỳ tenth part of the whole yeare vnto God. And the .1. part of ỳ yeare cōsisteth of .40. dayes. Wherfore we must fast so many dayes. A goodly

Christe required not of hys Apostles the fast of Lent.

Chrisostome.

Consiliū Martini.

Consiliū Agathense.

A reason out of Gregorye for the obseruynge of Lent.

Gregoryes reason confuted.

reason

reason I promise you. Why wil thou Gregory forget that the Leuiticall priesthoode and ceremonies thereof haue now ceased. & Wherfore it is not lawfull to bind christian men to tenthe and Iewishe ceremonies. And if for that cause the time of Lent be to be cõsecrated to a fast, because it is the tenth part of the whole yeare, why did not the Iewes in ỹ old time so fast. Why did not the Prophets reproue them, because they deceaued god of such a kind of tenth?

But why Lent was inuented, as much as I can gather I will declare. The fathers when they saw men liue very carelesly and negligently, thoughte it good ỹ they should be cõpelled after a sort to renew godlines in some part of the year, & somewhat to bridle the fiercenes of the flesh. And for this thing they thought that the .40. dayes before Easter were most mete, that men should so long haue theyr minds both occupied in repentance, & also in remembring the benefites of God. This inuention, although at the first sight it might seme trimme, yet it agreeth not with christian liberty. For we must think vpon the benefites of god and of our greate ingratitude, and other our moste grieuous sinnes, not onelye 40. daies, but also continually. Farther by this meanes they opened a most wide windowe to liue securely and reachelesly. For if they once had performed fully those .40. dayes, they thoughte that all the whole yeare after they might geue themselues wholy to all kind of pleasures and lustes. For they referred the time of repentance to these .40. dayes. And although the elders had a lent, yet (as Eusebius sayth in his .5. booke and .24. chapter) it was left free vnto all men. For Ireneus after this manner entreated with Victor bishop of Rome, whē he would haue excommunicated the East church, because in the obseruinge of Easter it agreed not with the church of Rome. What (sayd he) can we not liue at rontes, although they vse theyr owne rites as we vse ours? For some fast in the Lente two dayes, some .4. dayes, some ten dayes, some .15. some .20, and other some .40. dayes, and yet is concord neuertheles kept in the Church.

Why the fathers instituted Lent.

The institutiõ of Lent is against christian liberty.

Eusebius.

Ireneus

Ther is an other abuse, namely because som put holines in fasting as though a worshipping of god consisted in it, where as in very dede fasting is onely an exercise, which of it selfe hath no holines. They are fooles, which in fasting thinke that for that cause they haue god bound vnto them: wherfore we must not rashly geue credite vnto Ierome when he sayth, that fasting is not a vertue, but the foundation of al vertues. For onely Christ and faith in him is the foundation of all vertues. If he had sayd, that fasting is a helpe of certayn vertues, he mought haue bene borne with al.

Fasting is an exercise & not a holines.

Ierome.

And vndoubtedly herein the elders oftentymes erre, for that they prayse & extol fasting aboue measure. If so much should be attributed vnto fasting, we must of necessity confesse that Iohn Baptist liued more holily then Christ. For he fasted more then Christ did. For Christ did eate and drinke as temperate and modest men vse to do. But it is sayde that Iohn did neither eat nor drinke. Yea and Paule to Timothy writeth, that the exercise of the body hath small vtilitye, but pietye is profitable to all thinges. If thou wilte demaunde what pietye is: I will aunsweare, that it is a true worshippinge of God, a soundnes of doctrine, and a pure life, which thinges follow hope and faith. Iudeede thinges assuredly is very great profite, and the exercise of the body hath indede some profit, but not so great. But we must note that Paule speaketh not of fasting and exercise of the body, which is hypocriticall and wanteth sayth, but of the true and christian fasting and exercise of the body. For those things which want sayth and proceede of hipocrisy, are sinnes, neither do they any thing profite. Wherfore Esay sayth: Is this the fast which I haue chosen? But these our men go farther, and besides that in fastynge they but bolynes, they make it also a parte of satisfaction.

I fall of the elders.

What pietye is.

Fasting is not a part of satisfaction.

They extende fastes euen to purgatory. Gracian.

Forasmuch as ꝓ Scholemi in the .4. boke of sētences do appoint satisfactiō to consiste of ꝓyers, almes, & fasting. What abrogated the death of Christ, if this do not? They say also that by faults, soules are deliuered out of purgatory. And least any should think that I fayn these things, let him rede Gratian in the .13. quest. .2. chapter anima, where he putteth the wordes of Gregory, who sayth: Soules are deliuered from purgatory, either by the ꝓyers or fastinge of theyr kinsfolkes.

There is also an other more greuous abuse, for that some affirme that by fastes they can satisfye the churche, although they faste not from sinne. This kynde of faste God himself ꝓpoueth by expresse wordes in Esaye: What care I (saith he) for your fastes? ꝓcast your couetousnes and strifes. Is this the faste which my soul hath chose? Liberius ꝑ Pope decreed, ꝙ in the lent we must abstein from pleadinges in the lawe. This is not verye wisely decreed, for the publike wealth cannot consiste if it be so longe or euer matters be heard, or iudgemente geuen. If fasting should for a weighty cause be denounced for a day or two, ther moughte for that space of time be commaunded intermission of iudgement. But that lawes shoulde cease, so longe as Liberius will haue them, it is againste the Publike wealth. Farther the same Liberius saith, that the vse of matrimony polluteth the fast of Lent, wherefore they would haue menall that time to abstain from theyr wiues. But ꝓ contrary, holyeth man and wife more soundly, namely to departe for a time, and that by theyr mutual consent, and to return to the same, least they should be tempted of Sathan.

Liberius.

An abuse of shrouetide.

There is also an other abuse, in that euery where before Lent all that time, which they call shrouetide, men do most vntemperately geue themselues to glotonye, excesse, dronkennes, and filthye lustes, and that vnder this ꝓtetence, that they may the easelier fast, as though it were lawful to do euil, that good may ensew. Neither is this a new kinde of vice. For Basill in his homely of fastyng, and Chrisostome vpon Genesis in many places greuously complaine of that thing. Some fast for delicatenes. For when they know that they shal not supper, at dinner they lade theyr filthy sinke with many and heauy burdēs, so that they make themselues vtterly vnprofitable for the whole day. Other on the contrary part, do vtterly wast themselues with fasting, yea and in a māner kil themselues, as Basilius and Nazianzenus did: who being men excellently well learned, yet by abstinences and fastinges were made vtterly vnprofitable vnto the Church. They were compelled to kepe theyr bed sometimes halfe a yeare, and sometimes a whole yeare. Lastly, there ar some, which for that they fast, haue a wōderful delight in themselues, & ar proud, & also dispise other mē, as that Pharisey which said: I am not as other men, I fast twise in the weeke &c. I could reckē a great many more of these abuses: but for this time me thinketh these ar sufficient. This one thing onely wil I adde, that in fasting we see two extremities. The Papists in a maner retaine theyr superstitious fastes, but we vtterly neglect those fastes that ar lawfull and good. Wherefore it semeth that on either side the thing is to be amended. And thus farre concerning these things.

Fasting.

It is not lawefull for a man to consume him selfe with to much fastinge.

¶ The xvi. Chapter.

1 Ad the men of Israel sware in Mizpa saying: There shal not a man of vs geue his doughter to any of Benjamin to wyfe.

2 And ꝑ people came into ꝑ house of god, & abode there til euen before god, & lifted vp theyr voice & wept sore.

3 And they sayd: O Lorde God of Israel, why is this chaunced in Israel, that there should be this day one tribe lacking in Israel?

4 And on the morowe the people rose vp, and made there an altar, and offred

and offred burnt offrings and peace offringes.
5 And the childzen of Israell sayde: Who are they amonge all the tribes of Israel, that came not with the congregatiō vnto the lozd? For they had made a geat othe concerning them that came not vp to the lozd in Mizpah, saying, that they should surely dye.
6 And the childzen of Israell had pity on theyr brother Beniamin, and sayd: There is on tribe cut of from Israell this day.
7 What shall wee do vnto the remnant of them, for to get them wiues, for asmuch as we haue swozne by the Lozd, that we will not geue them of our doughters to wiues?
8 They sayd, What tribe is that of the tribes of Israel, that came not vp to Mizpah vnto the lozd? And behold there came none of the inhabiters of Jabes-Gilead vnto the congregation.
9 For the people was numbzed, and beholde there was not one of the inhabiters of Jabes-Gilead there.
10 And the congregation sent thither. 12. thousande men of the strōgest of thē, & commaunded thē saying: Go and smite the inhabiters of Jabes-Gilead with the edge of the swozd both women & childzē.
11 And this is that ye shall do, vtterly destroy all the males and all the women that haue lien by men.
12 And they found among the inhabiters of Jabes-Gilead. 400. mayden virgins, that had knowen no man be lying with any male. And they brought them to the host in Silo, which was in the land of Chanaan.
13 And the whole congregatiō sent & spake vnto the childzē of Beniamin, that were in the rocke Rimmon, & called peaceably vnto thē.

The Israelites, as farre as may be gathered by this histozy, had bound themselues with a double othe. First, ỳ no man should geue his doughter to wyfe to the Beniamites: which was nothing els, but that they were minded vtterlye to destroy the tribe of Beniamin. Farther, they sware that if any of the Israelites had not put to his help agaynst the Beniamites, he should be slain. Here are very many things wozthy to be noted. First, we must consider that the Israelites wer to seuere against the Beniamits. For they did not onely slay the men, but also the wiues and maydens: wherefoze there were no women left on liue for thos. 600 menne which were remayninge, to engender yssue of. But afterwarde when the same Israelites moze diligentlye considered their acte, they iudged it not wel done, that a whole tribe should be cleane destroyed. Of which they nothing thought when they were in their great fury and rage. Wherfoze they now accuse theyr crudry, and detest theyr rigozousnes which they had vsed.

But that they bound themselues with an othe, ỳ they would not geue their doughters in matrimony to the Beniamites, it is not in this histozy mencioned: but yet it is moste likely ỳ it thē happened, whē they were in Mizpah, & the Beniamites would not deliuer the guilty. Wherfoze the Beniamites wer oppzessed wᵗ great miseries. For ether they must take to wiues forein & straūge wemē, which thing was prohibited thē by the law, oz els they must perpetually lead a sole life without wiues, and so that tribe should vtterly perish. The Israelites in ỳ they mourn, do suffer punishments for theyr cruelty. For it should haue ben inough for them to haue punished the men. What nede was there to slay women & maidens which had nothing offended: Vnles peraduenture they had vowed the vow Cherem. But such a vow it was not lawfull for them to vow, but by the authoritye

The Israelites were to cruel agaynst the Beniamites.

rity and commaundement of God, whych appeareth not to haue beene doone in this history. In reuenginge we muste keepe a meane: for all are not to be slaine which come into the power of them that ouercome. It is sufficient to punish the guilty. God slew in Egipt Pharao, also the firste begoten, and many other, yet destroyed he not the whole nation. And when he destroyed Sodom, he saued both Lot and also his familye, and deliuered from misery ye citye Zoar, whither Lot went. And in the flood when he drowned the worlde with water, yet he wolde saue one lyue Noah with his familye. But it appeareth that these men determined, vtterly to destroy all the Beniamites: whiche they coulde not, who when the Iewes were afflicted of the Chaldeians, and they raged more cruelly against them then was mete, both threatned to punish them, and also did indede punish them most grieuously.

God punisheth moderatly.

The variety of mans nature.

Now the Israelits repent them of their cruelty: but its to late. They should haue thought of this thing before. But this is the nature of man, these that florish they are angry with, and enuy them, & when the same men are ouerthrown & dejected, they pity the. The sword is not rashly to be moued, neither should punishmentes be executed with an angry mind. Architas the Tarentine hath a very wise saying vnto his seruant: If I were not angry I wold punish thee. Athenodorus a Philosopher here, well learned when he had goten leaue of Augustus to depart home, & being desyred to leaue some notable precept with him, answered very wisely: Before thou geue place to anger & execut anengment, first say diuer with thy selfe in order all the letters of the Greke Abbabete, namely that in that space and detracting of time the violence of the mind may asswage.

Architas Tarentinus.

Athenodorus

The othe of the Israelites being vniust, did not bind them to obserue it.

It was not lawfull for daughters to marry without the consent of theyr parents.

Farther we muste note that this othe of the Israelites if not geuinge wiues vnto the Beniamites, was neyther godly nor lawefull. Wherefore they were not bound to obserue it. Howbeit we vnderstand by this history, ỹ this was of force among the people of god, that the daughters should not mary without the consent of theyr parentes. For if it had bene lawfull for the to haue maried against theyr parentes will, a man might haue saide: Although he will not geue your daughters vnto them, they of their owne accord may contract matrimony with them. This thing is so agreable vnto nature, that the Romine lawes also forbid that matrimony should be firme, except it be contracted by the consent of the parents, as we haue before declared. But that thing which neither God, nor nature, nor good lawes can suffer, the same doth the Papisticall superstition easely admitte.

The Israelites come to Siloh for two causes, partly to aske counsell of God concerning the Beniamites, and partly to geue thanks vnto God for the victory. Therfore they burne sacrifices and burnt offringes. And they wept for the misery of the Beniamites, euen vntil euen. Wherfore it appeareth that they fasted the whole day, otherwise they could not haue wept before the lord vntill euen.

Why the Israelites erected an altare.

Dauid Kimbi

And they erected an alter. But to what ende? There was an altare there before. Some answere that there was an altare there indeede, but it was so old, that it was halfe decayed, and therfore it needed to be repayred. But Kimhi saith that it was a custome, that when all the people shoulde publikely aske counsell of God, there should of new an altare be erected. But this he affirmeth without the authority of the word of God. I rather thinke, when so greate a multitude of people assembled together, ther was so great a number of sacrifices, that the old altare was not sufficient to do holy seruices vpon. Wherfore that the seruice of of god should be with more expedition finished, there was erected an other altar. Which thinge also we rede Salomon did, when he dedicated the temple whiche he had built.

When they had wept, because of the othe wherby they had bound themselues not to mary theyr daughters vnto the Beniamites, they thought vpon the other othe, whereby they had vowed themselues to slay all those whiche woulde not

put

put to their helpe to the common warre. Neither is their any mencion made before of this latter othe. For many thinges are ouerpassed in the history, which are afterwarde spoken of, although not in their place. And whilest they are in hand with these thinges, with one and the selfe same labour they both prepare wiues for the Beniamites, and also saued their othe. For they which wer absent from the warre, were not bounde by the othe. Wherfore they might mary their daughters vnto the Beniamites.

But as touching the first othe for not geuing wiues to the tribe of Beniamin, it was not lawful. Wherfore it might haue bene broken without any violating of religion: for the cutting of of that tribe, was against the word of god. For his will was that it should be preserued among the people of Israel. For God by Iacob the Patriarche gaue manye and excellent blessynges vnto the Beniamites, which blessinges also Moses in Deut. repeated. But although such an othe was not ratefied, yet the Israelites do wisely in that they labour, both to prouide for the *Beniamites*, and also not to be counted rashly to violate their othe. So *Iosua* sware that he would saue the Gabaonites, when as yet god had cõmaunded that al the Chananites should be slayn. For he found a meanes that they should serue in the tabernacle, and so by that meanes bee after a sorte punished wyth cyuill death. Although he durst not do that, but by the commaundement of god. And he would that the people by his example, should learn not easely to violate an oth. As touching the *Iabanites*, in that they are called Galaadites, it manifestly appeareth that they pertained vnto the tribe of Manasses, and dwelled beyond Iordan. They bicause they were not present at this warre, are iudge of al the Israelites as enemies, who being destroyed, their maidens which remained on lyue, were brought to Siloh, into the land of Chanaan. And it is rightly added in the lande of Chanaan, bycause Iabes Gilead was not there, but in halfe the Tribe of Manasses, beyonde Iordane.

In example of Iosuah.

For example sake, men vain othes ar not easely to be violated.

What men the Iabenites wer

This warre against the *Iabenites* was iustly and worthely taken in hande, bycause they obeyed not the publike cõmaundement. The Israelites had bound them selues by an othe, that whosoeuer withdrew himselfe from this war, the same should be put to death. Therfore they counted the *Iabenites* as enemyes, least other men by their example should contemne publike decrees. The *Beniamites* had committed a grieuous wicked crime: but these men in that they refused the common warre, and weakened the authority of the publike wealth, seme also to fauor their crime. It is not the parte of good Citizens in warre taken in hand by common counsel, to withdraw themselues by priuate counsell. Metius Suffecius captaine of Albany, when he forsoke Tullus Hostilius, fighting against the Fidenates, by the commaundement of Tullus was bound to two cartes, and so drawẽ in peces. Solon depriued him of al honour & dignity, which in the time of sedicion adioyned himselfe to neyther party. And Pompeius (as Plutarche affirmeth) when he fled from Cesar, proclaymed that he woulde count all them to be enemies which abode at Rome, and helped not the common cause. And after this maner are the *Iabenites* prescribed and counted for enemies. And no otherwise are they to be counted, which in this our tyme, when there is controuersye concerning religion, doo dissemble althinges, when as in the meane tyme they wyll neither stand on the Papistes syde, nor on ours. They (say they) wyll stand in the myddest betwene both, which is nothing els, then that they wyll be wyth the aduersaries or enemies. For they halte on either side, and therfore it may be said that after a sort they fauor them. Farther the cause of religion is farre greater and greuouser then the cause of the publike wealth. In the Churche no man can excuse himselfe that hee is a straunger: for no man which professeth himself to be a Christian, can be a straunger from religion: wherfore warre is iustly proclaymed against the *Iabenites*.

The Iabenits are worthely inuaded.

The punishment of Metius Suffecius.

Solon.

A decree of Pompeius.

It is not lawful for vs in religion to be neuters.

Although I thinke that in this matter also the Israelites wer to cruel. For it semeth

To much cruelty against the Iabenites.

semeth that it should haue bene sufficient to haue slaine the men that were apt vnto warre, which had committed the crime of rebellion. But to kil womē, old men, and children, it was to much cruelty. Neither could they say that they had vowed vnto the Lord the vow Cherem, forasmuch as they had saued the mayden virgins. And vndoubtedly so great cruelty turned them to euyl: for if they had delt more gently with the Iabenites, they had had more women for the Beniamites. Neither coulde they haue geuen counsell to haue vsed force to get them selues wiues. But it is good to vnderstand how the Israelites founde oute that the Iabenites were absent.

The battaile being finished, they al assembled to Siloh, and numbred the people, among whom when they founde none of the Iabenites, they easelye vnderstoode that they were absent from the warre. So great was their piety and religion at that time, that when they had obtained the victory, al of them assembled together to geue thankes vnto God. But that thing is contemned now a daies: for how many are there, which when they haue gotten the victory, wil acknowledge the benefite of God, and geue him thankes. Preachers do out of the Pulpit admonish the people to pray publikely for sicke folkes, of which we either se, or heare of none in a maner, which when they are restored to health, do publikelye geue thankes vnto God, for that they haue by the prayers of the Churche escaped free.

They proclaymed peace vnto them which were in Rimmon. That is, gaue them safeconduct to returne home againe in safety.

14 And Beniamin returned at that tyme, and they gaue them wiues, whom they had made on lyue of the women of Iabes Gilead, which yet were not sufficient for them.

15 And the people had compassion on Beniamin, because the Lord had made a gappe in the tribes of Israel.

16 And then the Elders of the congregacion sayd: what shall wee do for wiues for the rest? For the womē of Beniamin are destroied.

17 And they sayd: There must be an inheritance for them that bee escaped of Beniamin, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel.

18 For we cannot geue them of our daughters to wyues. For the chyldren of Israel had sworne saying: Cursed be he that geueth a wyfe to Beniamin.

19 Then they sayd: Behold, there is a feast of a Lorde yearelye in Siloh, in the place which is on the North syde of the house of God, and on the East syde of the way that goeth from the house of God, vnto Sechem, and is South from Libanon.

20 And they commaunded the chyldren of Beniamin, saying: Go and lye in wayte in the vyneyardes.

21 And take hede: For behold, if the doughters of Siloh come out to daunce in a row, then come ye out of the vyneyardes, and catche vnto you euery man hys wyfe, of the daughters of Siloh, and get you into the land of Beniamin.

22 And if their fathers or brethren come vnto vs to complayne, we wyll say vnto them: Haue pity on vs for them, because we reserued not to eche man hys wyfe in tyme of war. And because ye haue not geuen vnto them, so that ye haue at this tyme offended.

23 And the chyldren of Beniamin did euen so, and tooke them wiues of the daunsers, according to their number, whom they caught,

and

and went their wayes and returned euery man to hys inheritance, And repairyng their cities they dwelt in them.

24 And the children of Israel departed thence at that time, euerye man to hys tribe, and to his familye. And went out from thence euerye man to hys inheritaunce.

25 In those dayes there was no kyng in Israel, but euery man did that which seemed ryght in hys owne eyes.

They are sayd to haue made an lyue those maydens, whom they had not slaine: for forasmuch as they had them in their power, it semed ꝑ they might iustly haue slayne them. But they would preserue them on lyue: for that they sawe it was not the wyl of God, that al the Beniamites should vtterly be destroyed, and here by they vnderstoode the wil of God, because he had caused sixe hundreth of them to escape. Wherefore they gaue them safeconduct, and the maydens of the Iabenites to be their wiues. Whereby they vnderstoode that God wold saue the tribe of Beniamin.

God made a breache in Israel. That which they did themselues, they ascribe vnto God. A breache they cal the cutting of of one tribe. Here is expressedlye set forth the inconstancy of mans minde. In that fury and hot anger they would haue destroyed al, and they despyed of God to graunt them a ful victory: & when they haue obtained it, and finished the matter, they mourne & afflict themselues. If they had moderatly vsed the victory, this thing had not happened vnto them. After the same maner they synned against the Iabenites: for if they had not slaine al the women ther, they had had wiues inough for the Beniamites. Now hauing slayne all, they found onely 400. mayden virgins: which not being sufficient, they are compelled to seeke other by rapte or steith.

And the Elders sayd. So were the Senators or Senadzim called, or els the Tribunes and Centurions, which were rulers ouer the warlike affaires. Let their inheritance be safe. Iosua had appointed vnto euery tribe his inheritance. Wherefore the Israelites could not clayme vnto them selues the landes of the Beniamites.

Cursed be he which geueth his daughter. Hereby appeareth the forme of the othe: it was an othe of execration. This act of the Israelites had some shewe of guilty. For godlye men ought not to contract matrimonies with the vngodlye. And it is most manifest that the Beniamites were vngodly, when as they would neither deliuer nor punish the guilty. Besides that, they considered that the Beniamites were not much vnlike vnto the Chananites, for as much as they had cõmitted wicked acts, like vnto their syns. But God had forbidden the Israelits to mary with the Chananites. Wherefore they counted it a wycked thing to geue their daughters in matrimonye to them. Notwithstanding they ought not so to haue done. For what if they had repented, might they not then haue contracted matrimonies with them? That othe was rashly and without iudgement made, neither ought it by any meanes to haue bene kept. Neither, as it is most lykelye, was it obserued of their posterity. What moued the Israelites to sweare. The oth of the Israelits was not hyrne.

A solemnity in Siloh from yeare to yeare. It was a yearely solemnity, vnto which they vsed publikely to assemble: but for asmuche as the Iewes had manye suche feastes, it is vncertain, what maner of solemnity this was, of which mencion is nowe made. Yet I marueile that Kimhi sayth, that this feast seemeth to haue bene Kippurim, whē as it is written ꝑ they had a lasciuous dauncing, which were abiecte to be added in a publike fast. The Chaldey Paraphrast seemeth to haue a respect vnto the feast o the Calēdes or newe Moones, in which feast were thankes geuen vnto God for the gouerning of the worlde, and course of thinges, as vpon the Sabaoth day for the creation of thinges. But I confesse that I am ignorant what maner of feast this was. Howbeit I am of that opinion, that I thinke it was the solemnity of the tabernacles. David Kimbi. The Chaldey paraphrast.

There

There is a feast day of God in Silo. This description sheweth not that it was the solemnity of the place, but rather of the people of Israel, which assembled vnto the feast: and forasmuch as one City could not hold al the Israelites, they assembled vnto al the parts adioyning vnto the City, & to those in especial which are here described. And the Elders do appoynt these places by name, þ they might there hide them commodiously, and leave away the maydens as they were daunting. As though they should haue saide: Vnto those places they will come, out of the hidden places you may breake forth, and steale them away.

It was synne to daunce at the solemnity.

Hereby wee maye perceaue, that the virgins in holye assemblies gaue themselues to playes and daunces, which was to abuse the feast day. It had bene better for them to haue occupied them selues about grauer matters. For the feast daies were to this end instituted, that the people shoulde assemble together to heare the woord of God, to be present at the sacrifices, where they shoulde bord cal vpon God, and communicate together the Sacramentes instituted of God. Wherefore it is no marual if these maidens were so stollen away.

It is synne to abuse the feast dayes.

Wher as it is written: And when their Abothem, that is their fathers, shall come, & agaīe Achihem, that is their brethren, this letter Men is put for Nun, that is M. for N. namely the masculine gender for the feminine. Which forms of speaking is often vsed in the holy scriptures.

Haue compasion on vs for them. The sense of this short and briefe prayer is this: We wil say that we wer sorowful and pensiue, and that we could no other way seeke and prouide wiues for the Beniamites. And whatsoeuer is done, we wil affirme to haue bene done by our counsel, and that we were the authors therof. And so we will desire them, for our sakes to pardon you. Other do earlier expound it: Gratefy vs, and geue vs your maidens, if you thinke them vnworthy to haue them. We thought that there had bene maidens inough of the Iabenites: but that happened otherwise. Wherefore we were constrained to prouide for them by some other meanes. And if they wil say that they are bounde by an othe, and that they cannot geue them: vnto that we wil answer, that their othe is satisfied, because they themselues haue not geuē their daughters, but ye haue stollen them. Here we perceaue that a publike othe is lenefied and mitigated by the interpretation of the Elders. And vndoubtedlye that is their office whyche gouerne a publike wealth. Ye (say they) haue not geuen them of your owne free wyl, wherefore ye are free from the othe. Therefore the Beniamites are prouided for by rapte or stelth. In the Romane history also it is saide that the virgines of Sabine were rapte or stollen, but yet somewhat after an other sorte. For ther the virgins whych were rapt, were straungers, neyther had Romulus any ryght ouer them: but these maidens were Israelites, and were subiect vnto the authority of the people.

The rape of the Sabines.

In that these men interprete and lenefy the othe, it hath some shewe of equity. For it might seeme that the fathers violated not their othe, because they of their own accorde gaue not their daughters vnto the Beniamites, but they tooke them away by violence. But if a man more diligently examine the thing, he shal finde either of those excuses false, because the Beniamites vyd not of their owne priuate counsel steale the maydens, but by the perswasion of the Elders. And on the other syde it seemeth that the Israelites gaue their daughters of their owne accorde, & fraudulently brake their oth. For the fathers sware þ they would not geue their daughters to the Beniamites. Howe had they them then? Of the Elders. But they are the fathers of the countrey: wherefore this was no vpright and simple dealing neyther vyd they goe about breake their oth, but rather bound it. The Israelites pretended the religion of an other: which yet they craftely violated, & consented to rape or stelth, which wicked act is no more remisse then periury. They will not geue an example of periury, and they graunt to rape. Farther they violate an other principal point of the law of God. For in the last chap. of

The oth is not wel interpreted.

They shewing one wicked example fall into an other.

Num-

Numbers it is cõmaunded, that if a mayden be an inheritour, she should not marye into an other tribe, to the ende that inheritances should not be confounded. What doe we therefore if some of these that were stollen, were inheritours? Undoubtedlye they had agaynst the law of God maryed out of their tribe.

If a man will say, they did thys with a good minde, and (as they vse to saye) for a godly intent, that the whole tribe of Beniamin should not vtterlye perishe. Answer may be made, it is not sufficient that a thing be done with a good minde: bicause also we must see that the thyng whych is done, be good, be iust, be right, and agreable vnto the woord of God. Further, God forbyddeth that matrimonies should be ratified wythout the consent of the Parentes. But here the maydens are rapte, and maryed not onely wythout the knowledge of the Parentes, but also agaynste their wyls, agaynst good lawes, and authority of the woord of God. Further, the Magistrate ought to pacify the Parentes, and to reconcile them vnto them, if they chaunce to be angry: and so they fall from one wycked act into an other, neither aske they counsel of God in thys thyng. They take counsel of themselues, as though in a thyng of such perplexity and obscurenesse they could not erre. And that we should not marueyle that these thynges so happened, this verse is agayn repeated: *There was no king in Israel.*

Now resteth to speake apart of Rapte and of Daunces. But as touchyng an ende, I will touche onely so muche, as I thynke sufficient to this history.

Of Rapte.

The thyng whych in Hebrue is called *Chereph*, the Grecians saye ἁρπαγὴν, the Latines *Rapere*, whych is to take away by violence, not al maner of wayes, but thus to were by a certayne fury and great violence. Wherefore Rapte differeth from theft bycause theft may be committed secretly, & wythout violence. Wherefore in the Digestes *de Iudiciis*, in the law *duobus reis* it is said: Though a man sweare that he hath not rapte any thing away, yet is he not straightway quit of theft. For although that which is done be not rapte, yet it may be theft. So the ciuil law seperateth theft from rapte. But to what thynges rapte pertayneth, it is had in the Digestes *De vi bonorum raptorum*, in the law. 1. Thinges vnmouable as houses, landes and Farmes, are not rapted, but thynges moueable, as thynges not hauing lyfe, beastes and cattell are rapted. But by here entreate of the rapte of thyngs moueable, & yet not of all thyngs, but of humane bodies, whych are by violence taken away for lustes sake.

There is an other kinde of rapte, but not proper: which Augustine toucheth in his 49 sermon *de verbis Apostoli*, & it is had in the decrees. 14. quest. 3. chap. *Si quid inueniſti*, where he sayth that thynges whych are found must be restored. Which thing if thou do not, thou hast rapte them, for asmuch as thou hast done what thou couldest, so that if thou hadest founde more, thou wouldest haue rapte more. &c. Where the Gloser very well declareth, what is to be done wyth thinges that are found. Eyther (sayth he) the same thynges are counted for thynges cast away, as if anye owner hath cast away any thyng, the same thyng if a man be certayne what he hath founde it, he committeth not theft. But if the thyng whych is found be not willingly cast away, neyther thought to haue bene forthwyth left by the owners (as when a ryng is found, or a purse, or any suche thyng whych is not wont to be cast away) the same thing if thou retaine, it is theft, denied vnto vs by the iudge vnto whose faith & will and mynde to restore it again. Wherefore thou must publyshe & testifye that thou hast founde those thynges, whereby the owner may come to his owne agayne, as it is decreed in the Digestes *de furtis*, in the lawe *Falsus*, in the Paragraphe *Qui alienum*. But if thou keepe it by thee, wyth the mynde not to restore it, it is theft. Whych thyng Augustine in the place now we alledged reporteth.

The same thyng is decreed in the Code *de thesauris*, in the law *Nemo*. And in the Institutions *de Rerum diuisione*, where it is ordayned, that if a man fynde treasure in his house or grounde, it shall be his that fyndeth it. But if he finde it in an other mans soyle, either he hath gotten it by chaunce, or els he sought for it. If he haue gotten it by chaunce, let it be deuided betwixt the fynder and the owner: but if he sought for it, the whole muste redounde to the owner. If the place were holye, and the treasure be founde by chaunce, the fynder shall haue it.

It is moued, that if a man sought treasure in his own ground, & vsed therunto magike & artes forbidde, the thing found ought to be for saken to the cõmon treasury. For he which by vnlawful meanes hath sought a thing, seemeth vnworthy to be possessor therof.

What difference is betwen theft and rapte

Of what rapte is here entreated.

Augustine.

The Gloser.

What is to bee done wyth thinges found.

Against magike and artes forbidden.

Origene.

of. But to returne to Augustine, that which Forestus saith, I affirme that it is not properly rapte, if a man hold backe a dying one that he hath rauished, as Origene plainly declareth in his 4. Homely vpon Deuteronomie. Some saith he, will not restore that which they haue found. For they say that God hath geuen it them, what soeuer they say it is a crime like vnto rapte. Verily not that it is rape, but a certain thing like vnto it. Although the holy ghost hath made a difference betweene theft and rapte, yet may rapte be called theft, but yet so that there be alwaies violence. In the digestes *de furtis*, in the laste *Si quis dixerit*, it is thus written: If rapte euery way committed theft, and is an open theft. But omitting these thinges let vs returne to that kinde of rapte whereof we entende to intreate.

Bodine saith, that to rapte is nothing els then violentlye to leade away a mayden from the house of her father, to the ende after he hath defiled her, to marye her to his wife. But this definition is not full nor absolute, although it be vsurped of the Canonistes, in the. 36. question. 1. chap. *Lecta*, Paragraphe *Item ergo*. For all this our history the maydens were rapted, and yet not led away from their fathers house, but out of the field or vineyardes. Neyther is that true which is added, namely to marye her, or to haue her to his wife, when he hath defiled her. For the rapter may other haue a loue to haue her for his Concubine, or to abuse her for his pleasure, although he take her not to wyfe. Farther, this foresaid definition mencioneth onely of maydens, whe as yet neuertheles both maried women and widowes, also free mayd seruants, and bondmayd seruants, & also yong children may sometime bee rapted. Wherefore that crime extendeth farther then that definition containeth. Onely harlots seeme to be vnrapted. For they are not said properly to be rapted, although they be led away by violence. And vndoutedly it is then no action of rapt, but onely of iniuries. But such persons are vnderstand to be rapted from the custody either of the parent, or of their Tutor, or Guarden, or Patrone, or Lord, to the ende to haue vnlawfull accompanying together, whether matrimony do follow or no.

Of the punishmentes of rapters.

Now must we declare what punishments are ordeined for rapters. In the Code *de raptu virginum et viduarum* in the laste *Fine*, *Iustinian* intreateth at large of that matter, & maketh the rapte of the persons, which I haue before rehersed, death, so that also the companions, and they which haue holpen the rapter, are comprehended in the same punishment. Neither was that thought to be sufficient, but there were inuented other punishments more grieuous then death. For it is decreed that not onelye the Iudges & Magistrates shal put him to death, but also if the rapter be taken in the wicked act doing by the parentes, brethren, kinsfolkes, tutor, gouerner, Lord, patrone, or finally by him in whose power she is that is rapted, they may kyll him, & that without any punishment. It is also ordayned, that they which are present with the rapter, & defend him in his wickednes, may also be slaine without any punishment to him or them that killeth them.

Rapte is sometimes cõmitted against a mans owne spouse.

He addeth moreouer, that rapte is sometime committed against a mans owne spouse, as whome by violence taken away from him, whe he hath not yet maryed. And if a man take away an other mans wife, he doth not onely commit aduultery, but also rapte. If the rapter be not taken in the very inchoated act doing, he ought afterwards to be put to death by the Iudges or Magistrates, & that in such sorte, that though he appeale vnto the supreme magistrate, he shal not be heard. And that thing saith a constitution long ago ordained by the law called *Lex Cornelia*. Wherevnto agreeth it, is grieuous not to be heard if the appealer which thing is here meaned. For good reason vseth the ciuil lawes

Power to appeale is taken away frõ rapters.

In free mayd seruants, & bondmayd seruants the punishment is ended with death: but if a freewoman be rapted, the goods of the rapter, & those which be consent to him, do pertaine to her whe is rapted. Neither is it any thing worth for the rapter to geue away his goods, or to bequeath them away by will, but they fal into the handes of her that is rapted, & that not onely for a time, but also for euer, so that he may either sell them, or alienate them, or geue them away. What thing onely is excepted, vnles she that is rapted doe marye the rapter, the goods of the rapter are geuen her on that condition that she should not marye him. And the reason of the law is added, because in our publike wealth we suffer not, that a man should marye a wife after the manner of an enemy. For Citizens are bound to marye their wiues, and not to rape them. But what was done with them, which although they were not present at the rape, yet were a counsel thereof, hauing forgotten the act, hindred it not, nor did not withstand

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the rapter into their house: Iustinian decreed, that they in deede shulde not loose their goods, but onelye be put to death. But if a bondman, or bondwoman were taken either in cõmitting or aydyng this crime, they were commaunded to be burnt with fyre.

But what if a mayden wil by her own consent be rapte: Some of the punishment for al that (saith Iustinian) ought to be diminished, it is vncertaine at one, whither the woman wil, or wil not. And the reason is added, bicause if the rapter would abstayne from the rapte, it is not very likely that any woman wil offer her selfe of her owne accorde to be rapted. wherfore it semeth probable, that she was won by flattery & deceites. Yea, & the parents of the maiden, if they consent to the rapte, are cõmaunded to be banished. These things Iustinian decreeth in the Code, who yet afterward in the Authentikes (where is entreated of womẽ rapted, which mary the rapters) was cõpelled to make a law new, bicause cher wer which cauelled, that if she that was rapted did consent vnto matrimony, she might posses the goods of the rapter. For so they interpreted the first law: y the goods of the rapter ought to come vnto her that was rapted, if she maried him, or if he in his wil made her his heire. But we (saith Iustinian) ment no such thing: for our lawes do not appoint rewardes for a wicked crime. Farther, neither can he make any wil, for asmuch as he is now condemned to dye, neither do our lawes suffer any such matrimony to be of force. And if it be no matrimony, how shal she posses y goods of the rapter in the name of a dowry? wherfore he decreed that such matrimonies should not be ratified. what then shal become of the goods of the rapter? If the maiden (saith he) haue parentes, which haue not thereunto consented, those goods shall come vnto them. But if they haue consented as it is alredy said, they were banished without anye propirye of goods or landes, which kinde of punishment was much more grieuous then playn exile. But if the mayden had no parentes, or had those which consented, the goods of the rapter were confiscate to the cõmon trealory. By these thinges appeareth that in those tymes rape was counted a detestable crime.

Wherunto this thing also I wil adde, if any daughter had maried against the wyll of her parents, or otherwise behaued her self wantonly & vnchastly, it was lawfull for the parents to disinherite her, as it is had in the Code, De Inofficioso Testamento, in the law si filiam. This one thing is excepted. If the father knew that the iust time of matrimony was past, & he would not place his daughter, then hath he nothing to saye against hys doughter, if she mary without his knowledge, or against his wil: yea rather he is compelled to geue her a dowry, as it is had in the Code in the same place, in the law Si post viginti quinque annos. Whereby it appeareth that. 25. yeares was the time of hardest prolõgation of matrimonye. The same thing is had in the Digestes, De ritu nuptiarum, in the law qui liberos. Other lawyers determine the same thing, if a woman rapte a man: although they say that happeneth rarely. What if a woman rapt a mã

Now is to be added the opinion of the Canonists, & what they bring out of the scriptures. In the. 36. q. 1. Gratian bringeth that definicion of rapte, whiche we haue before confuted. But this thing he addeth: That in rapte is iniury done somtimes to the maiden, & not to the parentes: & somtimes to the parentes, & not to the mayden: & somtimes to both of them. For if the maiden wil be rapt of her own free will, there is no iniurye dont vnto her, but vnto her parentes. But if the parentes geue the man power to rapte the daughter, bicause she wil not consent to mary him, then is no iniury done vnto the, but vnto the daughter. But to both of them is iniury done, when the mayden is led away from her parentes, against her wil, & against their wil, & in the same place he bringeth the counsel of Orleance, in the chap. de raptoribus, where also he confesseth that rapte was wont to be punished with death. But it is added, that if the rapter come vnto the Church, the punishment of death is escaped. What shal there then be done? If the mayden (sayth he) consented vnto the rapter, first she shall be taken from him, & be restored to her parentes, but per being excused, that is, a caution receaued, that she be not slayne or disinherited. But if she consented not, she is by her selfe sufficientlye purged: but the rapter shal be compelled to publike penaunce, as it is had in the. 36. q. 2. chap. Raptores. The opinion of the Canonists. Concilium Aurelianense.

But what if he wil not do penaunce? He shalbe excommunicated, according to the counsel of Chalcedonia & Cabilonum. But if he do penaunce, he shall be punished by the purse. And herein they say y they follow the worde of God, which is written in Deut. 22. chap. If a man defile a mayden, he shal geue vnto her parents. 50. sycles, and shal take her to wife. And so he condemneth the rapter to pay a certain sum of mony vnto the parent of the mayden. The which sum if he wil not pay, or haue not wherwithal to pay, he is driuen to serue the father of the maiden for certaine yeres, which the Gloser contracteth to syue, whon this condicion, that in the meane time he may redeme himselfe if he wyll. Concilium Cabilonense. Concilium Chalcedonense &

It is also added: If they consent together, the matrimony is firme, so that the father agree thereunto. And that these matrimonies may be firm betwene the rapter & her that is rapted, it also appereth by the decretals de Raptoribus et incendiarijs, in the chap. cum ea 12. & in the chap. following: which thing without dout is against the ciuil lawes, & the Canons that are of the better sort. But the counsel of Melden hath far otherwise decreed. Concilium Meldense.

For firſt it hath ordained, that the rapter & ſhe that is rapted ſhould do publike penãce: afterward it permitteth matrimony, but yet not betweene themſelues, but vvyth other. And it is added, that if the huſband or vvife of either of them die, he vvhich hath cõmitted the rape, or conſented vnto the Rapter, cannot contract new matrimony, except the biſhop releaſe him. Farther it is ordained, that by no meane & any ſuch matrimony ſhuld be firme, no though the Parentes conſent thereunto. Yea, and the ſame Gracian confeſſeth, that the ſame thing was decreed in the Counſel which was had at Aquiſgranum. Yet afterward, both he himſelfe otherwiſe defineth, & alſo the decretals of the Popes, what then make they of thoſe Counſels? They aunſwer, that thoſe Counſels ment this, that it ſhould not be lawful to contract matrimony in that caſe, vnles open penaunce be firſte done, and the conſent of the Parentes had.

Conſilium Aquiſgranenſe.

Ierome.

And to proue that ſentence, Gracian (in the 36. q. 2. chap. Tria) citeth Jerome, who ſeemeth to acknowledge three lawful kindes of matrimony. One, when a mayden is geuen in matrimony to a huſband by her Parentes or Tutors. An other, if a mayden bee oppreſſed of a man, & her father afterward conſent to geue her him in matrimony. The third is, if the father cõſent not to ſuch mariages, but geue her vnto an other mã. Theſe three matrimonies he ſaith are lawful in the holy ſcriptures. But in the. 27. q. 2. chap. Additur, is by the teſtimonye of Jerome an other kynde of lawfull matrimony added, namely when a widow, which is not vnder the power of the Parentes, marieth in the Lord. Hereby Gracian gathereth that Jerome acknowledgeth matrimonye betwene the Rapter & her that is rapted. But I perceaue that in the. 22. chap. of Exodus, is nothing intreated of rape, onelye mention is made of fornication, and not of vaute. For it is ſaid: If he ſhal by flatteries allure her to lye with him, then hath he libertye geuen him, that he may take her to his wife, hauing the conſent of the Parentes. But if a man had rapted a mayden or man chylde, then he was iudged by the lawe called Lex Plagii, which is vvritten in Deutronomy, & teſtifieth that he ſhoulde be puniſhed with death, whoſoeuer ſtealeth a womã or mã in Iſrael. wherfore ther is nothing vvritte in the holy ſcriptures (as far as I ſe) as touching & eſtabliſhing & exerciſing of ſuch & matrimony

Of the rape of Dina.

But here ſome man will obiect, that Jacob & his ſonnes conſented, that Sechem one of the ſonnes of Hemor, ſhould haue in matrimony Dina Jacobs daughter, whõ Sechem had rapted, ſo that his ſubiectes, would ſuffer theſelues to be circumciſed. I graūt this: but it was done before the law of Moſes was geuen. Neither do we rede that the Patriarches had anye worde of God concerning this thing. Neither can it be denyed that before the law was publiſhed, very many thinges wer cõmitted againſt it. Jacob, of whõ we now intreate, had the ſame time .2. ſiſters in matrimony. Amrã had to wyfe his Aunt, of whom he had Moſes, Aaron, & Maria, which matrimonies, after the law was geuen, wer not lawful. Wherfore the example now brought, proueth nothing.

But if hope of matrimony ſhould be geuen vnto Rapters, there ſhoulde be opened a wide window for furious yong men to vſe rapes. For they will make no doubt to rape, if they may hope to marye her whom they haue rapte. But all occaſions of euyll are to be taken out of the publike wealth and the Church. Farther, foraſmuche as Parentes are highly to be honored, if matrimonies ſhould againſt their wils be contracted betwene the Rapter and her that is rapted, they ſhould ſuffer great cõtumely. This thing alſo ſeemeth to be added, that Lucius the Pope writeth to the biſhop of Burgenſe (as it is had Extra de Raptoribus et Incendiariis in the chap. Cum cauſa) that he decreeth, that if a mayden ſaye, that before ſhe was rapted, there were wordes paſſed betwene them of mariage, it cãnot be called properly rape. What ſhal then be done? May ſhe ſue agayne her Parents wil marye the Rapter? Innocentius the .3. in the chap. following decreeth: If a maiden be rapted againſt her will, and afterward conſent to marye the Rapter, that mariage is alſo firme, yea although it be againſt the wil of her Parentes. And he addeth that this is done in the honor of matrimony, whereas in verde it apertelye pertayneth to the reproche therof, if a man do more deepely weigh the whole matter. In the 27. q. 2. chap. Rapter, it is had: If a mayden that is rapted, bee betrothed vnto an other, by the wordes of the future tence, ſhe muſt be reſtored vnto him, ſo that he wil receaue her. But if he wil not, it is free for the maiden which was rapted to marye an other. But if ſhe were betrothed by the wordes of the preſent tence, and that ſhe can proue that ſhe was rapted againſt her wil, the ſponſe if he wil not receaue her, ought to be compelled.

The ſchoolemens opinion. Thomas Aquinas.

The ſchole Deuines write not much diſagreeing vnto this. Thomas Aquinas in .2. 2. toucheth this queſtion, whether he writeth that rape ſpringeth of a vehement luſt, wherby the Rapter is ſo troubled, that he neglecteth al daungers. And he will haue her that is rapted, to be reuoked vnto her Sponſe, if ſhe haue any: and if ſhe haue none, vnto her Parentes, or if ſhe be without Parentes, to them in whoſe power ſhee was. And then if they wil agree, the may marye the if after they ſo, that firſt be made reſtitution, becauſe in al theft and rape reſtitution is chiefly required: yea ſaith he, rape before reſtitution be made, letteth matrimonye to bee contracted, that is, that they ſpeake, if they contract matrimony: but if it be contracted, it breaketh not the contract. But to the Lawes which

determine againſt it, he anſwereth, ꝙ they were made in deteſtacion of ꝯ crime. But the Pope afterwarde conſidered the matter better. But this was not the parte of a holye man to worſhip the Pope for God, and ſo to flatter him lyke a bondſeruaunt. And to the ende he might ſeeme to ſpeake rightlye, he bringeth the wordes of Ierome, which are in Gracian concerning the three kindes of matrimonye. But how that place ſerueth to this preſent matter, I haue before ſhewed. Laſtlye, hee obiecteth vnto himſelfe the Counſell of Meldenum. But that place he ſayth, is to be vnderſtand: If a man ſhall rapte her which was maryed vnto an other. As though that were obſcure or doubtfull. Wee neede no Canons to vnderſtand this. A certaine Deuine not of the worſte ſorte, ſtrongly ſetteth himſelfe againſt Thomas concerning thys thing, and where Thomas ſaith, that rapte letteth not the matrimony already contracted, he anſwereth, that many decrees make againſt that ſentence. Farther hee bringeth a reaſon, namely that he which is cõmunicate can not receiue the ſacramentes. And then he addeth that the Rapter is excõmunicate: wherefore vnles he do open penaũce and reconcile hymſelfe vnto the Church, he cannot contract matrimony.

But Caietanus there laboureth vtterly to defende hys Thomas, and denyeth that he which is excommunicate, cannot receaue the ſacramentes. How be it this he confeſſeth, that he which is excommunicate, ſynneth if hee receaue the ſacramentes. And he addeth: If an excommunicate be admitted to confyrmacion or to holy orders, it cannot be denyed but that hee hath receaued the ſacramentes, neither is it lawful for him to repeate them againe, if he afterward doo penaunce. Farthermore, he ſayth that the Maiſter of the Sentenſes in the. iiii. where he reckoneth the impedimentes, whych take away matrimonye contracted, nũmbreth not rapte at all. Farther, he teacheth that the Rapter, and hee that is rapted, are not by the act it ſelf excõmunicated, but to be excõmunicated. But bicauſe he ſeeth it is in the Canons of the counſel of Chalcedon & Cabilon: Let the Rapter and her that is rapted be accurſed, he anſwereth that the Gloſe enterpreteth that ſaying to be of the ſame force, as if it had bene ſayd: Let them be accurſed. Moreouer he anſwereth to the other twoo thynges concerning reſtitucion and penaunce, ꝙ he ſayth, that ſhe that is rapted, ought not to be reſtored, but it is ſufficient, if he ſatiſfy the father by ſome meanes, although ſhe bee not rendred vnto him into his handes: euen as in theft it is not alwayes neceſſary that thinges taken away ſhoulde be reſtored, but ſometymes it is ſufficient, that the iniury be recompenced by a price or bonde. But concerning penaunce he ſayth: The Rapter, if he contract without it, doth ſynne in dede, but yet after he hath contracted, the matrimonye is firme. Laſtlye, he ſaith that the Canons, which decree to the contrary, are either abrogated, or els doo ſpeake of ſpouſes. After this maner Thomas, Caietanus, the Deuines, Eccleſiaſtical men, & Canoniſtes trifle among them ſelues, & play the Paraſites with the Pope their God. *Caietanus.*

Now will I declare, what the holy ſcriptures determine of rapte, and what they iudge therof. The firſt place is out of the booke of Geneſis the. 6. chapter, where it is written: The ſonnes of God ſeing the daughters of men that they were fayre, tooke them to wiues, ſuch as they liked them ſelues. I know there are brought ſundry interpretacions of this place. Some expounde the ſonnes of God to be angels, which being kindled by the beauty of faire women, had fellowſhip with them. This expoſicion cannot agree: for ſo farre as angels haue no bodies, they cannot burne in ſuch luſtes. Others by the ſonnes of God vnderſtand thoſe which came of Seth, and were brought vp in the true worſhipping of God, who being ouercome with beauty & fayrnes, contracted matrimonies with the daughters of Cain, that is, with Idolatrers and Infidels. Whereby nothing nowe remayned ſounde and perfecte, and therefore God ſending a flood, deſtroyed the whole worlde. The Chaldey Interpretour ſayth, that the ſonnes of God were myghtye men, and Magiſtrates, who when they hadde taken to wyues the daughters of vyle men, all thynges were fylled wyth vyces. *The ſentence of the holye ſcriptures.* *The Chaldey interpreter.*

here I see was committed rape, which thing the Chaldey Paraphrast hath signified, which paraphrast among the Hebrues is of an incredible authority. And assuredlye Moses saith not that they desired those wiues of their Parentes, but onely tooke them whom they liked best. By that place may easely be noted the course, and as it were the degree of mans perdicion. For first they saw, and then they desired, and at the last they rapted. Neither were they moued by their vertues, but onely by the beuty of the body. Wherefore God punished that sinne by a flood. And although there were many other sinnes in men, yet this one is expressed with a great emphasis.

Moreouer in the .34. chap. of the same booke, Sechem the sonne of Hemor dyd rape Dina the daughter of Iacob. But what rude that rape had, it is not needful now to declare. But the cause why Dina was rapted, was her curiositye: the mayden would go forth, and vnderstand the maners of other women. Curiosity did then hurt her, & also will alwayes hurt women. For if it were hurtful vnto the fameily of Iacob, being so great a Patriarche, for a mayden to wander abroade, how muche more daungerous is it for other fameiles, which are not so holy nor acceptable vnto god? But the nature of women is much infected with this vice. And therefore Paul to Titus, admonisheth women to loue their husbandes, to bring vp their children, and to be dyders at home. And to Timothe, when he entreateth of wanton and yong widowes: they wander aboute (sayth he) and runne from house to house, and at the last go after Sathan. Gen. 4 these virgins, of whom we nowe entreate, when they wandred throughe the bynepastes, and gaue themselues idely vnto daunsinges, were taken vp by the Beniamites. Some man will say, that the brethren of Dina oppressed the Hemorhites by guile. It is true in deede, but when they were reproued of their Father, they sayde: Ought they to haue done Niblah, that is, a foolishe and wicked thing in Israel? And that Dina was rapte not wyllingly, but against her wyl, hereby appeareth, because it is written that Sechem, after he had oppressed her, spake vnto her hart, which signifieth nothing els, then that he woulde by flatterye haue comforted her.

Curiosity was the cause that Dina was rapted.

The Beniamites did not properlye commit rapte.

But it maye seeme marueilous, that these Beniamites were not punished for their rapte: but we must consider that they dyd not properlye commit rapte, because they led awaye the maydens, not onely by their owne counsell, but also by the wyl of the Elders. Otherwise true and proper rapte hath alwayes had an vnlucky ende. Io Argus was led awaye of the Phenicians, Europa of the men of Creta, Medea of Iason, Helena of Paris, all which raptes kyndled diseases and warres, and also the ouerthrowinges of publike wealthes and kingdomes.

Vnlucki endes of rapes.

Also the women of Saba, being of curiositye desirous to bee present at open spectacles, were rapted by the Romanes. Wherof followed suche warres, that both nations were almost destroyed, as Titus Linius and Augustine De ciuitate dei write. Wherefore forasmuch as God wil not haue such wicked actes vnpunished, it is meete that from hence forth we auoyde suche matrimonies. I am not of that sentence, to deny that those matrimonies which hither to haue ben contracted after that maner, are matrimonies. For it is not my mynde to bring in a confusion of thinges. But these two things I affirme, first that in contracting there is sinne, especially if it be done against the wil of the parentes. Farther, that those lawes, wherby suche matrimonies are permitted, are to be corrected, that hereafter it be not lawful to vse the like. For we see that the order whyche God hath set, is peruerted, when Parentes are neglected, by whose counsels matrimonies should be contracted. And by this meanes yong men are encouraged to raptes, when as they hope that they may marry the wiues whom they shal rape. Farther, that which I speake, is agreable with the lawes of God, with the law of nature, & with the ciuil lawes. Wherefore let the Canonistes & Schoolemen take hede how they iudge the contrary. Now resteth somwhat to speake of daunces.

Titus Liuius. Augustine.

Of Daunses.

CHorea that is a daunse, is named (as Plato saith) of this worde χάρα, whiche signifieth ioye, bycause it is a certayn testification of ioy. And Seruius (when he interpreteth this verse of Vergil, Omnisquam chorus & socii comitantur ouantes, that is, whō all the daunse and fellowes followed with mirth) saith that chorus is the singyng and daunsing of such as be of like age. *Seruius.*

What whōce had their beginning daunces there are many opinions. Some thinke that men when they beheld the sondry motiōs of the wādring and fixed starres, found out daunsing, wherby ỹ variety of motions might be represented. Other thinke that daunses came rather of religion, bycause among the old Ethnikes, there were in a maner no holy seruices wherin was not leapyng or daunsing. For they led their daunses from the lefte part of the alter to the right, wherby to resemble the motion of the heauen from the East vnto the West, afterward they returned frō the right to the lefte, to expresse the course of the wādryng starres. Of the offeryng of Daunses.

Whiche thyng peraduenture Vergil signified when he sayde Instaurant; chori, mixtiq; altaria circum, that is, and they beyng mixed together renewed they; daunses compassing about the alters. *Virgil.*

Yea & the Pyrrhes of Mars whiche were daunsers, were had in great honour among the Romanes. And there are some also which referre the beginning of daūsing to Hiero a tyran of Sicilia. For he (they say) to establish tyrannye, forbad the people to speake one to an other. Wherfore men in Sicilia began to expresse their meanynges and thoughtes by beckes and gestures of the body, and ỹ thyng turned afterwarde into an vse and custome. But whatsoeuer this thyng was, daunsynges in the olde tyme were not agaynst religion: although afterwarde they were applied to publique mirth. Hault the pyrrhes of Mars. The daunse of Hiero.

There was also an other kind of daunsing, wherby young mē were exercised to warlike affaires. For they wer cōmaunded to make gestures & to skape, hauyng vpon the their armor, ỹ afterward they might be the more prompt to fight, whē neede for the publique wealth should require. This kind of daunsing was called saltacio Pyrrhica, & bycause it was exercised in armor, it was called ἔνοπλος. Of this daūsing is mētion in ỹ ciuile lawes, namely in ỹ digestes de pœnis, in ỹ lawe ad diem. And sometymes yong men whē they had offended, wer not straight way put to death, but were condēned either to hunte vpon a stage, or els to daunse in armor. And they wer called Pyrrhicarii. Also there was an other kind of daūsing, which was instituted onely for pleasure & wantones sake, & that was called of ỹ Greekes ὀρχηστὴς & ὀρχηστικὸς. But of those daūses which by gestures of ỹ body, expressed the sentes of ỹ minde, writeth Lucianus in his booke περὶ ὀρχήσεως, & so doth Athenæus. In which kynd at the length it came to ỹ point, ỹ when at Rome Demetrius Cynicus derided the daūse called Mimica saltacio, callyng it a thyng vaine & nothyng worth, a noble daūcer, which the was had in honor at Rome, desired him, ỹ he would once onely beholde hym daunsing, & afterward to iudge & speake his fantsy what soeuer he would. He came into ỹ stage, the daunser called saltator Mimicus begā by gestures to resemble ỹ cōmon fable of Mars, take in aduultery with Venus. In which thyng he so expressed the sunne which declared the fact, & Vulcanus knittyng his nets, & Venus ouercome with shame, & Mars humbly desiring pardon, ỹ Demetrius being astonished cried out ἄνωθεν ὦ ἀνθρωπε ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὁρᾷς γὰρ ἃ λέγω ἀκούεις γὰρ ταῖς χερσὶν ὁσαῖς μοι δοκῶ. That is, I beare Mā the thinges ỹ thou doest, I do not onely see thē, for by these thy handes ỹ seemeth to me to speake. About ỹ same tyme by chaūce came to Rome ỹ king of Pontus, & whē he had seene this daūcer playe his gestures on ỹ stage, being afterward bidde of Nero to aske what thig he most desired to haue geue him, he desired to haue ỹ Mimus. Nero meruailed, forasmuch as he mought haue asked other thinges of much greater price, & asked him the cause of ỹ his request. He answered, bycause Of saying of Demetrius Cynicus.

I haue sodry nacions subiect vnto me, which without an interpreter, I cannot vnderstand, and oftentimes it happeneth that the interpreters do not faithfully inough tell vnto them what I say, nor agains what they say vnto me. But this fellow with his gestures will expresse all thinges most faythfully.

Plato. Plato in his 7. de legibus maketh two kinds of daunsings, one πολεμικὴν, which before we haue called *Pirrhicum*. The other εἰρηνικὴν, which he calleth ὑπορχηματικὴν. I omitte to speake of the filthy kynde of daunsinge, bycause it is apertly condemned by the lawes. The Pirrhicall daunsing, and that whiche is done by gestures maye haue place to some vses of the publike wealth, but they pertayne not to our purpose. Wherfore in this place we must speake of ὑπορχηματικὴν, how far it is lawful, forasmuch as it is exercised for mirth sake.

Daunsing by it selfe and of his owne nature is not vicious.

Allurely I thinke that this kinde of daunsing is not of his owne nature vicious or prohibited, bicause nimblenes and agility of the body is the gift of God, and if there be added any arte, namely that the body be maned in order, aptly in nomber, and with comelines, I do not se why it ought to be reproued, so that it be done in time, moderately and without offence. For euen as it is lawfull to sing, and we may vse singing to geue thankes vnto god, and to celebrate his prayses, so also by a moderate daunsing we may testify the ioy and mirth of the minde. For Dauid publikely daunsed before the arke of the Lord, & the maidens with daunses & songes celebrated his victory against Goliah. Maria also the sister of Moses, whē Pharao was ouerthrowen & slayne, led daunses with other women, and soong a song of victory. Wherfore seing holy men and chast women haue vsed daunses, we can not say y^t of their owne nature they are vicious.

Daunsings vsed at this day ar vicious.

But as it is vsed in these dayes that men should daunse mingled together with women, ought not to be suffred, bycause these thinges are ministers and prouokers of wantonnes and lust. Maria the sister of Moses daunsed not with younge men, but apart by her self among women. Neither daunsed Dauid with women, and maidens which celebrated his victory daunsed among themselues, and not with men.

Moreouer they which loue God with all their heart, & with all their strengthe, ought not onely to obserue his commaundementes, but also to eschue all occasions whereby the obseruing of them might be letted.

Reasons against daunses of our tymes.

But our daunces are most euident occasions of trāsgressions of the lawes of god. They are snares & offences, not onely vnto the dauncers, but also to ye beholders: for they stirre vp & inflame the hartes of men, whiche are otherwise euill inough euen from their beginning: & that thing which is to be repressed & kepte vnder with great study & industry, the same is stirred vp by the wanton entisementes of daūces. Undoubtedly, if a man will consider himself, either by experience or by reason, he shal finde that in such spectacles ye lustes of ye mynd are not a litle kyndled & inflamed, & he shall perceaue y^t man returne home from those daunses les good then they were, & women also les chast then they were. Farther, perils are rather to be auoyded, then to be mocqued. For (as Salomon sayth) he which loueth daunger, shall fall therin.

But some wil obiect, that whereas daunses be so against manners, & do kindle lust, the same commeth rashly & by chaunce: but euery thing is to be iudged not of these thinges, which happen by chaunce, but of these thinges which are in it of it selfe & by nature. There are some so chast & vncorrupt, that they can behold these spectacles with a perfect & chast mind. I graunt, y^t that may sometimes happen, but I adde that all accidents are not of one & selfe same kynde. For there ar some which happen very rarely, other some are called ἀόριστα, y^e is which by their nature may as well be present vnto any thing, as absent. And there are some which are called κατὰ τὸ πολύ, that is, such as are wont to happen oftentymes & for the most part. These last accidences ought in euery thing to be considered and most diligently weighed: neither must we take heede, what may be done, but what is wont to be done.

Differēce of accidents.

Aristippus. Aristippus daūsed in purple, & beyng reproued, he made

an

an excuse, that he was made neuer a whit the wyse by that dauncing, but might in ꝑ softenes kepe stil his Philosophical mynde. But such toyes are not to be heard: because as Demosthenes saith, it is cited of ꝑ lawyers, we must not cõsider what some certayne man doth at a tyme, but what is wont to be done for the most part. Graunt that there be some one mã so chast ꝑ he is nothing moued with such entisementes, how in the meane tyme is the people ꝑ multitude prouided for? Shall we for the perfectnes and integrity of one or two, suffer all the rest to be in daunger? But (a mã will say) take away sermons also ꝑ sacramentes, for many heare the word of God, sometymes to their condemnation, & many eate & drincke the holy misteryes vnto their own iudgemẽt. Here we must know that certayn things are profitable to the saluation of mẽ, & are cõmaũded by ꝑ word of god, which things ought by no meanes to be taken away. And certayn things are indifferent, which if we se they tend to destruction, they are not to be suffred. We haue the law of god for hearyng of Sermons, and receauing the Sacramentes: but for daunsyng there is no cõmaũdement geuen. Wherfore these things ar not to be cõpared together. But by daũces & leapinges some say ꝑ very many honest matrimonyes ar brought to pas. It may be so sometymes, but I was neuer of ꝑ opiniõ ꝑ I would haue matrimonyes contracted by these artes, wherin a regard is had onely to the agility & beauty of ꝑ body. There are other meanes much more honest: let vs vse them and leaue these as litle chast & shamefull. Let vs remẽber, ꝑ although honest matrimonyes ar sometymes brought to pas by daũsinges, yet much more oftẽ ar adulteries & fornications wont to follow of those spectacles. We ought to follow the exãples of godly fathers, who now & then vsed daunses, but yet such as were moderate & chast, so that the men daũsed by thẽselues, & the wemẽ a part by thẽselues: by such kynde of daunses, they shewed forth the gladnes of their myndes, they sang prayses vnto God, and gaue hym thankes for some notable benefyte whiche they had receaued. But we rede not in the holy Scriptures of mingled daunses of men and women together. But our men say: Who can daunse after that sorte? In saying so, they bitter themselues, what they seeke for in daunsing.

A certayne profitable distinction of thinges

What daũces are honest.

Moreouer let vs marke ꝑ effects of daũsing. It is writtẽ in Mathew, ꝑ the daughter of Herodias daunsed at a banquet which the kyng made: & the kyng tooke pleasure in her, whom he could not openly without shame behold. For she was a manifest testimony of his vnlawfull matrimony & of hys adultery. For Herode had maried the mother of that mayden being his brothers wife. Of that daunsing it came to passe, ꝑ Johns head was cut of. Many are angry with vs, because we cry agaynst daũsinges, as agaynst things which are of their own nature euill & prohibited: we on the other side say, that things are not alwayes to be weighed by their owne nature, but by the disposition & abuse of our flesshe: we can not deny but that wyne of his owne nature is good, whiche yet is not geuen vnto one that is in an ague, not that the wine is euill, but because it agreeth not with a body that is in that maner affected. In Exodus, when the people had made themselues a calfe to worship, they sat down, did eate, drancke, and rose vp to play. In which place it seemeth that to playe was nothing els then to daunse.

The effectes of wicked daũsis.

But least I should seme this to speake and to iudge alone, I wil adde certayne testimonies of the fathers. Augustine against Petilianus the 6. chap. The bishops (saith he) were alwayes wont to restrayne the & euen daũsinges: but now a dayes there are some bishops which are prone at daunses, & do daunse together with women, so farre are they of to restrayne this vice. The same Augustine vpon the. 32. Psalme (when he expounded these wordes, on the Psalter of ten stringes, I will sing vnto thee) maketh those ten stringes the ten commaundementes, & when he had spoken somwhat of one of them, at the last he cõmeth to the Sabaoth, where of it is written: Remember that thou sanctify the Sabaoth daye. I say not (saith he) to liue delicately, as the Iewes were wont. For it is better to digge all the whole day, then to daunse on the Sabaoth day.

Augustine

Chrisostome in his. 56. Homely vpon Genesis, when he entreateth of the marriages of Iacob: ye haue heard (saith he) of mariages, but not of daunses, whiche he there

Chrisostome.

there calleth dauncinge: and he hath many thinges to the same place of scripture. And among other he writeth: The bridegrome & the bride are corrupted by dauncing, & the whole famely is defiled. Agayne in the .42. parable: Those feastes (sayth he) in mariages, but ỳ feest not dauces. For at ỳ tyme they vsed not so lasciuious as they do now a dayes. And he hath many mo thinges on the .14. chap. of Matthew, where he spake vnto the people of the dauncing of the daughter of Herodias, & amongest other thinges he saith: At this day Christes do deliuer to destruction not onlie their kingdome, not an other mans heade, but euen their owne soules. And he addeth that where as is wanton dauncing, there the deuill danceth together with them.

Cõsilium Laodicenum.

In the counsel of Laodicenum it is written: It is not mete for Christian men to dawnce at their mariages. Let them dyne & suppe gravelye & moderatelye, geuyng thankes vnto God for the benefite of mariages. In the same counsell also it is saide: Let not the Clergy come vnto spectacles either non ỳ stage, or vnto dinges. They may in deede be present at mariages: but after there come in Dyonisi, that is, singers & players on instruments, which serue for dauncinges, let the ye & go their wayes, least by their presence they should seeme to allow that wantonnes. In the

Cõsilium Ilerdense.

counsel of Ilerdenum, which was had vnder Symmachus, & Hormisda popes, and Theodoricus the kyng, the same thing is decreed, namely ỳ Christes should not dawnce at mariages. But in the counsel of Aluisiodorensum, which was vnder the

Cõsilium Aluisiodorense.

pope Deus dedit, this seemeth to be contrarie vnto the Clergy. For there it is prohibited, that any of the Clergy should at a feast either sing or dawnce, as thoughe it were in a sorte lawfull for other.

Schoolemen.

Of ỳ same opinion are certayne schoole doctours in the .3. boke of sentences, dist. 37. who refer these prohibitions onely vnto the holy dayes. Ricardus de media villa saith that to dawnce on the holy daies is a sinne moste grieuous, as though on other dayes it may be permitted. But the opinion of the fathers, & sound counsels is far more seuere then the opinion of these men, who perniciously release those thinges which should be contracted: for as much as they haue ỳ perill of soules ioyned with them: & not onely perill but all faultes that are most greuously to be lamented. Howbeit it seemeth that these me bring with this their sentence (wherein they prohibite dauncing on the holy dayes) out of the ciuile lawes. For in the Code, in the title de feriis in the lawe dies festos: We release in deede idoines on the feast dayes, but we will not haue men geue themselues to voluptuousnes. Wherefore it shall not be lawfull on the feast dayes to vse dauncinges, whether they be for lust sake, or whether they be done for pleasure.

But let vs see what the Ethnikes opinion was as touching this thing. Emilius Probus in the life of Epaminondas sayth: That to sing & to dawnce was not very honorable among the Romanes, when the Grecians had it in great estimatiõ. Salust in Catilinario writeth, ỳ Sempronia a certayne lasciuious & vnchast woman was taught to sing & dawnce more elegãtly than became an honest matrone. And there he calleth those two thinges the instruments of lecherye. Cicero in his .3. bookes of offices writeth, ỳ an honest & good man will not dawnce in ỳ market place, although he might by ỳ meanes come to great possessions. And in his oratiõ which he made after his returne into ỳ Senate, he calleth Aulus Gabinius his enemy in reprooche saltator calamistratus ỳ is, the fine dauncer: ye vnto Lucius Murena for a fault, because he had dawnced in Asia. The same thing also was obiected vnto the king Deiotarus. Cicero answereth for Murena, No man dawnceth beyng sober, vnles peraduenture he be mad, neyther in the wantonnes neyther yet a moderate and honest banquet. The same Cicero in Philippicis vpbrayeth vnto Anthony among other his vices, dauncyng.

Emilius Probus.

Salust.

Cicero.

The diuersitye of temperature of the men of the East and of the men of the West.

But it appeareth that the natures and disposition of the men of the East & of the West was not al one and the self same. They are cheareful of mynde, & nimble in body, and for that cause delight in dauncinges. For to omitte other exemples, David the kyng dawnced publikely. And they which come now vnto vs out of Syria, do affirme that the Christians, which liue in those regions, do vpon the Resurrection daye & also vpon other famous feast dayes, come into the temple with harpes and violles,

diuine, & sing psalmes among themselues, & dannce together. For their spirites are more nimble & chearefull, & more heauy & slouthfull they say þ they dannce soberly and modestly, & not as a place by themselues, & the women also by themselues.

Certain thinges as touching an othe.

Now should we say yu, in speaking somtyme of an othe, but it maye not be so, or it would be lõg, therfore I thinke it good to defer it till an other time. This thing onely will I say for the expoūding of this place, þ these wordes wherwith he agaynst the worde of god & charity, ar of no strẽgth: neither be they bynding þ men þ sweare. They sinned in sweareng rashly, but they sinned more greuously in performing it, for almuch as they had made an vnlll othe. Yet are these seruauntes of Israell to be praised, who although they saw þ their othe was not iuste, yet they would not feare ouþ & cõtẽptuously to violate it, least by their exãple they should open vnto the vnde people a window vnto periuries, which thing also it seemeth þ Iosua did vnto þ Gabaonites. For although in very deede they perfourmed not their othe, yet they shewed by certayne shew for me to perfourme it, and to haue it in estimation. Whyche which perteyneth to be spoken of this thynge. I will defer vnto the interpretation of the Hystory of Samuel.

The Israelites erred in þ they asked not counsell of god.

And now I thinke good to adde this, þ it is no mervaill that þ Israelites sware a foolish othe, and exercised their sharpenes towardes their brethren more cruelly then was mete: and also Abnitech gaue counsell to that rape such as it was, for almuch as they neither asked counsell of god, nor of þ highe priest, nor of the Prophet concerning these thinges. God in deede had promised the the victory, yet had he not geuen the this commaundement cleane to destroy the tribe of Beniamin, & to kill all their women, also to slay all the women of the Iabenites, they had no cõmandement out of the worde of god. But the negligence of þ highe Priest & Priestes is most of all to be mervayled at, which did not of their owne accord offer themselues, although the elders asked not counsell of them. But Pinhas (as I suppose) was at this tyme soore wearie in age, & the other Priestes taking all things vnto the, they cared not how, very coldly regarded thinges pertayning vnto God, for almuch as there was no king in Israel nor route Magistrate, whiche should haue kept þ Iewes in the duty of the lawe. Wherfore the people not being holpen by the holy ministery so much as neede required, committed many thinges thorough foolishnes & fury, & gathered such fruites of their workes as the Hystory rehearseth. For they should not haue ben so outragious to haue slayne al þ maydens of the Beniamites, for almuch as the lawe had prohibited, that children should be slayne for the sinnes of their parẽtes. Neither ought the Israelites to haue bound themselues by an othe, not to marry their daughters by any meanes to þ Beniamites. It was also to cruelly done to destroy all the women of the Iabenites which were not virgins. Neither ought they to haue committed that kynd of rape to saue their othe vpright, which was but a vayne othe and of no force.

The negligẽce of the Priestes is to be mervayled at.

Neither is this to be passed ouer, that the virgine maydens, by that rape were punished for the contempt of religion. For as I haue before said, they abused the rest of þ holy day. Undoubtedly the Israelites were not cõmaunded to assemble before at certayn tymes of the yeare in the holy congregation of the Lord, to the end they should apply themselues to dannces and playes. The sonne of God when he was twelue yeares of age, came vnto the temple, & there (as it behoued) applied himself to þ business of his father: which thing if þ maidens of Sylo had done, they had not ben rapted. Wherfore it is the part of virgins when they came to holy assemblies, religiously to geue themselues to things deuine, and to abide nyghe vnto their parẽtes, & not to ronne about dannsing in the fieldes, to wnes, streetes & vineyardes. For as often as they are out of the sight of their parentes & keepers, they are ready for raptors, and for the impotent fury of young men. This also is to be considered that the parentes of the maydens that were rapted, were iustly punished, bycause they negligently kept their daughters on the feast day. For God geueth children vnto the parentes to kepe as a pledge, and that not carelesly but warely.

The punishement of the abuse of religiõ.

In example of Christe beyng yet a childe.

The parentes of the maidens þ were rapted did sinne.

And ye shall by violence take vnto you euery man his wife. The elders doo not geue Counsell vnto the rest of the Beniamites to take no wiues then one, but they will euery man to take his own wife. And a litle after it is added: They tooke vnto them

In argument against hauing no wiues thẽ one called Polygamia.

them wiues according to their nombers. Undoubtedly if plaralitie of wiues should
haue at any tyme ben admitted for the procreation of children, doubtles it must
of all to haue bene needefull, for as much as the tribe of Beniamin was in a manner
destroyed, e needed a speedy increasement of reuiuing. But the elders although
they carefully studyed for the restitution of the Beniamites, yet they thought it not
meete to flye vnto the remedy of Polygamie: for this is an argument, that in their
iudgement that thing was not allowable. Every man departed from the company with his wife and inheritance. Being (as is to
be thought) moued in their myndes with fatherly louynges and affections. They pro-
pheseyed for the victory which they had obtayned: partly they pitied the Beniamites, and were sory they had made so ouerthrowe: and an other time they vsed
to reuell a whole daie and a yeare. They instituted also theyr feastes and solemne
assemblies, whereunto they ran in that expedition both by two and two. Wherefore
let the grieuous & horrible punishment of the Beniamites be a warning vnto vs
to auoyde any excesse vnhoneste and filthy lustes, and pestilentious pleasures as well
of the soule as of the body, and also of al good thynges.

But for asmuch as we are by the fauour of God come to the end of this booke,
let vs in the feare of God diligently behoulde in it the gouernement, whereby God defended and gouerned his Church
and publique weale, he doth in deede punishe sinne grieuously, but after his fa-
therly correction he doth with an vnmeasurable goodnes receiue the penitent and
louing, wherein men oftentymes incurre by their owne errour & rashe. In all these
things we may see an Image of our tymes. For we are intered into the same ca-
lamities that our fathers were: neither doth the deuil and his workes with lesse
diligence at this day vexe the congregation of the godly, then he did in the old time.
Wherefore let vs praye vnto God our most louing father for Iesus Christ his sonne
Iesus Christ, that euen as from the beginning he hath preserued and holpen his
Churche in most great daungers, so also he would now keepe and defende it,
when it is almoste ouer whelmed with euils and calamities. Let vs beleue
him also, that euen as he from tyme to tyme stirred vp Iudges and deliue-
rers vnto the people, by whom he restored vnto liberty and health: and
as in our tyme he hath geuen singular and most excellent men, name-
ly Luther, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Philip Melanchton and suche
like leaders vnto vs of the doctrine of the Gospel, so he would vouch-
safe to go forwarde, and in conuenient tymes stirre vp rectayn
Iudges, by whiche he may illustrate the myndes of his elect,
and kindle their hearties to keepe & defende the Church
of Christ, that at the length he may haue it raygning
with him in heauen, to whom (with)

Amen.

¶ The ende of the Commentary vpon the Booke of the Iudges.

¶ A diligent Index or table, of the moſt notable thinges, matters, and wordes, contayned in thys whole woorke. VVhich thinges ye ſhall fynde by the folio which is on the fyrſt ſyde of the leafe, and (b) ſignifieth the ſeconde ſyde of the ſame leafe

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